

FINAL REPORT

BRAIN DRAIN AND ACADEMIC MOBILITY FROM PORTUGAL TO EUROPE (PTDC/IVC-PEC/5049/2012)

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The executive summary highlights three dimensions of this report. The first dimension concerns the conceptual and analytical framework, and a brief characterisation is presented with a view to provide the right context for the project. The second dimension compiles the main results yielded by research. The third and briefer dimension summarises and lists impact indicators that add social value to the project, and enhance the scientific value demonstrated in the presented result indicators.

1. Portuguese emigration flows have intensified over the latest years. They have significantly grown since 2011. They involve an increasingly larger academically qualified population. People mainly travel to countries within the EU, with England and Germany showing the highest numbers of qualified Portuguese immigrants. Both the project and the report were structured based on these converging factors.

1.1. Emigration of high-skilled professionals from less developed countries to developed countries leaves the sending countries' economies with a reduced supply of skilled people in research, production, and in public and private services. The resulting brain drain would limit the use of educational investment in the sending countries, creating favourable conditions for their re-use by the more developed countries. Skilled emigration has been analysed according to two contrasting models: a) the model of the exodus that stresses the idea that more skilled individuals are forced to the exile, allowing them to get a job and a remuneration corresponding to their training; b) the model of the Diaspora that stresses the mutual benefits of intercultural exchanges opened by the circulation of academic, scientific and cultural cosmopolitan elites.

1.2. This research intended to test the comprehensive power of each of these theses referencing to the various types of mobility of highly qualified Portuguese professionals to Europe in the last decade. Although the existing statistics are poor on the methodology used and limited in its scope, it is recognized in international studies published over the past years that Portugal is one of the European countries where the drain is more accentuated in the last decade. Docquier & Marfouk (2007) estimated at 19.5% the proportion of workers with higher academic degree who emigrated in recent years.

1.3. However, these preliminary data leave many unresolved issues which we describe and analyse in this pioneering study in Portugal: 1) what are the modalities, causes and characteristics of brain drain over the past decade in Portugal? 2) which is the evolution of the stock and flows? 3) what are the forms of articulation between different modalities of the exodus of Portuguese skilled professionals and the process

of international migration? 4) what are the forms of articulation between the brain drain and the increasing flow of academic mobility? 5) what are the consequences for the scientific system and Portuguese higher education? 6) what is the impact in the emergence or reduction of scientific networks featuring Portuguese scientists?

1.4. The research strategy is suitable to the characteristics of an exploratory study that allows enunciating questions and hypotheses that can be studied in later steps of the research. Articulating an extensive research with an in-depth analysis we seek to identify the subjectivity of the direct actors of emigration in some of its main working contexts. We have proposed a mixed strategy which makes use of multilateral technical quantitative and qualitative data collection: a) the questionnaire surveys that aims to characterize the push and pull factors present in the decision to emigrate, as well as the effects of deskilling and reskilling resulting from migration; b) life stories and interviews with focus groups that will draft the life trajectories, the differential effects of socialization on the biographical dispositions and the strategies of improving the educational capital. Using a multiple case methodology we have described and compared the circumstances, the modalities and the characteristics of the mobility of four types of migration of high skilled Portuguese individuals in Europe: a) Migration to a European country for the exercise of professions in higher education or scientific systems; b) Long-term migration to a European country for work in primary or secondary segment of the employment system; c) European student mobility of 1st, 2nd, or 3rd cycle that leads to insert primary or secondary segments of the employment system of the receiving countries; d) Mobility and transient movement or commuting through European networks of science, production, services or culture.

1.5. Case studies of each of these groups tested the research hypotheses presented in the literature in a comparative way: a) the hypothesis of the brain drain; b) the hypothesis of beneficial brain drain; c) the hypothesis of the cross-fertilization of the elites; d) the hypothesis of brain circulation through networking; e) the hypothesis of latent brain drain due to mobility formation and training abroad.

2. The focus groups, the questionnaire-based surveys and the sociological portraits, carried out as they were in a sequence, allowed for a wide and dense reading of the approached phenomenon. The eclectic nature of the followed methodology was crucial to consolidate the obtained results.

2.1. The research made to define the focus groups and the application of this technique allowed to unveil a strong presence of women in the Portuguese qualified emigration flows. It also allowed to detect a rejuvenation of the flows and a highly

significant share of post-graduates. In this context, it is not surprising that predominant personal profiles correspond to single people with no children.

2.2. The initial approach applied via focus group showed that professional reasons were the motive that mostly contributed to the subjects' departure from Portugal. Additionally, it revealed a strong trend in those who left the country to be professionally integrated abroad in their area of study. Upskilling and highly significant perspectives of career advancement are part of that trend, in a clear contrast with the dominant general trend in the professional integration of European young people.

2.3. The lack of job opportunities in Portugal appeared right from the beginning as a clear push factor that motivated travelling abroad. As for pull factors, personal and family factors are less decisive than professional ones, although they may justify permanence in Portugal. In this context, the focus groups revealed a marked trend to live integration at the destination countries as part of long term permanence.

2.4. Mobility is in different senses a structuring and framing factor for the brain drain in Portugal, with three major characteristics: a) previous academic mobility experiences are a clear emigration structuring factor; b) those who leave detach themselves from the traditional emigrant stereotype and practices, and fit better into mobility structured identity profiles; c) the opportunities are highly dynamic, and circulation through different jobs and countries is a striking feature of the Portuguese qualified emigration flows.

2.5. In a country with a vast emigrant community, according to the 2011 Census, the Portuguese with higher education qualifications living in OECD countries accounted for around 10% of the total Portuguese immigrants in those countries. However, this group of qualified Portuguese reaches the highest growth rate in 10 years (87.5%). Countries such as the United Kingdom and Germany show much higher values for both indicators, over 20%.

2.6. The questionnaires applied to a non-probabilistic sample of 1011 individuals confirm and reinforce these trends. They further reveal that professional reasons can be seen as an immediate justification for departure: before migrating, 36% of the respondents had no job, whereas 92% are employed after migrating to their destination countries. Also note that, before the migratory experience, about 1/3 had no income in Portugal and another third had a net monthly income between 500 and 1.000 euros. When comparing this with the post-migratory situation, a huge difference is found, as a little more than 1/4 of the respondents have a net monthly salary of more than 3.000 euros in their host country and approximately the same proportion (also a little more than 1/4) earns between 2.000 and 3.000 euros (net monthly salary).

2.7. The sociological portraits confer density and put a face to these data. Besides the diversity of individual experiences, they show, among other things, cross-cutting regularities that are worth noting: the acknowledged quality of the academic education received in Portugal and its importance to be integrated at the destination country; the lack of conditions and perspectives that might motivate returning to the original country, combined with personal expectations of long permanence at the destination countries; the refusal of the emigrant identity and the adoption of practices that reinforce the perception of returning as a little more than a mirage.

3. Additionally to the project's scientific impact, highlight goes to the project's broad social impact.

3.1. From a scientific point of view, the project indicators are still far from being complete, even though they are already quite relevant. After the publishing of the research outputs, the contacts established within the scope of the project led to a starting point. The research programme enabled the creation of a network that aims at using the project's theoretical and methodological procedures to develop a Europe-wide research project allowing: i) to comparatively study the 5 EU countries (Portugal, Greece, Spain, Ireland and Italy) that supply the largest qualified emigration flows in Europe; ii) to compare European policies regarding academic and professional mobility, in order to compare higher education and training policies in the 5 identified countries.

3.2. The project's social impact is reinforced as it contributes to the public debate on an extremely relevant topic in today's Portuguese society. The numerous references it has known in the written press, in the radio and on TV, the public debates organised based on the project's data, and the number and diversity of people who took part in public sessions (held in October 2015 in Coimbra, Lisbon and Oporto) related with the release of "Brain Drain – Portraits of the Portuguese qualified emigration", among other indicators, show the project's ability to impact beyond the scientific field. To such extent, the project has not yet produced its full effects in contributing to shape information and public policies in Portugal and in Europe, but further development and research are expected to leave a noticeable imprint. In the national scope, partnerships have already been established with Foundation Francisco Manuel dos Santos and the University of Coimbra for the creation of tools allowing to index all the Portuguese scientists in the diaspora within the next year.

4. Considering the theoretical hypothesis, the conclusion to be drawn is that this is a phenomenon of brain drain, rather than cross-fertilization of the elites. The flows tend

to be strongly asymmetrical (with a negative balance between arrivals and departures), intense, permanent and long-termed. Transitory emigration is generally low, and formal and informal networks are residual. On the other hand, latent mobility works as a driving force for departure. Academic mobility experiences encourage the brain drain. Even those who do not leave immediately after academic mobility show a strong latent predisposition to depart.

1. STATE OF THE ART

The multiple case studies are intended to test the theoretical hypotheses presented in the literature. Our hypothesis consist in assuming that the different migration flows as well as the contexts, projects, the paths of life and how biographical expectations are constructed and therefore can be understood by the concurrent models. The literature identifies five main theoretical models with different levels of empirical evidence.

The model of brain drain: since human capital is not made profitable in the same society or country where it was generated there is a loss of capital invested in the training of these individuals and, therefore, a potential loss of externalities that result from this investment in the medium and long term. There is evidence of negative effects on economic growth and human capital training in the country of origin (Miyagiwa, 1991, Haque and Kim, 1995). Thus the return of the educational investment can be loosed by the effect of emigration of human resources, measured through the return losses of capital or through loss development potential (Rosenbaum et al., 1990). The brain drain results in a subsidy to the rich countries (Hamilton, 2003) because the growth of most developed countries also stems from the concentration of human capital (Castles and Miller, 2003).

The model of a beneficial brain drain: since the emigration of skilled individuals results in higher individual income and this is made possible through their investment in education, then more individuals will be available to invest in their education and their children education and this will eventually increase the return rate to education in developing countries (Mountford, 1997). The results from this type of analysis are mixed. Some empirical studies proxying investments in human capital by the growth rate of the proportion of tertiary educated individuals find that the brain drain rate measured in the base period exerts a positive effect on the rate of change of the previous stock of human capital, interpreted as a brain gain (Beine et al., 2003, 2008; Docquier et al. 2008). On the contrary, Heuer (2011) modeling anticipatory expectation-building and accounting for possible convergence forces in the accumulation process of human capital, reveal a strong negative effect of the occupation specific emigration rates on the sending countries employment shares, which suggests an inexistent brain gain compared to the brain drain.

The model of the cross fertilization movement of elites: since the international mobility of skilled human resources is often transitory and takes on characteristics of exchange of knowledge, skills, and temporary projects, this circular process is beneficial for both developed countries and developing countries. Olesen (2002), criticizing the study of short-term impacts of brain drain, says that the benefit to the country of origin may occur in the medium term. The highly skilled emigrants who leave their countries of origin for more than 10 years send savings while abroad and transfer human capital, financial and social when return, beating the immediate negative effects. Faini (2003) instead

concludes that the qualified emigration provides remittance flows for instance reducing the financial return. Moreover qualified mobility can occur regardless of salary benefits obtained (Mahroum, 2000.). For these groups the economic motives represent only a part of the reason for migration, and may even be accompanied by negative economic effects (Forster, 2000).

The model of brain circulation by creating networks: since scientific and business transnationalism results in networking in order to transfer technology and knowledge from the host countries to the countries of origin, it is expected that the increase in the circulation of knowledge and people in the context of globalization is inevitable, regardless of the level of development of countries of origin. The temporary movement of highly qualified individuals appears to complement with increasing frequency the long-term migration, especially among industrialized countries (Straubhaar, 2000). The networks formed by scientific diasporas and business have frequently sought to use the knowledge and skills acquired by scientists and other expatriate professionals in the development of the country of origin (Meyer, 2001).

The model of latent brain drain due to the mobility training: as mobility training, or for graduate studies or post-graduates, worsened in the last decade, the outputs to study abroad, with or without grants, originally planned as temporary, may become permanent due to the insertion in the labor market of developed countries or less affected by unemployment of young workers (Pizarro, 2005). However, there is also evidence that a period of study abroad, followed by a work experience in the destination country can become a medium-term benefit on the return (Regets and Johnson, 1998).

The literature review allows us to conclude that the traditional perception of the brain drain has no empirical evidence on the aggregate level, being necessary the understanding of the circumstances and factors that influence the process in each country (Beine, Docquier and Rapoport, 2003). This research aims to make a pioneering study of this type in the Portuguese context, still innovating in conceptual and methodological terms: first, refusing the logic of globalizing assumptions of human capital theory, guessing that migration can be caused by factors other than not pay gap by analyzing the set of factors of attraction-repulsion; on the other hand, guessing that the international job system is not a space entirely free and therefore is not only dependent on the free play of supply and demand, is also necessary to observe the biographical trajectories in order to understand the reasons and destinations of migration.

2. METHODOLOGY

Being the brain drain a multifaceted phenomenon, the research design follows the relational nature of the social object, articulating many dimensions of analysis. From the comparative study of four cases representing different profiles of highly skilled emigration (as identified in the summary), the study will involve the understanding of each case, and, at the same time, will seek to deliver factors and processes of comparison, translation and transfer, allowing a generalization not based on statistical probability and representativeness, rather on depth, intensity and density of analysis.

Thus, from each case and within each case, we will combine qualitative and quantitative approaches, explanation and understanding, deduction and induction, while moving back and forth between theory and practice. Following a relatively open theory model, we embrace the possibility of reshaping the initial corpus of theoretical hypothesis throughout the field work, and will avoid them as “straightjackets”, understanding them more as “exciting” heuristics, which brings us closer to the extended case method proposed by Burawoy (2009).

The application of a relatively varied range of research techniques will allow the operationalization of purposes assumed beforehand, and the comparison of lived, experienced, narrated and declared practices of the players of these migratory flows, triangulating the collection of information.

The selection of the four cases will follow the intersection of the main structuring principles listed below (shown in the most significant empirical research):

- Time characteristics of mobility: permanent or temporary; long term or transitory.
- Social place in the employment system: primary segment or secondary segment of the system;
- Functional profile in the employment system: academic and scientist; other highly skilled professions;
- Type of mobility: direct (after having entered in the employment system of the sending country); indirect or latent (after a period of study in the receiving country).

In each case, we will begin with an exploratory research based on the analysis of secondary sources, either documentary (official documents on this type of migration), or statistical, associated with informal conversations with privileged informant well placed in the organizations (associations and official institutions) who deal with these flows and players.

This will be followed by focus groups in the different cases under analysis (Barbour & Kitzinger, 1999). Taking advantage of the intersubjective and shared nature of this technique (Krueger, 1998), we believe that prior to the application of the survey, it will be particularly useful to identify push and pull factors and deskilling and reskilling factors, because the review of the state-of-the-art points to very general factors. In this way, the dimensions and indicators of the survey will be more accurate.

Due to the lack of systematized studies on migratory flows associated with academic mobility, it will be relevant, at the onset and from a methodological point of view, to use a crosscutting approach more suited to an effort to map the representativeness of this phenomenon. It is precisely the lack thereof that determines the establishment of a non-probabilistic intentional sample (Almeida & Pinto, 1996), which gradually helps (and by association to other research instruments) to understand not just the extent of the phenomenon, but also its intrinsic characteristics.

To this extent, the questionnaire¹ deliberately chooses a dominant audience – with high academic skills –, but must contain the many situations expressed in the study cases to be developed, which, in a way, determines a prior categorization likely to ensure comparability with the survey instrument, a comparability that allows us to discriminate determining traits in the characterization of the phenomenon. Accordingly, the structure of the questionnaire, in addition to the independent variables that characterize the target population, will seek to list a set of scales covering the following topics:

1) Push and pull factors: these two entries will distinguish, to begin with, the types of migration, including the ability to determine an idea and a plan; the access to information that supports such plan; the networks of relationships in the decision to migrate; the role of employer institutions, potential or identified (in the country of origin and country of destination); identification (or not) of a migratory chain;

2) Factors perceived as crucial in the decision to migrate: to conceive a future in which migration is an option may be determined by various factors, starting henceforth with the economic crisis; the devaluation of local resources (versus their higher value in the desired destination); the lack of career opportunities (versus more opportunities to build a career in the desired destination); unemployment (versus more jobs in the desired destination); etc.

3) Deskilling and reskilling: the decision behind migratory flows may reflect the notion of deskilling underlying a professional practice not based on the skills held, or,

¹ A directly printed version of the online survey can be accessed at the following link: http://www.bradramo.pt/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Surveys@UC-Bradramo_V.Impressao.pdf

conversely, the possibility that the desired (or held) destination will enhance those skills, in a process of reskilling;

4) Brain gain and brain waste: the ties that migrants have with their country of origin, including ties with the contexts of production that best articulate their areas of knowledge / reliability may help understand if migratory movements contribute more to situations of brain gain- a situation that offers employability and remuneration not likely to be obtained in the country of origin - or to situations of brain waste – in which migration to a context with high intellectual standards may result in outsourcing that requires less skills than those held;

5) Social and cultural mobility: another decisive aspect in understanding migratory flows, and in particular those that refer to highly skilled populations, is the decision to stay for a longer or shorter period of time, and also the impact that the intersection of cultural and social aspects may have in perceiving globalization. It is important to understand to what extent the decision to migrate based, at its outset, on training and employment reasons becomes (or not) social mobility, and cultural mobility.

The provisional findings and the shortcomings and clues resulting from the survey's data analysis will provide guidelines to prepare the scripts on sociological portraits (Lahire, 2002) focused on explaining contradiction from the intersection of the application of the survey, the exploratory analysis and the results of the focus-group. Moreover, the multivariate statistical analysis of the questionnaire survey will enable the construction of profile types of migrants, each defining a particular type of relation with the phenomenon under study. From these model pathways, we will select the individuals and groups for the sociological portraits (particularly modalities, agents, contexts, situations and diachronic processes of socialization of individuals). When preparing the baseline script, we will seek to understand how the players in migratory flows under analysis have structured, throughout their lives, favourable predispositions to emigrate, and, in the tension between predispositions and multiple situations, which are the main contexts that have triggered the desire for mobility.

The sociological portraits assume the existence of multi-socialized individuals, plural agents who, throughout their pathways, have acquired a wealth of predispositions, often contrasting and even contradictory, which in a way reflects both the complexity of contemporary societies (in their institutional differentiation and of "lifeworlds") and the multidimensional nature of projects and constraints associated with these migratory flows.

The final triangulation will allow us to confront practices and discourses, or, in other terms, compare the lived with the experienced (the memory of a past), the

narrated (especially visible in the portraits), the shared (highlighted in the focus group), and the declared (shown in the survey). Similarly, we will emphasize a type of reflexive scientific practice, permeated by the intersubjectivity between social scientists and their object of study.

The confrontation between multiple case studies may be maximized, by presenting the results to the public (a fact related to the double hermeneutics proposed by Giddens and the critical sociology advocated by Burawoy) in a final workshop on the reflective interiorization of research findings in public policies steered to the players of these migratory flows.

3. FOCUS GROUPS

The focus groups attended a double purpose: on the one hand, they provided the framework and prepared the quantitative data gathering, acquired via survey-questionnaire; and, on the other hand, identified the project four case studies particularities.

The four case studies describe and compare the circumstances, modalities and characteristics of European mobility flows of highly qualified subjects. These four case studies aimed to analyse different migratory situations: i) migration to a European country to work in the scientific or higher education system; ii) long-term migration to a European country to work in the primary or secondary sectors of the employment system; iii) European student mobility leading to integration in the primary or secondary sectors of the employment system; iv) temporary or pendular mobility and circulation in the European networks of science, production, services or culture.

Generally, the focus groups set the grounds to characterise life paths, map and typify life trajectories (family, education, employment), identify strategies to profit from educational capital in the building of a life project, and outline the socialising effects on the decision making process (planned action, sudden decision, triggering factors, family/social context). For that reason, the interviews include a whole range of different dimensions, as shown in table 3 - 1.

Table 3 - 1: Dimensions and categories of the interviews

Dimensions	Categories
Type of inclusion in the employment system of the host country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) inclusion by direct or indirect/latent mobility; ii) temporary or permanent job; iii) position of leadership/subordinate;
Relations with Portugal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) place of Portugal on a daily basis in the host country; ii) indicators of belonging;
Expectations and future projects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) projects in relation to personal and family life; ii) projects in relation to employment;
Forms of integration in the host country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) permanent or temporary emigration; ii) long-term or transitory emigration;

Dimensions	Categories
Push and pull factors in Portugal and in the host country	i) personal/family factors; ii) professional factors; iii) employment opportunities;
Deskilling and reskilling factors in the host country	i) mobility for deskilling, reskilling or upskilling; ii) insertion or not in the initial area of study; iii) job rotation; iv) career perspectives.

Interviews were made using videoconference and Skype phone call software. In this way, we were able to overcome geographic distance – most of the respondents in this study are spread over a variety of distant locations – and the impossibility to gather all the interviewees in the same physical premises. All the interviews were video-recorded using Callnote software, as a way of perceiving non-verbal language.

The focus group technique was chosen for two essential reasons: a) the intersubjective and shared nature of the experience makes the respondents more prone to express their ideas and feelings than they would be in an individual interview; b) it allowed to identify “push” and “pull”, “deskilling” and “reskilling” factors. With this information one was able to make up for the shortage of specific factors generally found in the scientific literature. In this way, the subsequent research dimensions and indicators techniques, drawn upon the focus groups results, were produced more accurately, particularly, the survey-questionnaire.

A cross-sectional exploratory approach was used, which was more adequate to the phenomenon mapping. This approach was initially relevant, from a methodological point of view, due to the lack of systematic studies on the migratory flows associated with academic mobility. Actually, a non-probabilistic intentional sample was determined by the lack of solid references on the mobility processes, which gradually allowed to understand the phenomenon’s extent as well as its intrinsic characteristics.

Interviewees were selected based on the snowball approach technique. It started with an invitation to participate under the form of an “intended participation” questionnaire that was sent to the researchers’ personal contacts and to institutional contacts with connections to qualified Portuguese on mobility. In fact, this initial list of potential interviewees was the starting point for later invitations to take part in each one of the focus groups.

Once the contacts had been gathered, the interviewees were chosen by case study², considering diversity of gender, age, country and profession. Seven focus groups were formed, for a total of 27 people, between November and December 2013. Additionally, because it proved impossible to bring all the subjects together, 5 individual interviews, 2 online interviews and 3 face-to-face interviews were conducted, using the same interview script³. The interviews were fully transcribed and later analysed using MaxQda qualitative analysis software.

3.1. Interviewees characterisation

The interviewees characterisation is based on a short individual survey-questionnaire filled in before the group interviews. This survey aimed to collect social and biographic information, thus freeing up the time of the interview for reflection and discussion of the presented topics.

Table 3.1 - 1: Social and demographic characterisation of the interviewees

		N	%
Gender	Male	13	48.1
	Female	14	51.9
	Total	27	100.0
Age	24 to 30	15	60.0
	31 to 40	10	40.0
	Total	25	100.0
Highest Academic Qualification	Bachelor's Degree	6	22.2
	Postgraduate studies	1	3.7
	Masters	14	51.9
	Ph.D.	6	22.2
	Total	27	100.0
Marital Status	Single	12	57.1
	Married	7	33.3
	Unmarried partner	2	9.5
	Total	21	100.0
Children	Yes	5	25.0
	No	15	75.0
	Total	20	100.0

² Respondents were asked to identify themselves with one of the four case studies in the project, when filling in the intended participation form.

³ See the interview script of the focus groups in Annex I.

As shown in Table 3.1 - 1, there is a balance between the number of male and female respondents, the majority of which are single (57.1%) with no children (75%), of working age (60% aged 24 to 30 years old) and holding postgraduate qualifications (74.1% finished a Masters or a Ph.D.). As for the country of residence (Table 3.1 - 2), highlight goes to the United Kingdom (33.3%), Germany (18.5%) and Belgium (14.8%). Note that, among the interviewees, two people were living in Portugal, however, they had lived before in another European country. One of them was based in Portugal, but worked remotely for a company in the United Kingdom, where some months were spent every year.

Table 3.1 - 2: Country of residence of the interviewees

	N	%	
Country of residence	Germany	5	18.5
	Belgium	4	14.8
	Denmark	2	7.4
	Spain	2	7.4
	France	1	3.7
	The Netherlands	1	3.7
	Ireland	1	3.7
	Portugal	2	7.4
	United Kingdom	9	33.3
	Total	27	100.0

Some of the interviewees arrived in their current country of residence before 2010. Still, the majority of respondents didn't reach their destination country until after that date (Table 3.1 - 3). This fact is consistent with statistics on national total emigration and highly qualified unemployment, that show increasing numbers after that year.

Table 3.1 - 3: Date of arrival in the current country of residence

	N	%	
Date of arrival in the current country of residence	2001	1	4.0
	2007	1	4.0
	2009	1	4.0
	2010	5	20.0
	2011	2	8.0
	2012	7	28.0
	2013	8	32.0
	Total	25	100.0

As for the reasons that made the respondents leave their home country (Table 3.1 - 4), professional reasons (43.6%) and economic reasons (25.6%) top the list, with further studies ranking third (17.9%).

Table 3.1 - 4: Reasons to leave Portugal

	N	%
Economic reasons	10	25.6
Professional reasons	17	43.6
Family reasons	1	2.6
Further studies	7	17.9
Partner's residence	1	2.6
Personal fulfilment	1	2.6
Unemployment	1	2.6
Contact with a different culture	1	2.6
Total	21	100.0

3.2. Focus groups results

The indicators resulting from content analysis were quantified using MaxQda. An extensive analysis of the different dimensions present in the interviews is showed on the following tables: i) “deskilling” and “reskilling” factors at the destination country; ii) push and pull factors in Portugal and the destination country; iii) forms of integration at the destination country; iv) relations with Portugal; v) type of inclusion in the employment system of the destination country.

Table 3.2 - 1: Deskilling and reskilling factors at the destination countries

			N	%
Migration for deskilling, reskilling or upskilling	<i>Upskilling</i>	No	16	59.3
		Yes	11	40.7
		Total	27	100.0
	<i>Reskilling</i>	No	24	88.9
		Yes	3	11.1
		Total	27	100.0
	<i>Deskilling</i>	No	26	96.3
		Yes	1	3.7
		Total	27	100.0
Career perspectives	Continuity	No	24	88.9
		Yes	3	11.1
		Total	27	100.0
	Advancement	No	21	77.8
		Yes	6	22.2
		Total	27	100.0
Insertion or non-insertion in the original area of study	Work out of the area of study	No	22	81.5
		Yes	5	18.5
		Total	27	100.0

From Table 3.2 - 1 we learn that the highest percentage of the respondents experienced upskilling during their migratory process (40.7%), with improved qualifications. Also to be noted is the compatibility seen between academic background and current job. Although career perspectives do not initially suggest career continuity or advancement (more advancement than continuity, though) – as will be seen ahead, when interviews are analysed in greater detail – that doesn't necessarily mean that respondents are dissatisfied with their professional situation. Quite the opposite: perception of professional recognition is expressed by the respondents, even when they are underemployed.

As for their situation in the employment system (Table 3.2 - 2), permanent employment is the predominant scenario (40.7%).

Table 3.2 - 2: Type of inclusion in the employment system of the destination country

		N	%
Self-employed	No	25	92.6
	Yes	2	7.4
	Total	27	100.0
Temporary employment	No	20	74.1
	Yes	7	25.9
	Total	27	100.0
Permanent employment	No	16	59.3
	Yes	11	40.7
	Total	27	100.0

Regarding push and pull factors (Table 3.2 - 3) it is worth noting that no push factors were mentioned at the destination country. Professional factors (remuneration, career or career advancement) are the most referred to (63%), followed by employment opportunities and personal and family factors (both with 44.4%).

In Portugal, personal and family factors are the most important pull factors. In fact, these are the major reasons that run counter to the mobility choices made, and show great influence when the possibility of returning is discussed. However, fewer and poorer employment opportunities (63%) and the lack of professional stimuli (29.6%) in Portugal are dimensions that strongly push subjects away from their home country.

Hence, the duration of the emigration experience (Table 3.2 - 4) is mostly permanent or long-term, consistent with the data later obtained via the survey-questionnaire, as well as in the sociological portraits.

Table 3.2 - 3: Push and pull factors in Portugal and the destination country

			N	%
Push Factors in Portugal	Professional Factors	No	19	70.4
		Yes	8	29.6
		Total	27	100.0
	Employment opportunities	No	10	37.0
		Yes	17	63.0
		Total	27	100.0
Pull Factors in Portugal	Education system	No	24	88.9
		Yes	3	11.1
		Total	27	100.0
	Personal/family factors	No	17	63.0
		Yes	10	37.0
		Total	27	100.0
Pull Factors at the destination country	Economic factors	No	21	77.8
		Yes	6	22.2
		Total	27	100.0
	Education system and services	No	24	88.9
		Yes	3	11.1
		Total	27	100.0
	Employment opportunities	No	15	55.6
		Yes	12	44.4
		Total	27	100.0
	Professional factors	No	10	37.0
		Yes	17	63.0
		Total	27	100.0
Personal/family factors	No	15	55.6	
	Yes	12	44.4	
	Total	27	100.0	

Table 3.2 - 4: Forms of integration at the destination country

			N	%
Long lasting or transitory emigration	Transitory	No	18	66.7
		Yes	9	33.3
		Total	27	100.0
Permanent or temporary emigration	Temporary	No	24	88.9
		Yes	3	11.1
		Total	27	100.0
	Permanent/long-term	No	15	55.6
		Yes	12	44.4
		Total	27	100.0

In the dimension regarding relations with Portugal (Table 3.2 - 5) the focus is on the place given to Portugal in the everyday life at the destination country (friends network, co-workers, contacts with family in Portugal), as well as indicators of belonging and the role played – if any - as facilitators for the emigration of others.

About the friends network, Portuguese friends are mentioned (66.7%) as much as friends from other countries (63%). As for identity, national identity clearly outweighs emigrant identity (74.1% against 14.8%, respectively). As later confirmed, self-

-recognition as a European citizen, or a citizen of the world, living in an “international bubble” is somehow more prominent than self-identification as an emigrant. Portuguese national identity also stands out and prevails. The people, the food, the customs and the climate, as the things missed when away, make Portugal a strongly present element in the thoughts of qualified emigrants. Therefore, travelling to Portugal is frequent for the great majority (66.7%), and visits are often used as opportunities to purchase goods and services (hairdresser, medical appointments, etc. – 37%).

Table 3.2 - 5: Relations with Portugal

		N	%
Influence on the emigration of others	No	17	63.0
	Yes	10	37.0
	Total	27	100.0
Activities in Portugal	No	17	63.0
	Yes	10	37.0
	Total	27	100.0
Occasional travelling to Portugal (less than twice a year)	No	24	88.9
	Yes	3	11.1
	Total	27	100.0
Frequent travelling to Portugal (twice or more times a year)	No	9	33.3
	Yes	18	66.7
	Total	27	100.0
Emigrant identity	No	23	85.2
	Yes	4	14.8
	Total	27	100.0
Portuguese identity	No	7	25.9
	Yes	20	74.1
	Total	27	100.0
Friends from other countries	No	10	37.0
	Yes	17	63.0
	Total	27	100.0
Portuguese friends	No	9	33.3
	Yes	18	66.7
	Total	27	100.0

3.3. Interviews: descriptive analysis

Motivations: Emigration pull factors versus Portugal push factors

What are the reasons that make qualified individuals leave their country of origin? What is there in other countries that fails to exist in Portugal?

Generally, group interviews revealed that the factors that motivate the departure of Portuguese “brains” are closely related with employment: on the one hand, the need to find a job and, on the other, the search for a better professional career.

Many respondents express the idea that they could not achieve professional satisfaction, fulfilment and recognition in Portugal, and didn't have the opportunity to build the solid career they were looking for. Here are some of the respondents' statements⁴:

O motivo de eu ter vindo para Liverpool, foi que eu ao concorrer, eu concorri para fora como para dentro de Portugal, só que antes de eu ter ido para os Estados Unidos ficava sempre em segundo ou terceiro lugar nas entrevistas para onde concorria, depois de eu ter vindo dos Estados Unidos, a maior parte dos sítios para onde eu concorri diziam que eu tinha coisas a mais no meu currículo, tinha competências a mais. E acho que o problema em Portugal é a falta de perspectivas de trabalho (Mulher, 25, Mestrado, Reino Unido)⁵

Neste momento não volto para Portugal enquanto não tiver um percurso profissional feito, porque neste momento as coisas estão muito más, ou pelo menos na minha perceção. Portanto agora vou apostar em fazer carreira aqui e acho que há boas possibilidades disso, de fazer uma carreira não sei melhor mas pelo menos mais reconhecida a nível internacional do que em Portugal. (Mulher, 34, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

... sabendo que tem ofertas que me são apelativas, mais apelativas que em Portugal, não pus a hipótese de ficar em Portugal muito mais tempo, só estava à espera de uma resposta para uma entrevista, uma posterior entrevista, para poder dar o salto. (Mulher, 24, Licenciatura, Reino Unido)

E até a diferença com uma capital de uma grande [cidade], de um continente, é que há uma profundidade de alternativas e de oportunidades, mesmo quando está em crise, que é quase como vir de uma aldeia para Lisboa (...) Aqui em Londres até me sinto mais confortável ou até mais seguro, mas não por causa da relação que eu tenho com o meu empregador corrente mas pelo número de alternativas que existem no mercado. O mercado tem uma profundidade extraordinária e eu posso mudar, quando quiser, e então é uma relação completamente diferente com o trabalho (Homem, 37, Doutoramento, Reino Unido)

Como hei-de dizer, eu quando acabei o curso, ou quando estava a acabar o curso tinha completamente fora das minhas ideias sair de Portugal, eu queria ficar em Portugal, desse por onde desse. Até que comecei a trabalhar, e vi como é que de facto o mercado estava e houve uma altura que passei essa barreira, não eu tenho de sair se quero fazer aquilo que eu gosto, e pronto, e saí. (Mulher, 29, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

Porquê [emigrar]? Bom, há razões das mais diversas, enfim, inclinação mais aventureira, sobretudo a ideia de que para desenvolver uma carreira, uma carreira internacional, ou ter projeção internacional na área eu não conseguiria sem uma passagem de formação no estrangeiro (...) Do ponto de vista da carreira, então

⁴ Within this document it was assumed the methodological option not to translate the direct speech of the focus groups's interviewees.

⁵ The identification of the respondents is shown in the following order: gender, age, academic qualifications, country of residence.

em Portugal, eu penso que em qualquer lado em termos de ciência geral, a mobilidade é uma condição para a progressão, até certo momento pelo menos, a mobilidade é uma condição, é uma forma de acumular um capital, então em Portugal isso é extremamente forte, então numa situação tão competitiva que se passa agora no sistema científico, sem que alguém tenha um capital forte de internacionalização, não tem condições para prosseguir (Homem, 40, Doutoramento, Portugal)

A ambição de trabalhar a uma escala internacional foi fundamental nesta minha decisão de sair e de me manter no estrangeiro, quando me perguntaram se eu sempre quis voltar para Portugal eu digo não, se me perguntarem queres voltar para Portugal hoje, eu também digo que não, necessariamente, eu se voltar a Portugal, é para ir trabalhar num lugar que eu encaro como estando no ponto geográfico que corresponde ao país Portugal, mas integrado numa rede internacional, entendem? (Homem, 40, Mestrado, Espanha)

As learned from these testimonies, emigration is presented as a way of “doing what one likes to do”, an opportunity for career development, as well as an opportunity for international projection in their respective professional areas.

A considerable number mention the existence of more working opportunities at the destination countries, which seems to provide emigrants with a greater feeling of professional stability and security, as the labour market is more dynamic and offers more alternatives.

Together with career development, the drive to migrate also originates in the need to have a job and a source of income, something that could not be found in Portugal:

... não tinha planeado ir para lado nenhum mas comecei a enviar currículos para fora, porque sabia que em Portugal ia ser muito difícil arranjar alguma coisa e então comecei a enviar currículos maioritariamente para a Europa (Homem, 25, Mestrado, Dinamarca)

... fiquei assim um pouco indecisa entre arranjar emprego em Portugal ou vir para cá. Após seis meses não consegui arranjar nada, nem sequer bolsas de investigação e comecei a procurar ativamente cá. Ao fim de seis meses de procura, portanto estive um ano desempregada, consegui arranjar. (...) gosto muito do que estou a fazer, gosto muito das pessoas que me rodeiam cá e comparado com a situação dos meus pares, aqueles que acabaram no mesmo ano que eu, eu estou bem porque muita gente em Portugal está desempregada ou estão a fazer doutoramento. Algumas pessoas gostam de fazer doutoramento, outras fazem porque é a única alternativa que têm lá. (Mulher, 25, Mestrado, Holanda)

Eu olhando para os colegas de curso que terminaram, sinceramente a maior parte deles que têm situações ligeiramente mais estáveis no doutoramento, saíram de Portugal também. Aqueles que ficaram conseguem uma bolsa aqui, uma bolsa ali, um trabalho por seis meses, ficam mais seis meses à procura de um novo trabalho e é muito instável, não têm qualquer segurança ou perspectivas de futuro e sinceramente não era muito agradável para mim (Mulher, 24, Mestrado, Irlanda)

Foi um misto, na verdade porque eu estava um bocado precário em Portugal, sinceramente, estava a trabalhar a recibos verdes e não via grande evolução na indústria, portanto eu se tivesse ficado lá, provavelmente neste momento estaria desempregado (Homem, 30, Licenciatura, França)

... mesmo querendo voltar encontrei a situação muito difícil, cheguei a procurar trabalho em Portugal para tentar voltar e não consegui nada. (Mulher, 32, Licenciatura, Espanha)

Mediante o panorama nacional e as hipóteses de emprego na minha área, biotecnologia, biofarmacêutica, decidi aceitar a proposta deles e vir para a Bélgica, com a minha família, trabalhar (...) Falo por mim, tenho o doutoramento, pago pela FCT e que não serviu de nada ao país. Serviu-me a mim e muito. Mas o que é certo é que houve um investimento grande do país para formar a minha, a nossa geração, que é uma geração que queria ficar em Portugal e que se vê forçada a deixar Portugal por falta de condições. (Mulher, 38, Doutoramento, Bélgica)

The lack of professional opportunities in Portugal is a factor of discontent and general dissatisfaction which, according to the respondents, pushes qualified Portuguese people towards emigration. Emigration is spoken of by the respondents as a need, an aspiration to get a job with better conditions for professional development and recognition, or simply to finally get a job.

Other motivations behind emigration are associated with emotional, personal or family factors, such as the influence of spouses or partners and the search for personal autonomy:

Eu vim por motivos emocionais, portanto o meu marido está cá e eu entretanto estava em Lisboa e resolvi vir para cá também. (Mulher, 34, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

... fiquei a gostar muito de uma pessoa holandesa e portanto quando regresssei a Portugal fiquei assim um pouco indecisa entre arranjar emprego em Portugal ou vir para cá (Mulher, 25, Mestrado, Holanda)

... foi um bocadinho a decisão de continuar alguns anos dependentes dos meus pais ou ter a possibilidade, de apesar de ir para fora, ser independente e fazer a minha vida e isso também tem muito a ver com um "grito de independência". (Homem, 25, Mestrado, Dinamarca)

Nessa altura já estava casado com uma investigadora científica, que conheci em Coimbra, na Universidade onde eu estudava e de onde sou, que já tinha ela própria saído de Portugal para fazer o Doutoramento. Portanto, de algum modo a minha saída também prende-se por razões, neste caso, profissionais, pela formação académica, mas também pessoais. (Homem, 40, Mestrado, Espanha)

Entretanto, a razão que me levou a emigrar de novo é que eu casei e o meu companheiro já vivia em Paris, portanto, estávamos juntos mas à distância e chegou uma altura que já não fazia muito sentido, não é, estávamos casados e separados e decidi mudar-me para Paris (Homem, 30, Licenciatura, França)

Student mobility as a drive for emigration

Student mobility (e.g., Erasmus, Leonardo da Vinci or INOV programmes) is often an emigration triggering factor. An individual who has had a previous international experience is more likely to consider the decision to emigrate as a true alternative, either in the country where the mobility experience took place or in a different one.

On the other hand, it is often during mobility programmes that professional contacts are established and opportunities present themselves for integration in the same country where the student was first experienced mobility. As confirmed by the following statements, mobility programmes are regarded as a form of professional enrichment, a way of adding value to one's curriculum.

Eu vim para a Alemanha fazer a minha tese de mestrado no Programa Erasmus. A partir daí continuei a trabalhar no mesmo instituto, Instituto de Hannover. Fui ficando e agora comecei doutoramento (...) Tinha planeado fazer Erasmus, já um pouco a pensar no que me poderia trazer relativamente ao futuro, na experiencia e em poder arranjar um melhor emprego em Portugal, mas visto que o nosso país se encontrava cada vez pior e a falta de emprego crescia, eu tive oportunidade de cá ficar e resolvi aceitar e acabei por ficar aqui na Alemanha (Mulher, 29, Mestrado, Alemanha)

... em mestrado fui seis meses para a Dinamarca, onde fiz parte da minha tese de mestrado. Quando terminei voltei para Portugal, acabei o mestrado e comecei à procura de emprego e não me limitei a Portugal (...) Não tinha nada planeado, mas sempre tive ideia de ter uma experiencia fora, fiz Erasmus e gostei e depois achei que ir para fora nunca fosse por tanto tempo e nunca pensei que viesse a pensar nunca mais voltar a Portugal. (Homem, 25, Mestrado, Dinamarca)

Comecei por fazer Erasmus, quando estava a fazer o meu curso, fiz Erasmus na Alemanha, em Colónia, seis meses, depois do meu curso tentei trabalho em Portugal, trabalho esse que parte foi remunerada, parte não foi, descontente com a situação candidatei-me a um estágio INOV Contacto, que me proporcionou um estágio em Londres, de seis meses (Mulher, 24, Licenciatura, Reino Unido)

... entretanto fiz um semestre cá, o meu orientador gostou muito do meu trabalho cá e convidou-me a voltar, fiz a minha tese de mestrado cá outra vez passado um ano, fiz mais seis meses, e no final deste tempo ele ofereceu-me, insistiu na altura para eu fazer o doutoramento com ele (Mulher, 25, Mestrado, Irlanda)

... fiz uma larga pesquisa na internet e acabei por ir parar a um estágio profissional no âmbito do Leonardo Da Vinci na Alemanha. O estágio foi seis meses, quando acabou eu pensei, ah mas porque não continuar aqui e tentar arranjar trabalho já que em Portugal não acredito que vá encontrar nada. (Mulher, 32, Licenciatura, Espanha)

Brain gain, brain waste, deskilling, reskilling and up skilling

As seen before, a number of factors lie at the origin of qualified emigration from Portugal. These factors combine to justify the decision to leave the country. They range from endogenous factors, such as the economic crisis and the resulting unemployment rate, to exogenous factors, more related with the host country, including more employment opportunities or higher probability of career advancement and professional recognition, among others.

Still, emigration displays a wide variety of scenarios regarding integration in the employment system of the host country, such as brain gain, brain waste, deskilling, reskilling and upskilling. The spectrum of situations found can be outlined under four major profiles: a) integration in a labour market segment compatible with academic qualifications, with better remuneration and higher recognition than in Portugal; b) integration in a professional area other than the initial academic qualification; c) integration in more demanding labour market segments requiring the development of specific professional and academic skills; d) integration in an employment system as an underemployed worker.

Some emigrants who feel integrated in working contexts matched with their skills and qualifications express a feeling of professional recognition and appreciation that, according to them, couldn't be achieved in Portugal:

Estive a trabalhar um ano como investigadora associada no departamento de antropologia, que é a minha formação de base, na Universal College of London, depois a minha bolsa acabou e eu resolvi parar por um bocado de tempo, porque estive com o doutoramento pendurado (...) fui aceite para um cargo de investigadora social associada e estava a ser muito bem paga. Portanto adequadamente bem paga. A nível de tipo de trabalho e de competências não penso que seja melhor do que em Portugal, mas a nível de pagamento sim. (Mulher, 34, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

A minha formação é na área da microbiologia, mais na vertente de epidemiologia, portanto estou a trabalhar na área que tirei formação (...) Eu sou bem remunerada e para além da remuneração, todas as condições como seguro de saúde, todo o tipo de condições que tenho extras, também é muito bom. (Mulher, 25, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

Eu tenho contrato de três anos, por agora, a diferença é que aqui os estudantes de doutoramento são empregados, não é com bolsa. Nós fazemos descontos, temos saúde paga, somos muito bem remunerados e tendo em conta o nível de vida acho que é uma remuneração muito acima de Portugal. E apesar de ser de três anos, acho que nos deixa numa posição de conhecimento de pessoas e existe muito dinheiro aqui para investigação e acho que não vai ser um problema para nenhum de nós que estamos a fazer o doutoramento, conseguir arranjar trabalho depois disso, se quisermos ficar cá ou se quisermos ir para outro lado. Não estou preocupado com isso, porque vai ser extremamente fácil arranjar emprego depois do doutoramento. (Homem, 25, Mestrado, Dinamarca)

Now, underemployed emigrants express a rather different perception:

... estudando economia e trabalhando num café, o meu conhecimento está muito além do que o que eu faço no dia-a-dia, o que agora me preocupa mais é fazer um café decente para eles, quer seja um cappucino, latte, seja o que for, essa é a minha preocupação neste momento, e não necessariamente teorias de microeconomia e macroeconomia (...) No entanto, tendo em conta que estou em Londres e que estou numa cidade cara, a todos os níveis, a nível de alojamento, a nível de alimentação, a todos os níveis, o que eu recebo não é assim tanto como parece, como à primeira vista, quando se faz o câmbio para o euro. No entanto, apesar disso, eu estou a gostar muito do meu novo trabalho, como barista, a equipa é fantástica, estou a aprender imenso a nível logístico, que era o que me interessava também, e tenho possibilidade de progressão como coordenadora de equipa de café ou de departamento. (Mulher, 24, Licenciatura, Reino Unido)

Eu estou em Londres há três anos, vim para cá porque queria ter uma experiência diferente, eu trabalhava como administrativa há cinco anos, eu sou licenciada em Arqueologia, e apesar de ganhar pouco, preferi vir para um país diferente e ter uma experiência diferente. Comecei a trabalhar em trabalhos precários, trabalhei durante dois anos em serviço de apoio ao cliente. (...) e comecei a fazer um mestrado em Museum Cultures o ano passado. Entretanto saí do trabalho que tinha, fui fazer um estágio no Geffrye Museum aqui em Londres. Estou no meu último ano de mestrado, e trabalho outra vez como administrativa para poder pagar as propinas (Mulher, 28, Licenciatura, Reino Unido)

As seen in the two statements above, even when respondents are not performing tasks compatible with their acquired academic skills, their speech reveals a feeling of satisfaction and some sort of recognition of their professional performance. For the second respondent, being underemployed serves the only purpose of paying for the Masters course she is currently doing. That is, the brain waste situation is temporary, while a reskilling process is under way.

In that respect, here are the statements of some qualified Portuguese, who migrated with the aim of improving their skills or changing their area of work:

É importante perceber uma coisa, a minha formação de base é em Sociologia, aquilo que eu faço hoje não tem nada a ver com Sociologia. Portanto, não fui estudar no sentido de fazer uns estudos pós-graduados de mestrado ou doutoramento para complementar a formação inicial que tinha, [fui] para de algum modo especializar-me e ganhar competências que não podia ganhar em Portugal (Homem, 40, Mestrado, Espanha)

Durante esse período que eu trabalhei em Portugal eu fiz também, a minha licenciatura é em Economia, eu fiz depois o Mestrado em Matemática, a área onde eu trabalho é em privados financeiros, e depois então passado oito anos e meio eu, ok, decidi que eu queria fazer mais coisas pela minha vida do que aquilo que estava a fazer no banco, naquela altura, e pronto, e tinha o conforto suficiente e fui fazer um Doutoramento em Matemática Financeira também, e aí foi a primeira vez que saí de Portugal, fui para Frankfurt (Homem, 37, Doutoramento, Reino Unido)

Não é bem o que estudei mas eu considero estar à altura das minhas expectativas, eu sempre tive mais inclinação para as artes e estou bem onde estou, e a empresa onde estou a trabalhar também tem perspectivas de futuro, estão a tratar-me muito bem e acho... Portanto, acabou por abrir outras portas desde que vim para aqui para Paris (...) Sinceramente acho que é o único emprego que eu acho que sou capaz de fazer para toda a vida. (Homem, 30, Licenciatura, França)

Eu acho que nunca me senti que estivesse a trabalhar na minha área em qualquer dos trabalhos que já estive. Acho que não posso dizer que estava a trabalhar como uma psicóloga, isso não. Neste momento, gosto muito do que estou a fazer, até porque foi uma coisa que eu escolhi fazer, a tradução, gosto imenso. Também cheguei a entrar num curso de tradução que não tive oportunidade de concluir mas ainda espero concluir... E mesmo quando estava a trabalhar com crianças eu gostava imenso do trabalho, não tinha muito a ver com psicologia mas acabava sempre por aplicar aquilo que tinha aprendido (Mulher, 32, Licenciatura, Espanha)

Type of emigration

The expected duration of the emigration period is another decisive aspect in how emigration is lived and how its impact is assessed on the economy of the original country. In some interviews, that expectation has changed significantly. Initially seen as a short-duration experience, emigration has grown into a long-term perspective, either because it has offered a set of positive experiences, or because Portugal's current economic environment is clearly perceived as negative.

Eu quando saí, ponderei voltar a Portugal porque eu estava numa ótima instituição, eu estava bem, eu gostava de lá estar. Portanto, eu ponderei com o meu marido voltarmos e ficarmos antes lá. À medida que o tempo foi passando e nos fomos apercebendo da situação em que Portugal estava, eu neste momento dou graças a Deus por não estar aí. Acho que a situação em que Portugal se encontra modificou bastante os meus planos de vida. Neste momento a ideia de estar em Londres ou de estar aberta para ir para outro país está presente em mim, voltar a Portugal sinceramente não. (Mulher, 34, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

Eu pessoalmente não me vejo a regressar em cinco anos a Portugal, é um espaço muito curto para voltar. (Mulher, 29, Mestrado, Alemanha)

Para mim foi gradual, eu quando saí fui com contrato de dois anos e entretanto pensei: "faço os dois anos e depois vejo se volto ou se não volto". Entretanto comecei a perceber que a meta seria nos trinta, já pus uma meta mais larga e então comecei à procura de coisas melhores para fazer e foi por isso que fui parar a Copenhaga e hoje em dia ponho a meta possivelmente para sempre, a não ser que tenha uma ótima oportunidade em Portugal, porque não vou voltar para estar a ganhar 900 euros por mês e fazer o que posso fazer fora e ter uma melhor vida. (Homem, 25, Mestrado, Dinamarca)

... os primeiros cinco, seis anos serão certamente para fazer a especialidade cá (...) eu nasci em Lisboa, e sou de Lisboa e cresci em Lisboa, claro que adoro estar em Lisboa e estar em Portugal e com as pessoas que lá tenho, mas não tenho uma necessidade muito grande, não tenho um simbolismo patriótico muito grande,

não faço questão de voltar assim, com urgência. Não digo que não mais tarde, mas por enquanto tenho a minha vida bem estabelecida aqui, não me parece que tão cedo volte. (Homem, 28, Mestrado, Alemanha)

Eu a maioria das vezes que vim não me imaginei a ficar a longo prazo, até porque vim sempre com trabalhos muito temporários, contratos a curto prazo, e sabia que a certo ponto iria ter que voltar. Neste momento, em particular, tenho vontade de ir a Portugal, já tenho saudades, já lá vão muitos anos que não estou lá, mas também não tenho a certeza quero lá ficar para sempre, ou se quero ficar aqui. Estou aberta a ir para qualquer sítio. Depende de onde no momento me sentir melhor e apanhar mais possibilidades. (Mulher, 32, Licenciatura, Espanha)

The idea of temporary emigration has been replaced with the notion of permanent or long-term emigration. Emigrants' circulation is now a scenario that is more naturally accepted. The idea of relocating where more and better opportunities can be found seems to be considered a part of the migratory process:

Neste momento não consigo dizer que vou ficar aqui, para já, vejo-me a ficar aqui, estou contente com o trabalho, mas poderei estar noutro país. Provavelmente estarei emigrada na mesma. (Mulher, 34, Pós-Graduação, Bélgica)

Eu sinceramente mantenho uma mente aberta, vou ver para onde é que o destino me leva mas, sinceramente, não me faz confusão nenhuma não voltar a Portugal... Estou bem aqui, se bem que não me imagino em Paris para sempre mas, não me faz confusão nenhuma mudar para outro sítio que não Portugal, também. (Homem, 30, Licenciatura, França)

Galway é uma cidade pequena, é muito confortável, é muito acolhedora, mas eu acho que vou ter necessidade, passados uns anos aqui, vou ter necessidade de mudar, de ter alguma coisa mais dinâmica durante algum tempo (Mulher, 24, Mestrado, Irlanda)

Enfim, agora fora de brincadeiras, isto agora é uma realidade que eu espero que seja só mais um ou dois anos e depois mudo. Não faço intenções de regressar a Portugal, mas também não faço intenções de ficar aqui em Londres. (...) Mas não sei, não sei qual será a minha cidade, ou aldeia, ou vila, ou o que for depois de Londres, mas gostava de continuar nos países mais a norte, se calhar numa cidade da Escandinávia, se calhar também me fazia sentido, o frio não me afeta muito, e a falta de luz também não. (Mulher, 24, Licenciatura, Reino Unido)

Tenho tudo em aberto, continuar cá ou ir para outro sítio e a minha perceção mudou desde que saí, porque existem muitas oportunidades fora de Portugal. (Mulher, 33, Doutoramento, Reino Unido)

Acho que, de facto, com o panorama português, hoje em dia a pessoa tem que estar onde está o trabalho, que permita às pessoas, no mínimo, a subsistência. Portanto, daqui a cinco anos estarei onde estiver o trabalho. (Mulher, 38, Doutoramento, Bélgica)

Future expectations

Considering all the aspects reviewed so far, the respondents' expectations about their future seem to include long-term permanence abroad. Nearly all the interviewees claim that returning to Portugal would only be a possibility in case of a family emergency or a job offer that couldn't be turned down:

Eu gostava de ter um contrato permanente numa universidade cá, comprar uma casa cá e ir tendo com os amigos em Portugal ou trazê-los para cá. (...) Eu acho que só se fosse algo de muito grave com a minha família. Nem uma boa oportunidade de emprego, até porque eu tenho aqui o meu marido, e os ganhos de estar aqui são bons. (Mulher, 34, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

... aqui estou muito assente em termos de amizades, em termos de trabalho, em termos de relação e tudo o mais. Neste momento voltaria a Portugal mesmo só no caso de doença de alguém, de algum familiar. Ou seja, não haveria nada, não consigo imaginar de todo ter uma oferta em Portugal (...) Berlim é uma cidade fácil para "constituir família", em termos de apoio do Estado social, em termos de custos e tudo o mais, por isso prevejo, os próximos anos serem passados cá, ou o constituir família ser feito cá. (Homem, 28, Mestrado, Alemanha)

Não é para toda a vida, não é para toda a vida... só posso regressar a Portugal quando houver condições para fazer o trabalho que faço a um nível que eu considero que esteja de acordo com as minhas, com a aquilo que, com as minhas qualificações e experiência (Homem, 40, Mestrado, Espanha)

Family factors seem to be the ones more likely to influence return to Portugal. Missing family and friends, as much as issues related with children and their needs, are two aspects that make respondents consider returning to Portugal:

Eu vim com um bom contrato por um ano. E é um dilema, porque não sei se ao fim de um ano vou preferi ir para Portugal ou continuar por fora, e também tenho de pensar no meu filho, que está privado de toda a gente, exceto da mãe. Mas não sei, na verdade, o que será melhor para ele, porque aqui tenho outras condições que lá também não tenho. (Mulher, 33, Doutoramento, Reino Unido)

Sim, nós queremos voltar a Portugal. Eu sou a pior pessoa, talvez neste grupo para falar sobre isto, porque a minha situação profissional não é ideal, também (...)apesar de o facto de ter vindo para cá me ter dado uma qualidade de vida que eu não tinha em Portugal, eu sinto saudades da minha família, os pais do [namorado] também já não são pessoas novas e eu gostava de ter a minha família, a minha futura família, os meus filhos, enquanto estivesse ao pé dos pais do [namorado], ao pé da minha mãe, e do meu irmão. (Mulher, 28, Licenciatura, Reino Unido)

A opção é muito diferente! Não sei o vosso caso do ponto de vista familiar, mas a decisão é até um certo momento da vida não [são] apenas tomadas individualmente, mas em função das responsabilidades que uma pessoa tem para com os seus filhos, para com a sua mulher, enfim, poderia em teoria, ah é espetacular ter um lugar em Sidney, ficar lá em Sidney, mesmo que daqui a dois ou três anos eu fique sem trabalho lá, vou para outro lado. Isso é diferente quando

se tem uma família, e acho que isso é uma variável importante nas decisões sobre mobilidade (Homem, 40, Doutorado, Portugal)

Relations with Portugal

The relationship established with the original country is an ambivalent one: on the one hand, respondents show a strong feeling of belonging, with regular visits to Portugal; but on the other hand, living away from their roots involves no drama and the relationships established and maintained at the destination country bear no resemblance with the pattern of Portuguese closed communities that were common in the Portuguese emigration of the 1960s.

In their regular visits to Portugal, respondents take the opportunity to meet their families and friends and resume contact with the everyday things they miss the most: coffee, food and sun are some of the listed items. The purchase of food (codfish, etc.) and services (hairdresser, dentist, etc.) is also included in the planning of these trips.

Visits are mostly seasonal, mainly for Christmas and in summer. Some respondents visit more regularly, e.g., every 3 months, depending on their country of residence.

On the other hand, some respondents are not quite so regular in their visits to Portugal – some of them visit only once a year – even though they live in countries from which it wouldn't be difficult to travel to Portugal. In these cases, the fact that a family has been started in the host country appears as the underlying reason.

Vou ver a família, primeiro não é, depois vou comer e ver os amigos, sair, tentar experienciar a minha vida que tinha em Lisboa. Sair, ir ao bairro alto, estar com os meus amigos, fazer jantares, etc. Aqui é um bocadinho diferente (Homem, 30, Licenciatura, França)

... enquanto estávamos na Malásia as viagens eram mais condensadas para a época de casamentos, batizados e no natal. Nas férias de verão ainda não tinham sido dirigidas a Portugal até porque estávamos na Malásia, para fazer praia estávamos no sítio certo. Agora que aqui estamos a única viagem que temos em vista é outra vez o Natal, a Portugal. Mantemos as raízes, mas normalmente nas [épocas] festivas. (Mulher, 29, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

Eu costumo ir a Lisboa quatro a cinco vezes por ano e vou no natal. Passo lá as minhas férias do verão como bom emigrante. (Homem, 37, Doutorado, Reino Unido)

... claro que adoro ir a Lisboa e estar com os meus amigos em Lisboa, mas estar longe, pronto é estar longe, aproveito sempre que, agora quando estive lá em Julho, duas semanas, pegava em alguém e levava-o à praia, olha, o que vamos fazer, nada, pegava nele e vamos à praia, sempre a aproveitar o tempo. Tenho uma ligação emocional, obviamente, não tenho uma ligação emocional muito forte,

ou forte a ponto de me fazer sofrer por estar longe (Homem, 28, Mestrado, Alemanha)

Sem dramas, passo três, quatro meses sem nos vermos fisicamente, mas quando nos vemos é logo aquele abraço que não se quer largar, mas depois lá está, eu passo aí durante cinco dias, e depois regresso a Londres e está tudo bem. Uma pessoa aprende a adaptar-se. (Mulher, 24, Licenciatura, Reino Unido)

Eu tenho ido a Portugal de dois em dois meses, talvez porque as viagens são super baratas, mas para o próximo ano pretendo ir apenas duas ou três vezes. Quando vou a Portugal divido o meu tempo entre amigos, família, comprar roupa, que é muito barata do que cá, comprar alguns produtos que cá não vejo como Cerelac, bacalhau, azeite e tremoços. E como eu sou escuteira ainda tenho envolvimento com os escuteiros em Portugal e às vezes ainda vou lá acampar e fazer algumas atividades. (Mulher, 25, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

Eu quando vou a Portugal tenho de dividir o meu tempo entre a família e os amigos em Leiria, os amigos em Lisboa e a universidade. Quando há alguma conferência eu tento aproveitar para ir e depois tento aproveitar para ver os amigos, quando vou ver a família tenho de ir a Lisboa. Mas tento ir sempre duas a três vezes a Portugal. O dentista também é importante em Portugal, aquele dentista que nós conhecemos e que sabemos que não nos faz mal. (Mulher, 34, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

Eu tento ir de três em três meses, mas agora só vou em fevereiro outra vez porque fui lá em agosto. E uma coisa que aproveito para fazer além de estar com os amigos é cortar o cabelo porque aqui é muito caro e o serviço é muito mau. (Mulher, 25, Mestrado, Holanda)

In spite of being quite well adapted to their destination countries, respondents are still somehow dependant on their country of origin. How much they miss Portugal and how “proud” they are of being Portuguese are striking feelings shown by some interviewees. Some go as far as saying that they would have never considered emigration as an option, if they had had working opportunities in Portugal.

On the other hand, a particularly interesting aspect is that some respondents state they intend to raise their children in Portugal, rather than in the country were they are currently living.

Para mim, principalmente, tenho saudades de Portugal. Apesar de ter tido sorte e dos sítios para onde fui e onde tenho estado tenho tido muito boas condições: dos dois projetos, foram dois projetos europeus e são bons projetos onde existe dinheiro para trabalhar e bons institutos e acho que isso é bom; mas se tivesse oportunidade de "dar o passo " em Portugal e se soubesse que tinha oportunidade de ter emprego em Portugal, acho que não tinha sequer pensado [em sair] (Homem, 25, Mestrado, Dinamarca)

Eu sinto-me orgulhosa de ser portuguesa e fico emocionada quando falo do meu país e gosto da língua, todos os dias me sinto portuguesa. E sinto orgulho em ser portuguesa (Mulher, 34, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

É possível formar família aqui, mas eu, quer volte para Portugal, ou viaje para um novo país, tenho a noção que não quero, isto soa de uma forma um bocado estranha, é uma coisa que eu às vezes penso, se tiver filhos, se tiver crianças, não quero que elas sejam educadas no sistema de ensino irlandês. Há muito facilitismo neste sistema de educação. (Mulher, 24, Mestrado, Irlanda)

Emigrants remain emotionally attached to Portugal, as proven by the regular contact they generally maintain with their family and Portuguese friends:

os amigos de Portugal são amigos de Portugal, e vão ficar sempre amigos, mas há sempre contacto, mesmo que não contactemos diariamente, sempre que nos falamos é como se fosse ontem, há sempre uma grande carga emocional em torno das amizades e dos familiares portugueses, como é óbvio. (Mulher, 24, Licenciatura, Reino Unido)

Sim, contacto com alguma regularidade com a minha família mais próxima, com a minha mãe, com a minha irmã, diria eu que de três em três dias estamos a falar. Se por algum motivo não estivermos a falar é porque eu estou a fazer turnos à noite e já não as apanho a pé, mas também comunicamos bastante por email. É sempre bom falar por skype, porque dá para vermos, mas falamos por email e é tranquilo, nunca houve problemas. Quanto aos amigos, é skype, facebook, agora com as novas aplicações no telemóvel, o What's up, enfim, novas modernices, mas sim, continuamos em contacto, sempre, sempre. (Mulher, 24, Licenciatura, Reino Unido)

O meu grupo de amigos mesmo chegado, aquelas pessoas que faziam parte a sério da minha vida em Portugal continuam a fazer (...) com alguns deles [os contactos] são praticamente diários (...) facebook, skype, gtalk, todas estas novas aplicações dos telemóveis em que se pode mandar mensagens pela internet, viber, what's up, e tudo o mais. Vivemos numa era em que acho que é muito bom todas as oportunidades que os telemóveis e a internet nos dão para podermos estar em contato com as pessoas. Não é a mesma coisa que estarmos frente a frente, mas pelo menos assim conseguimos manter contacto, falar. Posso dizer que não passa uma semana sem falar com estas pessoas, com a família, com os amigos. (Mulher, 24, Mestrado, Irlanda)

Internet and social networks play an important role in keeping touch with the emotional networks left at the original country, working as a means to bring people together and overcome distance.

Besides contact, a number of other important aspects illustrate a feeling of belonging to Portugal, or the identity of “being Portuguese”: food, football, certain behavioural patterns like “the ability to get by” and being extrovert, and close contact with the Portuguese media.

A parte do dia em que eu me sinto mais portuguesa é a cozinhar, porque em Inglaterra é extremamente à base de fritos, ou interpretações de outros países como a Índia, porque eles gostam muito de caril. E então tento sempre fazer comida típica à moda portuguesa (Mulher, 25, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

Eu acho que se calhar aquilo que me relembra todos os dias que eu sou portuguesa é o que nós chamamos o “desenrascanço”. Eu sei que há um estereótipo que a Europa do Norte tem dos latinos, que é verdade, que quase todos os dias mo referem, com o qual eu me identifico. E, sinceramente, até me orgulho, porque uma das razões porque aqui estou, se calhar, é essa mesmo. (Mulher, 29, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

... a primeira coisa que faço é ler o público online, não é... Além de passar os olhos pelo Garden ou pelo New York Times também passo pelo Público. E quando vivia em Londres, e quando regresssei para Inglaterra para trabalhar há dois anos, eu vivia fora de Londres há dois anos, vivi sozinho, mas ia a Londres com muita regularidade e fazia questão de ficar hospedado em X porque isso permitia-me ir comer ao restaurante português. Pronto, esse lado pitoresco é muito importante, eu acho, e ontem não era o Benfica, era o Futebol Clube do Porto, e também fui ao café ver o jogo, entendes? (Homem, 40, Mestrado, Espanha)

Eu acho que me continuo a sentir portuguesa. O facto de estarmos longe, e eu costumo ler, por exemplo, os jornais na Internet e procurar o que é que está a acontecer em Portugal, acabamos por nos sentir um bocadinho deslocados, porque podemos até ver as notícias e saber o que é que vai acontecendo mas não estamos lá em primeira mão, e como disse anteriormente, se eu tiver amigos meus que não falem português e estiverem comigo em Portugal, então aí sinto-me uma verdadeira emigrante porque é uma situação muito diferente. (Mulher, 24, Mestrado, Irlanda)

Uma coisa na minha vida que me faça sentir português... se calhar na vivência das diferenças culturais entre mim e o meu companheiro, há coisas que nós não pensamos no dia-a-dia, que achamos que são universais mas não são... A forma de comer, a forma de estar... Acho que talvez seja isso. (Homem, 30, Licenciatura, França)

Eu para mim também é o café, é engraçado que sinto exatamente a mesma coisa. Eu sempre que vou a Portugal aquilo que eu trago mesmo, à emigrante, é café. Eu trago uns quatro ou cinco pacotes de café, eu tenho uma cafeteira e faço café português todos os dias. É mesmo das coisas que eu mais sinto falta. E depois é o clima, (...) na Alemanha por contradição, como não há sol eu penso “Caramba, se estivesse em Portugal tinha muito sol” e então sinto-me português por não ter sol (Homem, 29, Mestrado, Alemanha)

é uma coisa muito simples, o dia-a-dia mas que me faz continuar a sentir portuguesa é que levo comida quente todos os dias, não levo sandes, não aderi às sandes, nunca gostei de sandes e portanto, continuo a levar a minha comida, o meu individual, os meus talheres, isso é uma coisa que as pessoas acham bastante engraçado e que sempre me perguntaram. (Mulher, 34, Pós-Graduação, Bélgica)

However, some interviewees say that the feeling of “being Portuguese” is not always present, which might reveal different levels of integration at the destination countries:

Eu tenho de confessar que durante muitos anos eu nem sequer pensava no assunto, nem me lembrava que era portuguesa, porque estava sempre rodeada de pessoas que não eram portuguesas, nem sabiam onde era Portugal, nem sabiam nada de nada. (Mulher, 32, Licenciatura, Espanha)

Mas assim de resto, eu há muito tempo que não como comida portuguesa, há muito tempo que não falo português até... (Homem, 30, Licenciatura, França)

Integration at the destination country can be assessed against several criteria. One of the dimensions that can be looked at is the one of social integration, that is, established networks and friendship ties. While the friends they left in Portugal are kept and nurtured with frequent contact, new friends are made at the destination country. However, most often than not, respondents say that their choice of friends is more related with aspects other than language (nationality). In fact, for most respondents, friendship networks in the host country are made of people of different nationalities, and not from their own or their destination countries. Being familiar with a similar emigration experience plays, therefore, a role in the establishment of emotional supporting networks. According to some interviewees, the shared condition of being dislocated might justify why they are so much more prone to relate with people of different nationalities.

Starting a love relationship at the destination country, or starting a family in the country of residence, are equally relevant aspects.

Mas não acho que a nossa comunidade de portugueses seja tão apertada como a de outros países como gregos e italianos, pelo que tenho observado. Nós saímos mas somos mais abertos a outras culturas. Nós saímos com um grupo multicultural, de diferentes países, enquanto os gregos e italianos saem todos juntos. Eu saio com portugueses e com pessoal de outras nacionalidades. (Mulher, 25, Mestrado, Holanda)

Eu também acho que nós somos muito menos agarrados às nossas pessoas. Damo-nos muito mais a conhecer a pessoas de outros países. Eu basicamente dou-me mais com uma portuguesa que entrou no mesmo programa que eu, ou seja, nós éramos catorze e entraram dois portugueses, eu e ela damo-nos mais porque andamos a estudar juntos na licenciatura e encontrámo-nos aqui. Não nos damos só em contextos profissionais mas também saímos, mas saímos com pessoas de outros países e não só portugueses. (Homem, 25, Mestrado, Dinamarca)

Eu tive uma pessoa que estava na universidade e sabia que era portuguesa, estava a fazer doutoramento, mas se calhar pela área de doutoramento em que estava não havia muita coisa e comum, então não fiz amizade. Fiz amizade com uma italiana e com uma inglesa, mas no centro de investigação em que estava senti um pouco de dificuldade em conhecer pessoas, especialmente os ingleses. Não sei se acontece isso em todos os sítios do Reino Unido mas aqui em Londres é um bocadinho difícil fazer grandes amizades com ingleses. (Mulher, 34, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

... tenho amigos de outros países, e a minha equipa, por exemplo, de trabalho é super multicultural, incluindo pessoas de Espanha, Polónia, Eslováquia, Japão, enfim, N nacionalidades, super multicultural. E como é óbvio, como nós somos mais ou menos da mesma idade, depois do trabalho às vezes vamos beber um copo, e depois conhecemos amigos dos amigos, e pronto, os japoneses

apresentam-nos mais japoneses, os portugueses apresentam mais portugueses, os espanhóis apresentam mais espanhóis, e então há assim uma bolha, uma aldeia global, gigante (Mulher, 24, Licenciatura, Reino Unido)

... a minha identidade é mais feita por, diríamos, classe social, se é que a palavra classe ainda quer dizer alguma coisa, ou por capital simbólico, capital académico, capital cultural, do que propriamente por identidade linguística ou seja, as pessoas com que eu me dou são as pessoas portuguesas ou estrangeiras que de algum modo têm o mesmo nível de escolaridade, o mesmo nível de gostos, o mesmo tipo de estilo de vida (...) Amigos dos países de acolhimento são muito raros. Pelo menos na minha experiência nós tendíamos a socializar com outros estrangeiros que partilhavam o desenraizamento ou a realocização (Homem, 40, Mestrado, Espanha)

... a maioria das minhas relações de amizade são pessoas de todo o mundo, alguns franceses, mas a maioria posso dizer que não são franceses... São da Ásia, da Inglaterra, da Rússia, por aí, porque também muitos deles são colegas do meu companheiro, e ele estudou numa escola bastante internacional e a maioria dos colegas dele não são franceses. (Homem, 30, Licenciatura, França)

As seen above, our respondents are not so closely attached to the traditional Portuguese community. Instead, they develop multicultural friendship ties. Only one of the respondents mentioned being part of, and organising activities with, a group of Portuguese people:

Mas aqui faço parte dos portugueses em Liverpool e de vez em quando "mitro-me" aos portugueses em Manchester e já há assim um grupinho de portugueses que saem constantemente e que se podem chamar de amigos. (Mulher, 25, Mestrado, Reino Unido)

The feeling of being an emigrant, shown by some of the respondents, is something that might be analysed in further detail. The perception of being a “foreigner” at both the destination and the original countries was discussed by some respondents who have expressed a certain degree of ambiguity in their identity.

Acabamos por pertencer a todo o lado e a lado nenhum. A minha avó costuma dizer sempre isso, porque é verdade, nós acabamos por ter uma vida em dois lugares, e acabamos por fazer coisas que acontecem em Portugal, mas sempre que voltamos, sentimos que é a nossa casa, mas que ficou ali um buraco por preencher. (Mulher, 24, Mestrado, Irlanda)

Another aspect requiring a closer look is associated with lifestyles, ways of living and money management. Generally, sending remittances to Portugal or saving to have a house built in their country of origin, a model that was a long-lasting standard in the emigration of the 60's, seem to have lost relevance in the new emigration wave.

Eu tento poupar para mim (risos), não querendo parecer egoísta. Mas, realmente, está tudo muito contadinho, e pronto, como é óbvio, se os meus familiares em

Portugal precisarem de ajuda, eu farei os possíveis, mas é muito complicado, são mais os telefonemas a perguntarem se eu estou bem do que ao contrário, não é? (Mulher, 24, Licenciatura, Reino Unido)

O que eu noto que a Holanda me mostrou foi o gosto pela vida, porque eles têm muito mais gosto pela vida fora do trabalho do que nós em Portugal. Eles estão habituados a trabalho entre 37/40 horas por semana e recusam-se a trabalhar mais do que isso e gozam muito mais a vida por fora, e são os primeiros a virarem-se para nós e dizerem: "não trabalhes mais do que precisas porque és paga para trabalhar isto, dá é o teu melhor". São é muito eficientes em tudo: no trabalho, na vida pessoal. Eu no início também trabalhava demais, ficava o escritório até tarde e queremos dar sempre o melhor e aperfeiçoar sempre as coisas e acabamos por nos esquecer de gozar o tempo pessoal. Isso foi algo que eu aprendi aqui, concentrar-me no meu trabalho e dar o meu melhor, ir até ao limite que eu achar bem para gozar a minha vida (...) Em Portugal as pessoas levam o trabalho para casa e trabalham horas ridículas. E eu sei que aqui no dia em que eu tenha um trabalho que não seja tão ligado ao estudo, sei que tenho mais tempo para mim e acho que em Portugal isto não acontecia. (Mulher, 25, Mestrado, Holanda)

Com as condições atuais, sem dúvida, penso estar aqui. Espero ter condições para ter uma casa própria, uma vez que a nível de renda pagamos bastante aqui e, talvez, começar a pensar em ter o primeiro filho. (Homem, 27, Licenciatura, Bélgica)

4. QUESTIONNAIRE

This project tells the stories of individual Portuguese men and women who have decided to carry on their lives out of Portugal. They are highly qualified Portuguese citizens who have shared with us their school and academic backgrounds, their social and family origins, their friendship networks, their trajectories in the labour market, their driving aspirations and life expectations, both in the near and in the distant future. Hence, these are the portraits of singular lives and they allow us to identify a whole diversity of worlds as they interweave along their paths.

Singular stories, however, are set in a more general social framework. Individual paths materialise under conditions that were not chosen but were rather the starting point for each individual's options. In fact, the decision to migrate involves structural features corresponding to the external form of the phenomenon that limit or enlarge the effects of individual decisions.

Those structural conditions were characterised through an *on-line* survey-questionnaire answered between May and October 2014 by an intentional non random sample of Portuguese citizens who: were or had been on mobility, or were or had been immigrants in a European country over the last 6 years; had higher education qualifications; or had worked in positions compatible with their academic level. The Portuguese qualified emigration was structurally profiled based on the answers to this questionnaire, and using statistical data from the Emigration Observatory [*Observatório da Emigração*] (2014), from Pordata, from OECD, and from ONS (Office for National Statistics, UK).

Data is presented in the question-answer format.

4.1. How many are they?

School background and qualifications of Portuguese emigrants aged 15 or older, resident in OECD countries, 2000/01 and 2010/11

Education level	Census 2000/01		Census 2010/11		Growth rate
	N	%	N	%	%
Total	1 259 829	100	1 471 644	100.0	16.8
Primary school	847 011	67.2	900 915	61.2	6.4
Secondary school	294 899	23.4	404 409	27.5	37.1
Higher education	77 790	6.2	145 833	9.9	87.5
Unknown education level	40 129	3.2	20 487	1.4	-48.9

Source: Emigration Observatory [*Observatório da Emigração*], "Emigração Portuguesa. Relatório Estatístico 2014.

Number of United Kingdom immigrants born in Portugal, according to their education level, per year of arrival

Education level	TOTAL (residents aged 16 and older) N	Arrived before 1981 N	Arrived 1981-1990 N	Arrived 1991-2000 N	Arrived 2001-2011 N
No education	16 581	3 303	1931	4 564	6 783
Education level 1, 2 or 3	20 458	2 070	1587	6 027	10 774
Apprenticeship System ⁶	819	125	70	202	422
Education level 4 and higher ⁷	14 465	1 450	924	3 134	8 957
Other education level	23 676	1 905	1694	5 316	14 761
TOTAL	75 999	8 853	6206	19 243	41 697
TOTAL - Europe	2 492 789	660 828	175544	346 144	1 310 273
TOTAL – All categories	6910595	1 836 359	652665	1 183 328	3 238 243

Source: Office for National Statistics, UK. Data for the geographic area of England and Wales.

According to the data provided by the Emigration Observatory [*Observatório da Emigração*] (2014), the emigration of qualified Portuguese has had an 87.5% growth between 2000/1 and 2010/11, from a relative value of 6.2% of total emigration to a value of 9.9% in 2010/11, now accounting for 11% of total emigration. Based on the latter value, the qualified emigration flow is estimated to have reached a total of approximately 40 000 subjects in the 2011-2013 period.

However, if we look at the statistics of some of the main recipient countries for Portuguese emigrants, we can see that this number has been underestimated. In fact, for the same period, the statistics agency in the United Kingdom, one of the main destination countries for the latest Portuguese emigration, indicates that 21.5% of the total Portuguese emigrants over 16 have higher education qualifications.

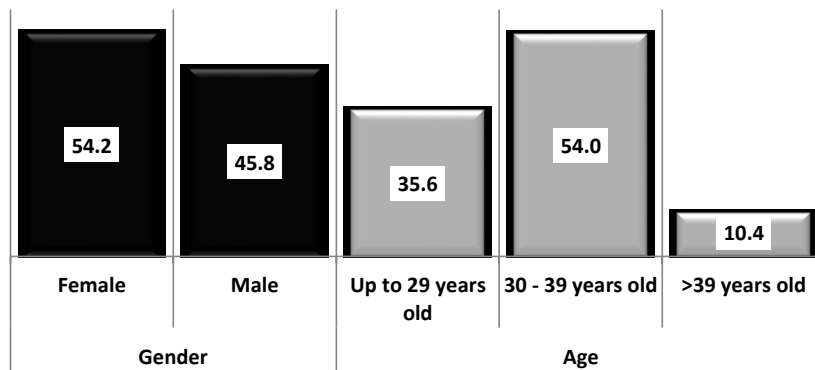
4.2. What is the demographic profile (gender and age) of qualified emigration?

Considering a sample of 1011 respondents, women (54.2%) slightly outnumber men. This is a change in the Portuguese traditionally male-dominant emigration profile and certainly the result of a greater presence of women in higher education and, consequently, in qualified jobs.

⁶ This level corresponds to a form of vocational training where students receive training in a training centre and a company.

⁷ This level corresponds to Bachelor's degree, Masters, PhD or other higher education degrees.

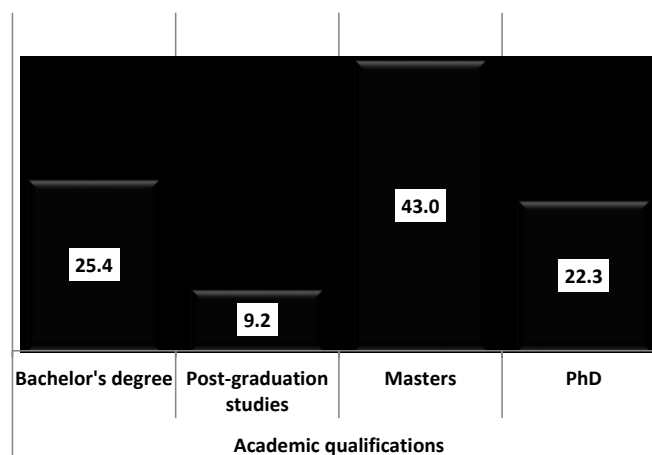
Social and demographic characterisation of the respondents: gender and age (%)



In terms of age, the sample is predominantly young (only 10.4% are over 39 years old). This can be justified by an extended juvenile period and delayed transition – into adult life, stable employment, destination family, own house –, but is additionally linked with easier access to transnational mobility networks and the difficulties experienced in finding a position in the Portuguese labour market that is compatible with the acquired qualifications (around 65% hold at least a Masters, particularly in the areas of Mathematics and Computer Studies, followed by Engineering and Social Science).

4.3. What are the academic degrees of qualified emigrants?

Academic qualification of the respondents (%)



The internal composition of the sample's qualifications shows that the majority of the respondents (74.5%) are postgraduate students – 43% have a Masters, 22.3%

are Ph.D.s and 9.2% finished a postgraduate course –, while the remaining 25.4% only have a Bachelor's degree.

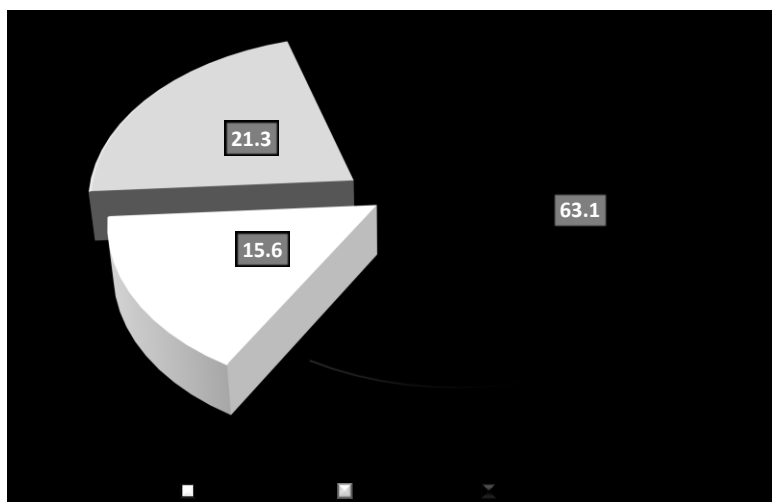
Subjects with Masters and Ph.D. qualifications are clearly overrepresented in the sample, if we consider that the equivalent figure is much lower in Portugal resident population up to 44 years old: 1.7% finished their Ph.D., 11.4% finished a Masters and 86.9% hold a Bachelor's degree. The trend seen in this sample suggests that the holders of higher and more specialised academic degrees account now for a bigger percentage of the qualified emigration in the latest years.

In 2014, only 16.5% of the Portuguese population aged 15 or older had at least a Bachelor's degree. In the age group between 25 and 34, the age group of a large part of our sample, that percentage increases to 28%, according to OECD data for 2012.

Hence, we are in the presence of a group of young people and young adults who have fully profited from the late school democratisation processes in Portugal and from the systematic implementation of a R&D public system.

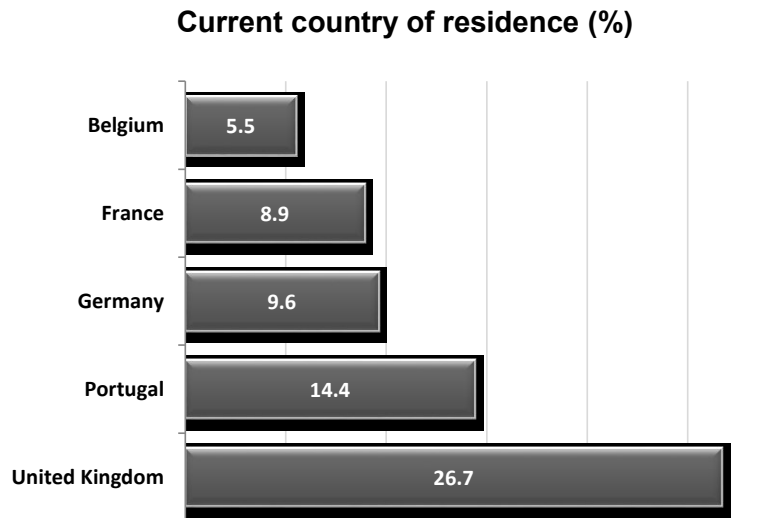
4.4. What was the year of the last emigration period?

Year of the last departure from Portugal (%)



Around 4/5 of the sample left Portugal at or after the onset of the crisis, as only 15.6% left the country before 2007. It is known that the impacts of such an intense economic context are not immediately absorbed. However, the number of departures shows beyond any doubt that 2008 was the big trigger: more than 20 thousand emigrants against a mere 7 890 in the previous year (Pordata).

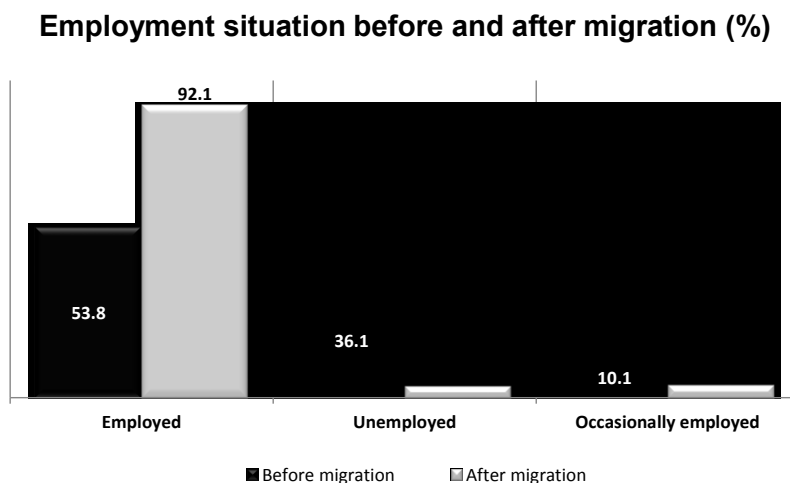
4.5. What's the current country of residence?



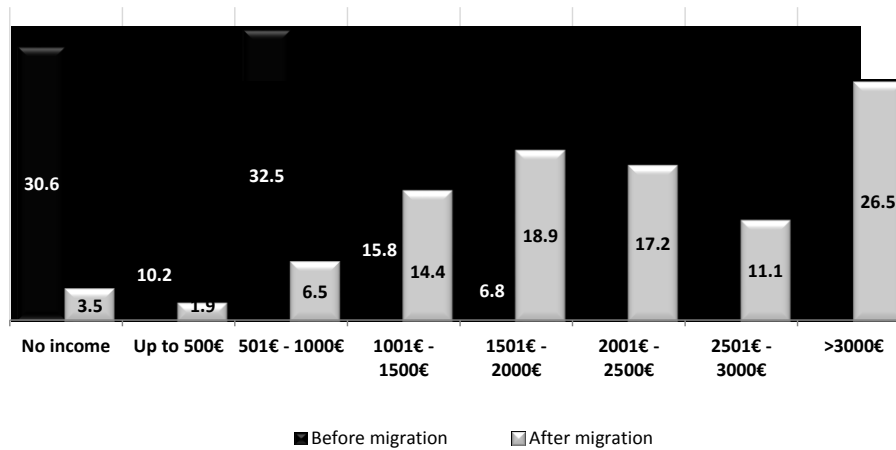
Looking into the current country of residence, we find that the United Kingdom (26.7%) as well as other countries in Central Europe (Germany, France and Belgium) are the major recipient countries. However, an unneglectable part of the sample was living in Portugal when they answered the questionnaire, a situation that may either mean they have successfully returned to Portugal (after credentials, experiences and social capital have been gained abroad) or that a transition is under way to other destinations.

4.6. What's the employment situation, before and after migration? What's the net monthly income, before and after migration?

Similarly, departure from Portugal is seen to have a notorious effect on employment: only 3.8% are unemployed at the destination country, whereas in Portugal the percentage was over 36%, an approximate value that is consistent with unemployment rates for these age groups.



Net monthly income before and after migration (%)

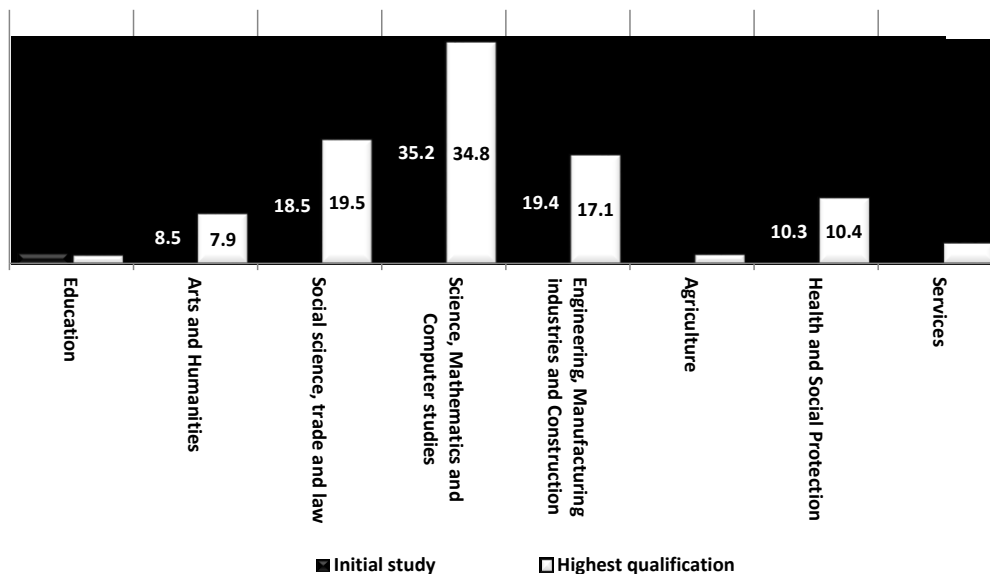


An important difference is also found in net monthly income: before departure, more than 70% earned less than 1 000 euros, whereas, at the destination country, over 50% earn more than 2 000 euros and 26.5% have a remuneration over 3 000 euros.

4.7. What's the scientific area of initial study and highest qualification?

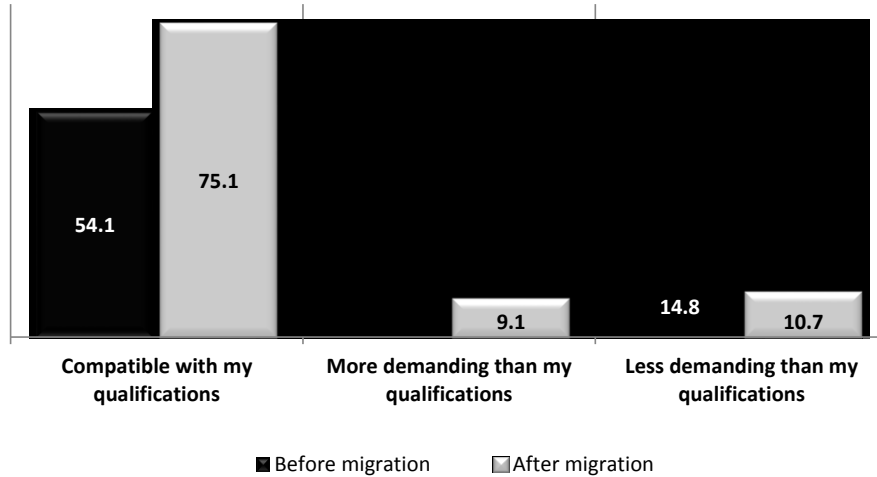
The respondents' initial area of study and the area of their highest qualification are often the same, with greater concentration in science, mathematics and computer studies (about 1/3), followed by social science, trade and law and, with similar numbers, engineering, manufacturing industries and construction. Therefore, there are no academic reskilling processes, but rather a logic of continuity, with the subjects' trend to further their initial areas of study.

Scientific area of initial study and highest qualification (%)



4.8. What's the relationship between job and academic qualifications?

Relationship between job and academic qualifications before and after migration (%)

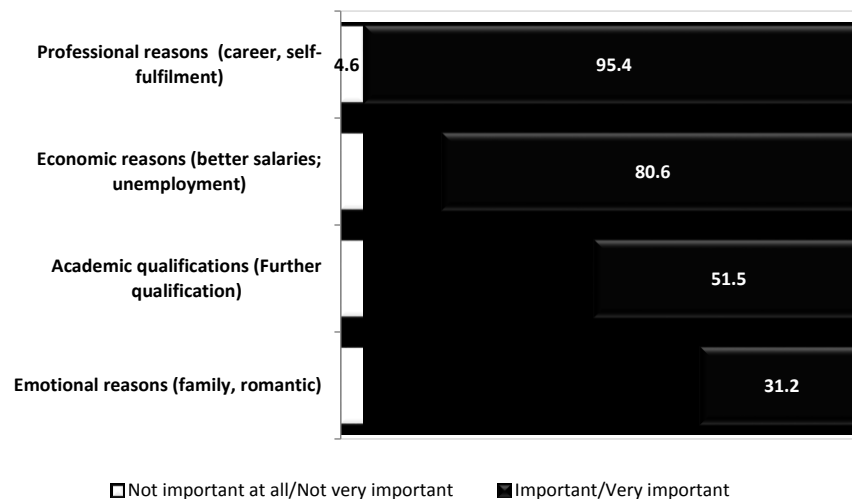


Considering that most respondents had jobs compatible with their academic qualifications, even before they migrated, the obvious conclusion is that the formal recognition of skills and organisational resources in Portugal wasn't clearly matched with the remuneration levels, let alone with career advancement opportunities.

An increase is also seen in the numbers of those who claim that their job at the destination country exceeds their academic qualifications. The perception of being underemployed is reduced, which might be related with greater career and training opportunities.

4.9. What are the reasons to migrate?

Reasons to migrate (%)

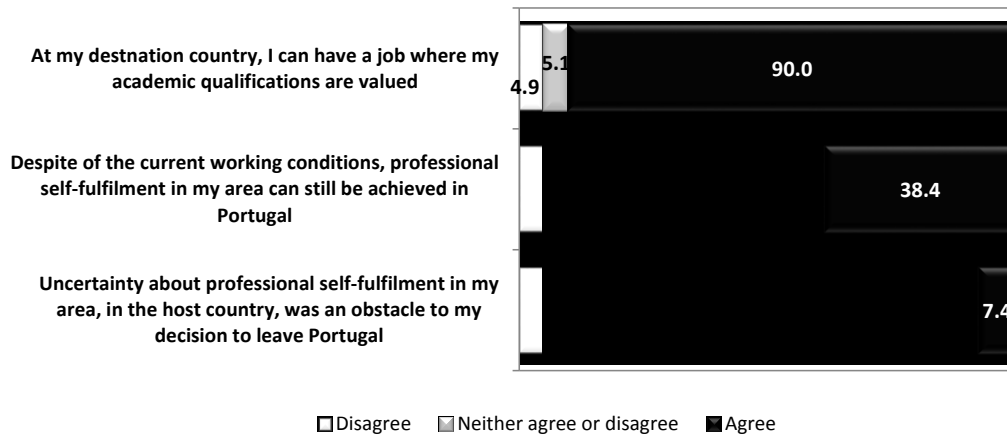


The decision to migrate is mainly driven by professional and economic reasons: the pursuit of a career where the subjects feel professionally fulfilled was pointed out by 95.4% of the respondents as the main reason that made them migrate. However, wages, together with unemployment or underemployment, also seem to strongly influence the decision to leave (80.6%). The fact that 46.2% of the sample was once unemployed or underemployed help us understand the relative weight of this reason. Although emotional reasons are relatively important, both family reunification and the existence of friendship networks at the destination countries clearly rank second in the hierarchy of the emigration driving motives.

4.9.1. Professional factors

Looking closely at the professional reasons that base the decision to migrate, we see that having academic qualifications that are highly valued at the destination country is the main pull factor (90% of agreement), supported by the subjects' claim that it isn't possible to achieve professional fulfilment in Portugal.

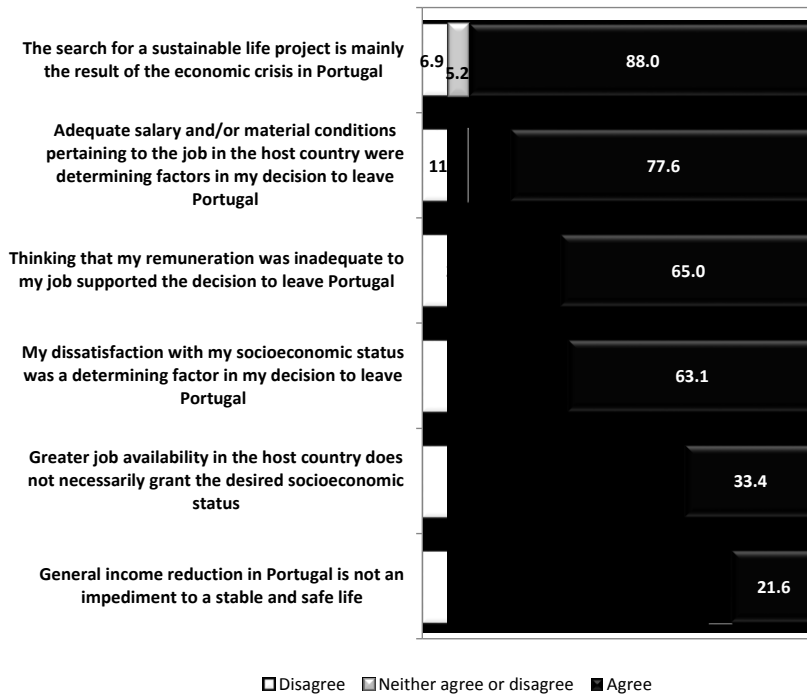
Level of agreement: professional indicators (%)



4.9.2. Economic factors

The breaking down of some economic indicators shows their relative impact on the decision to migrate: firstly, the economic crisis seen as a push factor; then the inadequacy of remuneration in the country of origin, closely followed by dissatisfaction with their social and economic status in Portugal and the perception of insecurity and instability caused by reduced income. On the other hand, a perception of salary adequacy and greater availability of jobs at the destination countries stand out as the main economic indicators leading to migration.

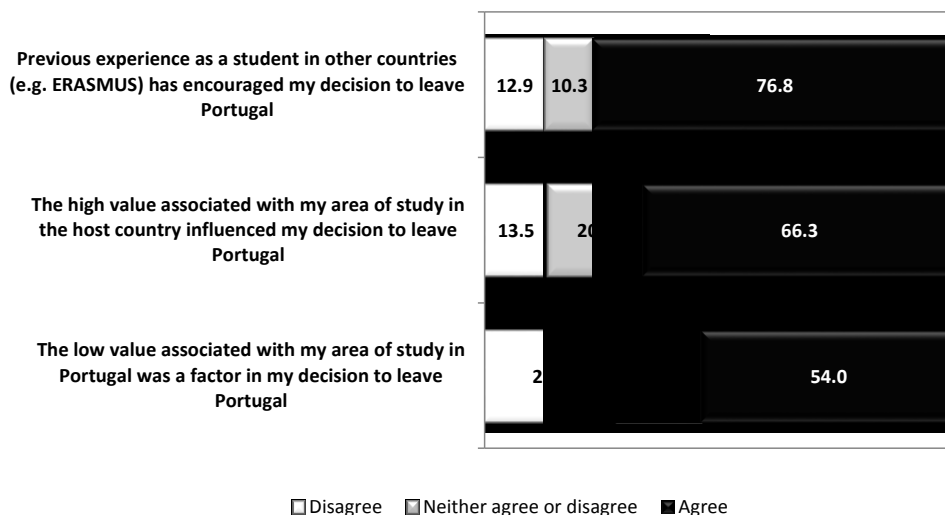
Level of agreement: economic indicators (%)



4.9.3. Academic factors

Among academic reasons, academic mobility experiences in other countries are identified as the most important drive, followed by the perception that their area of study is highly valued at the destination country. These indicators clearly show how academic mobility and the students' cost-benefit analysis of the experience work to turn latent brain drain into a more determined decision to migrate to central European countries.

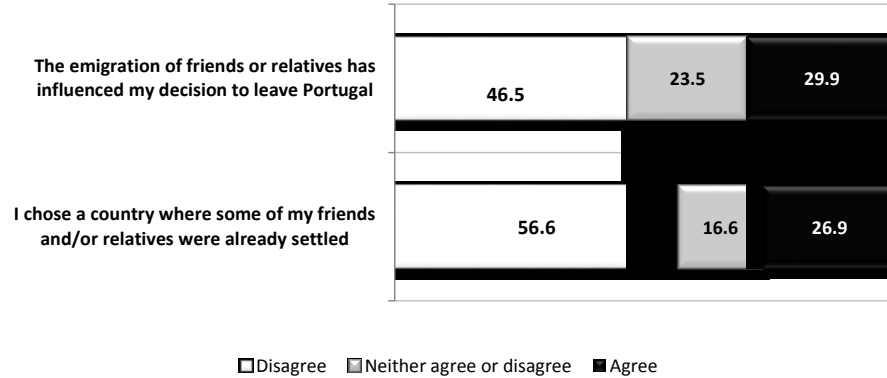
Level of agreement: academic indicators (%)



4.9.4. Emotional factors

Unlike the traditional emigration processes, qualified emigrants find no significant drive to migrate in their family, friendship or emotional networks.

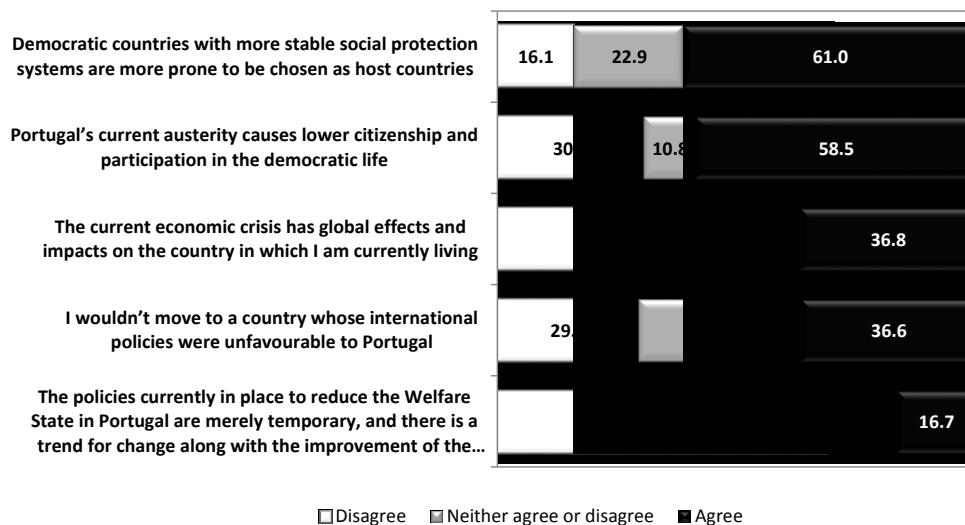
Level of agreement: emotional and friendship indicators (%)



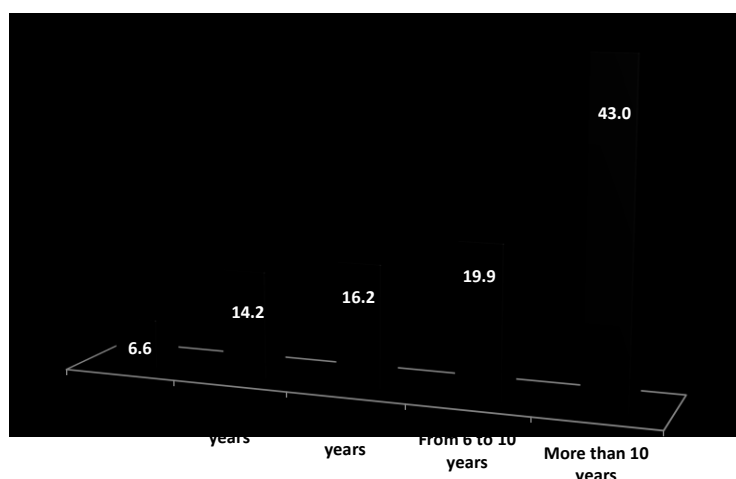
4.9.5. Social and political factors

The nature of a country's social contract is important in the choice of the destination country. Subjects tend to choose countries where the social welfare state and the citizen participation are fully consolidated. On the other hand, respondents claim that the policies meant to limit the social welfare state in Portugal are not temporary, and that equivalent policies haven't got such serious and obvious consequences in the countries where they are currently living.

Level of agreement: social and political indicators (%)



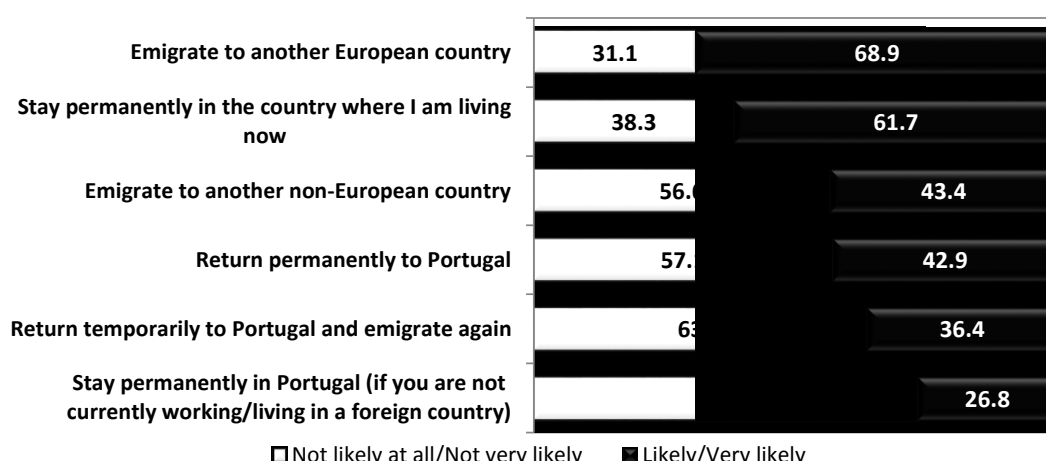
4.10. Is the decision to migrate a short, medium or long-term decision?



One of the aspects that may cause a loss of human capital in the country of origin is the duration of the emigration period. The majority of respondents state that mobility was initially planned as a temporary solution but their actual experience turned the initial plan into a medium (30.4%) or long-term (62.9%)⁸ expectation.

Most respondents accept the idea of “lifelong” emigration in the current country of residence or in other European countries (61.7% and 68.9% respectively). The perception of a long-lasting crisis in Portugal is also associated with the decision to work abroad for a longer period and with the expectation to return only when their professional career has been consolidated (42.9%).

Expectations for the future (%)



⁸ Within this study, “medium-term emigration” includes the expectation to live out of Portugal for a 2 to 5 year period and “long-term emigration” includes the expectation to live out of Portugal for 6 or more years.

5. SOCIOLOGICAL PORTRAITS

Sociological portraits arise as a methodological device able of capturing a double plurality in individual trajectories: on the one hand, the plurality of internal dispositions, considering their origin, unequal “strength” and systematicity; and, on the other hand, the plurality of contexts, as an external factor, associated with the multiplicity of processes, agencies and socialisation contexts or ways of life. In other words, we are plural individuals set in equally plural contexts. Bernard Lahire (2002) offers a grand theory that has the merit of accommodating contemporary plurality and complexity. Within the genealogy of the theory of practice, the French author developed a series of research projects and eventually proposed a programme based on the plural actor. The plural actor is exposed to multiple socialisation principles, differently updated throughout one’s pathway and strongly related with areas of activity, situations and contexts.

Lahire goes as far as to propose that the concept of *habitus* be definitely abandoned and replaced with the notion of *dispositions individual heritage*. This proposal has a particular focus on the repertoires of dispositions, with their different origins, activation degrees and strength.

In fact, extensive research work has shown that dispositions are transferred under a given number of conditions. Some situations activate and mobilise them, while others inhibit or make them dormant. The dispositions themselves have uneven degrees of robustness, highly dependent on their origin (the particular way how the socialisation process – which is always plural, more or less contradictory and activated by multiple agents, even within the family – has developed in a specific individual). This way, it is important to understand the details of intra-individual variations, how each individual unfolds into multiple commitments and metamorphoses along their different areas of action. This is the scope in which Lahire proposes sociological portraits as a methodological device.

The idea is not to consider an autonomous individual, able to exercise free will, or otherwise fragmented. Quite on the contrary, the intention here is to analyse the individual’s complex social production. After all, the individual is multi-socialised and multi-determined. Individuals, as socialised and socialising bodies, draw paths that mirror the invisible architecture of the social forces, by developing ways of relating with themselves and with their surrounding contexts and situations. This form of self-production incorporates the heaviest social constraints and does not fall short to any magic and illusive theories of free will. Lahire refers to this process as the constitution of singular social folds, arguing for the complementary autonomy and pertinence of an

observation scale and an analysis level that mustn't be abandoned by sociologists, or their analysis will be inescapably short-sighted.

However, the individual observation scale does not exclude others: at a medium level, interaction frameworks and institutions (Lopes & Costa, 2014); at a macro structural level, positions in social space. In a way, the "interior" is nothing more than a folded "exterior". Says Lahire: "No existence is possible for individuals out of the social fabric (...) the fibres of that fabric, as they interweave, are the constitutional elements of each individual" (Lahire, 2013, p. 16), thus forming a kind of singularity coefficient. That coefficient is precisely what we intend to put under our magnifying lens, by applying this methodological device.

Three major goals were defined: i) to apprehend the plural heritage of dispositions that forms the *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1983) of these subjects; ii) to establish a relation between unequal origin systems and unequal pathways; iii) to promote biographic reflexivity. To be noted, however, that in this research, portraits were at all moments centred on the migratory experience(s). This is not about writing a life story, but rather drawing the line that led to emigration.

Therefore, the sociological portrait can then be considered as a technical device at the service of a theory of practice based on the plural and contextual origin of dispositions, as guidelines to thinking, perceiving the world, feeling and acting.

The provisional conclusions, the evidence and the gaps resulting from the data analysis (of the focus groups and, more particularly, of the survey-questionnaire) provided the guidelines to prepare the interview script⁹ for the sociological portraits (Lahire, 2002).

In order to gather a contact base for interviews and sociological portraits, a call for participation was prepared (using an *online* form), and sent to groups and associations of qualified Portuguese abroad, to the contacts previously gathered in the survey-questionnaire and to the project research team's contacts.

Twelve individuals were interviewed in each of the four type-profiles defined from the beginning of the project. This number would allow to portray biographic diversity and, at the same time, show regularities in decisive and defining aspects of the migratory path.

Based on the comparative study of the four type-profiles, it was looked for comparison, translation and transfer factors and processes. The resulting generalisation is not based on statistical probability and representativeness, but rather on analysis depth, intensity and density.

⁹ See Annex III for the interview script of the sociological portraits.

A total of 53 people were interviewed, resulting in 53 sociological portraits of qualified Portuguese who migrated to other European countries. The interviews were face-to-face, and over Skype in some cases, when a second face-to-face interview proved impossible.

A set of criteria has been taken into consideration in selecting the interviewees, to ensure diversity of gender, age, host country and professional area within each type-profile. Yet, some countries are predominant, which is not only the result of the contact base gathered but also a reflex of the greater numbers of qualified emigrants in certain countries, according to official estimates.

5.1. Characterisation of the portrayed

Similarly to the focus groups, a pre-interview form was also filled in at this stage. The goal was to collect social and demographic data and to generally characterise the individuals' migratory paths, so that interviews could be more focused on the relevant matters.

The sample is mostly comprised of women (64.2%), young people (88.6% are under 40), single (50.9%), with no children (80.8%) and highly educated (66.1% have a Masters or a Ph.D.), matching the basic characteristics of the focus groups' sample.

For the majority of the respondents, the highest qualification (72.5%) was obtained in Portugal. The remaining respondents qualified abroad, some in their current country of residence: 7.8% of the respondents qualified in Germany, 3.9% in Spain and in the Netherlands, and next, with lower figures, in the United Kingdom, Norway, Belgium, Italy, and also in Portugal-Germany and Portugal-United Kingdom combined systems.

Table 5.1 – 1: Social and demographic characterisation of the interviewees

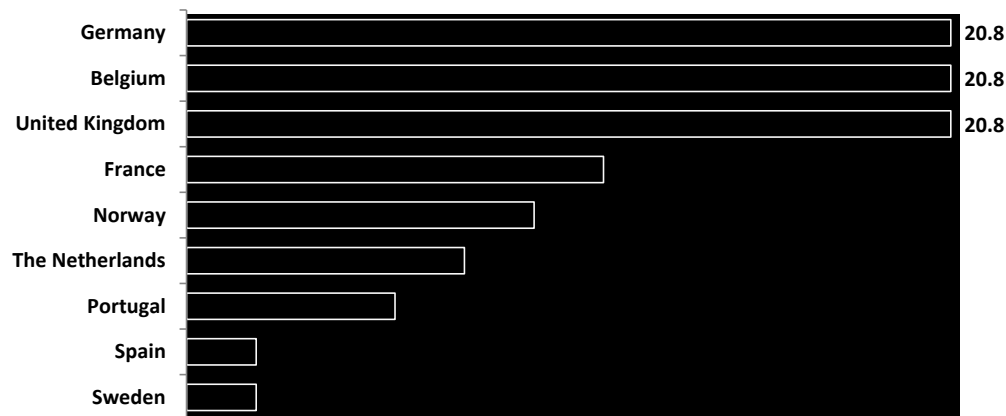
		N	%
Gender	Male	19	35.8
	Female	34	64.2
Age groups	Up to 25 years old	5	9.4
	26 - 29 years old	12	22.6
	30 - 39 years old	30	56.6
	40 - 49 years old	6	11.3
Marital status	Single	27	50.9
	Married	11	20.8
	Unmarried partner	15	28.3
Children	Yes	10	18.9
	No	43	81.1

		N	%
Academic qualifications	Bachelor's degree	15	28.3
	Postgraduate studies	3	5.7
	Masters	25	47.2
	Ph.D.	10	18.9

Among the respondents who were married or unmarried partners, only two were not living at the time with their partners, who were then living in Portugal. The decision to leave Portugal was for the most of them (75%) their own initiative and only 25% of the respondents state that the decision was motivated by their partner's initiative. Emigration was planned for 76.5% of the respondents, whereas 15.7% left the country on invitation and 7.8% state that departure was unexpected.

As for the country of residence, as in Graph 5.1 – 1, highlight goes to Germany, Belgium and the United Kingdom, accounting for 20.8% of the individuals. But our respondents also include residents in France, Norway, the Netherlands, Spain and Sweden. 5.7% of the respondents were living in Portugal, that is, they had temporarily returned to Portugal at the time of the interview.

Graphs 5.1 – 1: Country of residence at the moment of the interview (%)

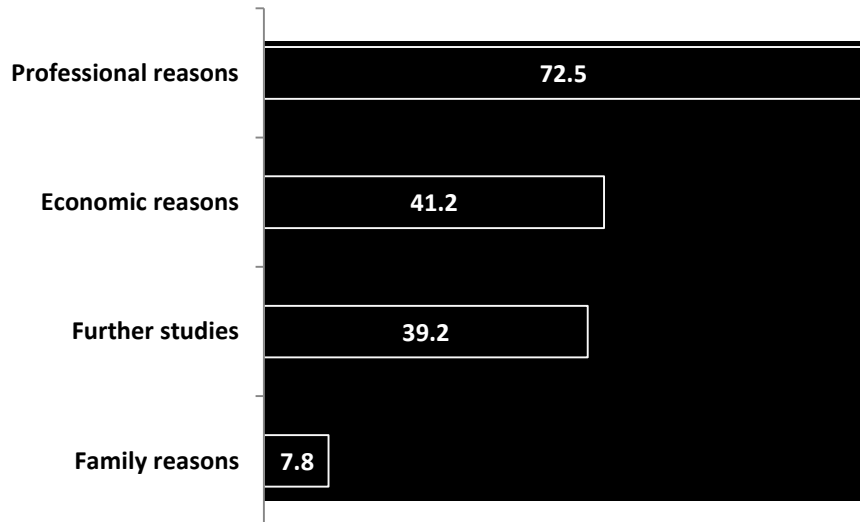


Consistent with the previously obtained data, the date of arrival in the host country was 2011 or later for 66% of the respondents (18% in 2011; 26% in 2012; 18% in 2013; and 4% in 2014), and 60.8% of the respondents had already lived in another country (other than Portugal or the country of residence) for over 6 months. Regarding Portugal, only 7.8% of the respondents stated that they had returned to Portugal for over 6 months.

Among the reasons that motivated the departure of our respondents, highlight goes to professional reasons, pointed out by 72.5% of the respondents (Graph 5.1 – 2)

and followed by economic reasons (41.2%). Further studies is also a significant item, mentioned by 39.2% of the respondents.

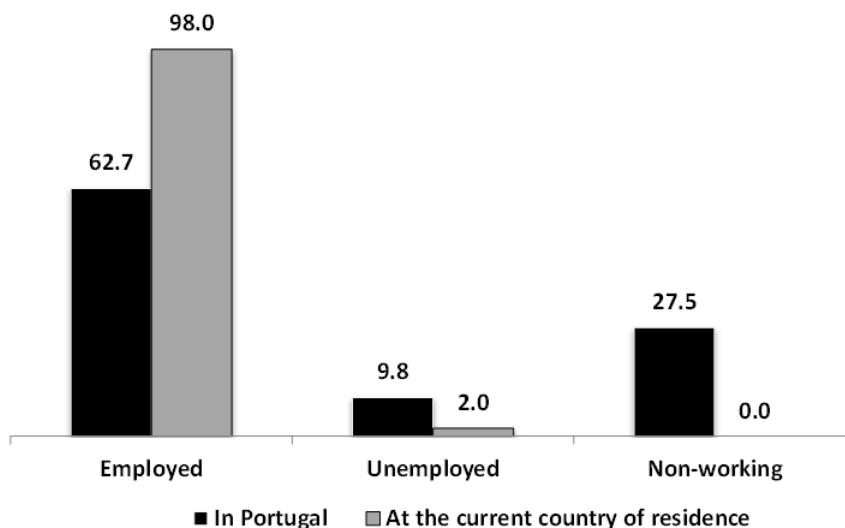
Graph 5.1 – 2: Reasons stated to leave the country



The networks available to the respondents in the host country when they migrated are another important aspect. In fact, 60.8% of the respondents refer that they had connections in their country of residence. From these, 56.7% point out contact with friends and 26.7% mention contact with professional colleagues in the host country. The remaining are divided into 16.7% having contact with Portuguese professional colleagues; 16.7% with business connections; 10% with family connections; and 3.3% mentioned employment agencies.

About their professional situation, the majority of the respondents (62.7%) were employed in Portugal, a number rising to 98% in the host country (Graph 5.1 – 3).

Graph 5.1 – 3: Professional situation before and after migration (%)

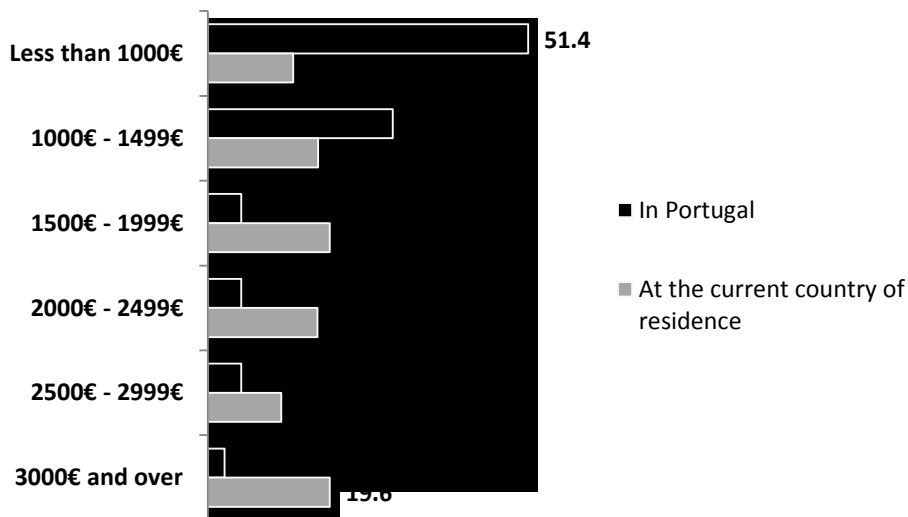


From the respondents who were employed in Portugal, 50% were on an indefinite term contract, and the other 50% are equally divided into respondents on a fixed-term contract and self-employed respondents. If we look at the situation in the host country, the values are slightly changed: 52% are on an indefinite term contract, 36% on a fixed-term contact and 12% are self-employed.

To be noted that 87.8% of the respondents have a job that is compatible with or exceeds their academic qualifications. Still, 12.2% say they are underemployed.

The figures that show the biggest difference in professional situation before and after migration are related with salary (Graph 5.1 – 4): more than half the respondents (51.4%) earned less than 1 000€ in Portugal, whereas an impressive 49% in the host country have a monthly income higher than 2 000€.

Graph 5.1 – 4: Net monthly income before and after migration (%)



About future plans and possible return to Portugal, it is evident that that will not happen in the short or medium term: 51.1% of the respondents say they will stay in the host country for more than 5 years (Table 5.1 – 2). In the long-term, only 25.5% of the respondents admit the possibility of returning permanently to Portugal. As we shall see further ahead, when portraits are analysed, the return, even if it's considered by some, is generally regarded as a remote possibility, projected into the distant future, probably after retirement.

Table 5.1 – 2: Time of permanence in the country of residence and long-term plans (%)

		%
Time of permanence in the current country of residence	Up to 1 year	8.9
	2 years	11.1
	3 years	22.2
	5 years	6.7
	Between 5 and 10 years	22.2
	Over 10 years	28.9
	Total	100
Long-term plans	Emigrate to another non-European country	3.9
	Emigrate to another European country	5.9
	Return temporarily to Portugal and emigrate again	5.9
	Stay permanently in the country where I am living now	7.8
	Return permanently to Portugal	25.5
	No plans yet	51.0
	Total	100

5.2. Analysis of the sociological portraits per type-profile

The sociological portraits drawn originated the publishing of two books: one printed book, published by Bertrand, including 20 portraits (five per each type-profile); and one e-book containing the remaining portraits not published in the previous book.

With a view to account for: the wide diversity of migratory trajectories, reflecting the different life projects of their respective subjects; the multiple social and geographic departure and arrival points, with just as multiple intermediate waypoints; the different levels of success or failure, and several degrees of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the personal and professional situation experienced during the mobility; the analysis carried out on the portraits in each type-profile is presented below, including a summary of the 20 published portraits. The portraits chosen for this selection were those that, on the one hand, provide greater amount of information on the migratory pathway and, on the other hand, show significant dimensions of trajectory diversity.

5.2.1. Type-profile: migration to a European country to work in the scientific or higher education system

The following portraits narrate the journey of young Portuguese researchers who made a choice to work in the scientific system of several European countries.

Their routes show how academic career management is ever more tied with international mobility, as part of a process intended to promote exchange of the ways of doing science and generating knowledge. European science policies are not neutral in this matter. Incentives to individual career internationalisation and to institutional joint projects are increasingly rising. Mobility tends to be strongly encouraged by research and higher education institutions; integrated in European policies, supported by research funding schemes (successive framework programmes and the current Horizon 2020), and training strategies based on programmes such as Life-long Learning (Erasmus, Leonardo Da Vinci, Comenius and Grundtvig, presently Erasmus+).

Almost all of the followed pathways result from international student mobility experiences, except for one researcher aged over 40. This proves that the policies related with the construction of the European space have indeed a significant impact, with the offer of international training opportunities targeting the youngest generation of scientists. Mobility appears as a generational decision, and is perceived, more strongly so in Europe, as an integrate part of the latest generations' educational project, meant to consolidate "European awareness" and "European identity". The increase in the number of individual Ph.D. and post-doctoral scholarships, both mixed and international, granted by the Foundation for Science and Technology [*Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia*], up to the mid-2000s, has equally contributed to enhance the conditions for the mobility and circulation of the new generation of scientists. Most of the portrayed subjects migrated with the purpose of doing advanced studies, with mobility opportunities enlarged by the formal recruitment processes launched by European research and higher education institutions.

Biographies are enriched, and language and cross-sectional skills such as flexibility and cultural eclecticism are improved. These mobile scientists seem to be more receptive to new ideas and concepts, as well as to the establishment and consolidation of weak yet extended social ties. Additionally, they have the potential to turn social networks into economic resources for research. These subjects are human capital relevant for both the original and the host countries, for the internationalisation and the quality of research and higher education, and also for the development of transnational networks. Trajectories are often made of multiple mobility, with widely variable durations, making it difficult to differentiate between mobility and emigration in our analysis.

Academic mobility is not seen by the majority as inevitable or as a direct consequence of the economic crisis that has taken over the country, but rather as a career strategy, in a country located in the European scientific, economic and cultural

semi-periphery. While some refer to the appealing challenge of turning the potential of scientific communities into actual knowledge and technologies transfer, they also acknowledge that national and European institutions do very little to make this a reality.

In contemporary societies, transition to adult life autonomy is a multiple process subject to great diversity, and entails more than the moment when the young leave their original families to start their own. Aged between 24 and 43, most of our portrayed, with the one exception of the person who is now over 40, are experiencing a transition processes into adult life that run parallel with the migratory process. These are transition processes that, in the words of Guerreiro & Abrantes (2007), may be characterised as “professional transitions” and “experimental transitions”. The life experiences of the young scientists show a sequence of more or less temporary and heterogenous settings, such as living alone, sharing a house with co-workers and friends, living in student houses, living with a partner, having children outside marriage, getting married and having children.

Nevertheless, these young adults tend to consider that their lives are divided into two different periods: the first, when they have no major responsibilities, is dedicated to experimenting the surrounding world (five of our respondents are not involved in any romantic relationship), even if the majority of the subjects does not have major family projects (from the 12 interviewees, only two have children and one mentions the wish to have them); the second period, when they seek emotional stability – in some cases, there is a romantic relationship, usually in the post-doctorate period – and a professional status able to ensure greater stability. A minority among the interviewees migrated with their families, just like a minority started a family at the destination country, with no significant differences between men and women.

Making their way into adult life, as they go through “professional transitions” and “experimental transitions”, these young people – with prestigious, well remunerated and highly competitive jobs and fast progressing careers – experience academic work as a *continuum*, in a “long working times culture”. In such a context, it is hard to reconcile professional and personal life, and these two spheres of life tend to overlap. This *continuum* is the outcome of a strong investment made in pursuing studies and making a career in the academic world, in many cases involving precarious dynamics and multiple mobilities. These contribute to postpone the fulfilment of personal, cultural and sports interests, *hobbies* and romantic relationships, and force them to live in “extended presents” or in a “return to adolescence”. Geographic mobility also seems to favour the experimenting of different jobs and the acquaintance with new realities, being at the same time a true accelerator of usually slower transitions. In the process, personal development is enhanced with multiple personal, professional and cultural

experiences. The result is maximised individualization and diversification of lifestyles, as well as a considerable increase of weak bonding sociability networks.

Considering the age range comprehended in the portraits, relation with work can assume very different forms, depending not only on the moment when work is started but also on the individuals' notion of work, partially determined by the fact that they spent most of their working life in Portugal as scholarship holders. Thus, if, on one end of the age range, we find a 24-year old researcher who is currently doing her Ph.D., on the opposite end, there is a 43-year old researcher with a long working background. Collaborations of a precarious nature, not necessarily related with the subjects' area of study, can be found in practically all cases, and are often related with the respondents' immediate need to ensure their own resources – also necessary to materialise later options to carry on their studies. Working opportunities related with the respondents' area of study tend to occur within the scope of research projects and scholarship remuneration.

The working experiences offered by the migratory process are seen differently, because researchers usually work under a contract of employment, pay tax, make social security payments and feel integrated in the labour market while they're doing their Ph.D. or post-doctoral studies. Recognising mobility as an intrinsic characteristic of research work is to admit that working and living conditions will have to adapt to that characteristic, whether in Portugal or in another country, with or without an economic crisis.

The professional factor seems to be the most determining in leaving or staying in the country where the mobility experience took place. In some cases, this option is justified by the subject's intention to specialise further in an area for which Portugal offers no sustainable opportunities; in other cases, the precarious nature of the options available in the Portuguese market is what drives people to seek opportunities beyond the national territory. Even though the financial issue cannot be said to be a minor concern, the possibility of career advancement and recognition of professional merit in the preferred area appear to be more relevant than remuneration or geographic location. Institutional support for the choices made is highly valued by the subjects, which, again, underlines how important the professional factor is. Therefore, it is only fair to say that mobility is further motivated by pull factors at the destination country than by push factors in Portugal.

In an attempt to characterise employability in the Portuguese context, one must consider the specificities of working in the scientific area. The labour market in Portugal is increasingly precarious. Scholarships fail to meet the requirements of a contract of employment and the State has gradually reduced investment in research policies over

the latest years. The other conditions offered are also inadequate to a type of work requiring in-depth studies: the organisational model does not value new skills or new ways of working; the companies do not integrate or recognise new skills available in the labour market; selection and recruitment continue to be based on documental curricular tests instead of interviews with objective scenarios presented for problem solving. The impossibility to find an appropriate job gives subjects no alternative but to leave the country.

Academically highly qualified and successful individuals meet a domestic labour market unable to absorb those resources, and shift their attention to the international scene, now perceived as a global market.

General perception is that the existing conditions before the systemic crisis of 2008 were not the best but provided at least encouraging grounds for the development of a scientific career in Portugal. A recent dramatic change in public policies for science resulted in the underfunding of scientific research and this, in turn, became an individualist, unstable and project-based activity. These changes affected individual candidates¹⁰, and research institutions alike. Reduced funding¹¹ makes it impossible for researchers to consider the possibility of a career in their country of origin, whether in the short or in the long term, as it is generally believed that the former conditions will not be reset before one to two decades from now.

Even if we think that we are players in a global market, and that making a career abroad may have positive consequences for the country – as knowledge and technology tend to circulate – the general perception is that Portugal will always be in disadvantage, mainly because the country fails to capitalise on the investment made in the education of migrating professionals. Therefore, Portugal tends to subsidise rich countries (that attract and receive Portuguese brains), as their growth relies also on the concentration of human capital.

Some predict an extreme evolution towards underdevelopment. The anticipated scenario features a marked asymmetry between the few who work in well-paid, socially protected economic and cutting-edge technological areas, while the vast majority will be working in unprotected areas, with poor or intermittent remuneration and low or medium qualifications.

The portraits grouped in this profile share a number of specific characteristics that might not be initially relevant to the decision to migrate – since circulation is an integrate part of the scientists' training and professional process – but turn rapidly into

¹⁰ In 2012, FCT granted approximately the same number of individual scholarships as in 2004. Compared to 2012, the results of the application process in 2013 revealed 40 and 65% reductions, for doctoral and post-doctoral scholarships respectively (FCT/MEC; PORDATA).

¹¹ From the 322 research centres evaluated in 2014, only 11 were rated «Exceptional».

a key factor in deciding not to return to Portugal. Seen in this light, mobility can hardly be considered a reversible process.

YARA REIS: “I WAS BORN UPROOTED”

Yara is 34 years old and was born in Maputo. She currently lives in Berlin with her boyfriend and their 18-month old daughter. She had a three-month academic mobility experience and finished her doctorate in 2011, both in Heidelberg.

Geographic mobility and emigration have long been part of her personal, academic and professional life, which makes her say of herself that she is a person “with no roots”. Nevertheless, her concern to teach her daughter to speak Portuguese and her wish to return to Portugal (even if only as a retiree) suggest contradictory feelings and show how much her perspective of past, present and future is conditioned by the cultural aspect.

Her academic and professional background was influenced by her parents’ high qualifications and the credentials of other members of the extended family, namely an uncle and an aunt. Mainly a researcher, she has nonetheless been always involved in other professional activities. Her associational activity is closely related with the unequal status of a researcher in Portugal and Germany.

ALEXANDRE FARIA: BETWEEN THE SCIENTIFIC CAREER AND EMOTIONAL TIES IN PORTUGAL

Alexandre Faria is 25 years old and comes from a family with strong academic resources. His father is a Physics professor in a Portuguese public university and his mother is the curator of the Museum of Science in the same university. With a Masters in Engineering Physics, he has accumulated academic and social capital, drawing a pathway that somehow mimics his father’s academic career.

After a student mobility experience in Canterbury, he migrated to the United Kingdom in 2012 to work as a doctorate student and assistant professor in the Physics Department of the University of Kent.

Undecided yet about whether or not he will return to Portugal after his doctorate, he admits that the course of his life will depend on the opportunities for professional fulfilment. Although Portugal is in his future plans – he still feels emotionally attached to the country – State reduced investment on science may eventually doom the project to come back.

ÂNGELA RELÓGIO: “FOR SCIENTISTS, THE WORLD IS OUR HOME”

Ângela Relógio is 39 years old and moved to Berlin in 2006 to start her second post-doctorate. That's where she has lived up to this day, working as principal researcher. She manages a 1.3 million euro research budget funded by the German Ministry for Science and Education (BMBF) and works with her own independent team. Ângela was born in Beja and is an only child. She spent her childhood in Ferreira do Alentejo, and mentions grandparents from her mother's side as key figures in her life. Her mother is an economist and her father, a farmer, used to manage a family flour company but is now retired. After her parents' divorce, when she was seven, Ângela got two sisters from her father's second marriage. In spite of having been an only child for most of her childhood, she remembers her many friends, both boys and girls, and how they used to play out in the street in a highly sociable atmosphere, typical of a small town where everyone knows one another.

Ângela's academic background is rather stable, not only in terms of the options made, but also in terms of her results. According to her, school involved no difficulty up to the secondary level. The challenge was first faced when she started her degree in Engineering Physics, at *Instituto Superior Técnico* in Lisbon. Although Medicine has always had a special place in her heart, her final choice was for Physics, but all optional subjects taken were related with the medical area. She transferred directly into doctorate, in a programme where the first year was to be done in Portugal with the option to do the following years abroad. Ângela took the opportunity and started her doctoral programme in the European Molecular Biology Laboratory (EMBL) in Heidelberg, Germany, where she would later do her first post-doctorate.

The choice to continue along the same pathway also involved emotional reasons, as Ângela got married to a German co-worker she met at the EMBL. She later decided to live in Berlin, a decision that was highly determined by how well both she and her husband knew the German research system. The two children born in the meantime, as much as a number of concerns that go way beyond professional choices, were eventually decisive for that choice.

Returning to Portugal is not in her plans; she admits it might be an option to consider, but has a critical view of the Foundation for the Science and Technology, saying there is no real strategy in place to capitalise on the investment made in the training of high qualified graduates.

JOANA BATISTA: “IT WAS THE SCARIEST DECISION I HAVE EVER HAD TO MAKE IN MY ENTIRE LIFE”

Joana Batista is 25 years old and migrated initially to London, in 2013, to join her boyfriend. She later settled in Cambridge, where she started work as Research Assistant in haematology. Her mother works in a factory and her father, who has recently migrated, is a construction foreman. An only child, Joana was born and spent all her childhood and youth in Alcochete, where she built strong friendship ties. Her economically stable household changed dramatically “when the crisis set in”. Facing a whole new situation, she was forced to work since she was 17, as she realised that her projects wouldn’t materialise unless she could provide for her own needs.

For Joana, school was a relatively stable experience until university. From a very early stage, Health was her favourite area of study. In secondary school, Medicine was her focus – also because she was unaware of other alternatives –, and research became a goal to pursue when she was about to enter university. Joana applied for a degree in Biomedical Sciences in Histocellular Pathology, but failed admission “by two decimal points”, which filled her with frustration. Then, she decided to do a degree in Clinical Analyses and Public Health, at Lisbon School of Health Technology. Her plan was to transfer to Anatomical Pathology at the end of the first year but, finally, she decided to carry on her training.

She lived through a difficult post-degree period, finding it hard to access the labour market, particularly in her area of training. She had a number of different professional experiences, although she does not consider them as proper work. She was self-employed, doing precarious, low-paid, part-time jobs. A professional experience in a laboratory in Sweden, during the last year of her degree, within the Erasmus programme, gave her the chance to compare entirely different working and organisational models. This experience confirmed her growing feeling that finding a job and a remuneration compatible with her qualifications would be challenging, and made her realise she didn’t identify with the structure and the working organisation in the companies she worked for.

The stable situation she now has in Cambridge, working on a contract, in her area of interest, motivated her to join a Masters Degree. She admits that returning to Portugal is not part of her plans as long as her current situation offers the potential to grow professionally and as a person. She claims: “At this moment, I feel self-fulfilled and I’ve got short and medium-term projects that give me the stability I need to make my stay possible.”

MANUELA ALCOBIA: “PORTUGAL IS A GREAT PLACE TO LIVE AND BE ON HOLIDAY, BUT IT IS NOT A GOOD PLACE TO WORK”

Manuela Alcobia is 43 years old and she migrated to London in 2013, opening the door to family reunification at the destination country. Married and mother of three children, this civil servant with a stable career views this as a moment to take stock of her life, and to consider a “new start”. She embarked on the adventure after she had to endure a major cutdown in income, a result of the economic reforms affecting the wages of civil servants. Her husband, with a job in the private sector, also experienced some instability and, at some point, it was obvious the household wouldn't be able to keep their intended living standard.

Manuela's trajectory in school shows an early preference for her area of study – biochemistry. The only moment of doubt was after she finished her degree and had to find compatible job opportunities. In fact, the area of chemistry was first chosen in the 9th grade and followed in secondary school until she started a degree in Biochemistry. After finishing, she started a second degree in Pharmacy but dropped out in the third year. She had a compatible job offer and was pregnant of her first child. She later finished her Masters, as a working student and a full-time mother.

Mobility didn't come into her life as a top priority option, but rather as the only alternative. Being co-responsible for a five people household, putting an end to a 13-year old professional relationship with an unpaid leave required thorough consideration and careful planning, in order to ensure a relatively smooth transition, considering all the variables at stake; after all, not only her own future, but also her husband's and, mainly, her three under aged children's is on the line.

Today, Manuela believes that the final balance is positive, but says that, as a couple, they take only baby-steps. Their everyday life is more determined by the need to provide children with certain opportunities, and more personal projects are pushed into the long-term. Returning to Portugal is clearly not an option because, as she says, Portugal “is not a good place to work”, which in itself limits the quality of life.

5.2.2. Type-profile: long-term emigration to a European country, to work in the primary or secondary sectors of the employment system

The portraits included in this group have working experience and professional integration as their common background, both before and after the migratory experience. The subjects' trajectories and experience in the Portuguese working reality left them a feeling of disappointment and discontent, regardless of their respective working areas. Although the working conditions in Portugal were among the factors that

motivated departure, these workers tend to see them less as the causes that made them leave and more as the reasons that make them stay. Particularly in the artistic or scientific areas of work, the two major fields of the so-called creative societies – where flexibility is seen as a plus, certainly a consequence of the contemporary capitalistic rhetoric –, the perception of precariousness is very intense in Portugal.

There is a tension between what is claimed to be a source of social and economic development, and also an opportunity to reinforce citizenship, and the precarious situation of employment experienced by many professionals in this sector. An emergent *cluster* of working precariousness and poorly remunerated occupations seems to be the counterpoint to the rhetoric of the creative classes.

All the subjects in this case had past working experiences in Portugal before they migrated. Some were unemployed or had precarious, little motivating and unsatisfying jobs, both financially and in terms of their personal and professional development.

This set of portraits shows a negative view of how the country's social and economic situation will evolve in the future and offers an enraged critique of the governments who, instead of making good use of highly qualified manpower as their most valuable asset, encourage workers to go abroad and seem unable to call them back. Alternatives and support to the young people who have just finished their degrees are considered to be absent but necessary. Promoting economic recovery, fair treatment of citizens and maternity support are the measures advanced by a generation of young people who felt pushed away by a country that couldn't make good use of them. Even when the decision to leave was the response to a professional challenge or when it was motivated by the wish to experience and know other cultures and realities, the feeling that Portugal is wasting highly qualified human resources seems to be unanimous. A murmur of anger runs through these portraits. For this group, emigration is less an option than a need. The country's situation and, particularly the employment situation of young people was, for most of them, the decisive reason to migrate.

Whether they will return or not is the question they all ask themselves at some time of their migratory trajectory, and the answer is not always the same. For some, return is seen as something temporary or remote in time (returning for a holiday or when they retire); for others, return is only a matter of wishful thinking and depends on whether Portugal can offer them the right conditions to achieve professional fulfilment. The decision to return is linked with a number of other factors, particularly family related. The existence of a romantic partner is key to consolidate the emigration experience and can obliterate or delay the possibility of returning to Portugal, in the

short or medium term. On the other hand, starting a family is a factor that might promote new mobilities.

Being available for future mobilities has so much to do with the search for better professional conditions as it has with the search for better living conditions and family and children friendly environments. Literature on emigration demonstrates that professional adaptation and the integration of children in the host country dissuade people from returning and break emotional ties with their homeland. As years go by, the idea of not returning to a country where one has increasingly fewer family relations and stay where one's children are and one's grandchildren will be, is highly present in the new emigrants, as opposed to the Portuguese emigrants of the 60's and the 70's.

One might ask whether such different academic qualifications between the two groups might be the determining element for such different strategies. However, we mustn't forget that many poorly educated Portuguese in the emigration flows of the second half of the 20th century never actually returned. The unfolding of family life, together with the opportunities for professional integration seem to be decisive in making the return possible. When comparing present and past migratory flows, the striking difference is that now, even when the wish to return is present, it is nothing more than a mirage.

In the case of the families with no children, starting a family in the host country is a highly considered possibility, even if the family supporting networks are absent and missed. The advantages offered to maternity and child upbringing in the recipient countries favour this decision and may contribute to extend the mobility, with subjects moving to a different country.

Emigration is no longer linked with economic cycles, it is now structural. The decision to return is continuously postponed. Return is not considered but as a long-term project. Building a house in Portugal, sending remittances home or doing anything similar to what used to be the standard of former generations of substantially lower qualified Portuguese emigrants is not part of the equation. Even in those cases where the migratory experience hasn't had any satisfactory results yet, the wish to return is a small one. On the other hand, the shared unshakeable feeling is that the experience will eventually pay off, be it in the current country of residence or in a different country, and that it will always be better than the existing alternative in Portugal.

The Portuguese education system is not seen neither as the origin of the migratory drive nor as a source of dissatisfaction. Quite on the contrary, subjects rate it as good quality, when compared with education systems in the host countries. The importance of education and better qualifications as a way of achieving

intergenerational social upward mobility is a notion shared by parents and children and sets their hopes up. Family incentive and investment towards a higher education degree is present, even in lower-educated families. Emigration is then seen as an unexpected turn of events, in the eyes of both. Which does not mean that it is not faced with an adventurous spirit or seen as an exciting challenge. Anyway, the idea prevails that the investment was justified, in spite of the discontent and the frustration felt after graduation. Of course, better adequacy between the job and the training or education level will mean a more acute perception that it was worth the effort.

There are, however, less successful situations in the host country, where expectations of social upward mobility fail to be met. This situation tends to be regarded as temporary and likely to be overcome in the near future. The expectation is sustained by subjects who compare their actual situation with what they would be facing, if they hadn't migrated. But, again, it is also rooted in the belief that higher education is a factor for success. In other words, inadequacy between job opportunities and qualifications is the problem, rather than education. Therefore, there is a cross-sectional effort to learn the language of the host country and do vocational training courses, in order to increase the opportunities for better professional integration.

The decision to leave is justified with two main reasons: the lack of perspectives in Portugal to find a dignifying job, build a career and obtain professional recognition; and the frustration felt before an employment market that fails to value the skills acquired by the young graduates (bachelor's degree, masters, Ph.D.). The choice of the host country is also more justified by the perspective to find professional integration in their area of study than by the existence of any contact networks.

Emigration has been part of the Portuguese history and has been addressed for many centuries. Current emigration flows take us back to the 1960's, when a great migratory wave was started. Could this sort of migratory tradition, that has once made us cross the sea and go beyond borders, have some kind of inspiring influence in the young qualified migrants' decision to leave the country? After all, we live next door to neighbours, friends and relatives who left and have been leaving the country. Being acquainted with the emigrant community, in the family or in the cultural environment, may work as a trigger or a deterrent to leave. Positive experiences will motivate departure while negative experiences will be discouraging.

On the other hand, this is a generation that has always lived in and known a "borderless" and free circulation Europe, where international experiences are encouraged in the academic world. For this reason, in some cases, mobility is hardly seen as emigration. Student mobility experiences as part of the Erasmus programme, among others, promote a taste for the overseas and a craving for other cultures, and

contribute to establish a contact network that becomes useful when the decision is made to migrate.

At a time marked by “translocality”, transnational movements are increasingly more intense and borders are the object of a different understanding: they are more permeable, more *fluid*, and especially influential in the construction of collective and individual identities. Thinking global is thinking of the flows and yet, rooted is another aspect of the broader concept of globalisation. When subjects talk about the “right to one’s roots”, we realise this is not only a question of *globalisms*, it is also a matter of *localisms*, of regional and local identities.

National identity, the so-called “being Portuguese”, is often highly praised in this context. Missing your home country doesn’t only mean missing your family and friends but also the country itself – the people, the culture, the hospitality, the food, the sun, the beach. These are the elements remembered in nostalgia and that somehow represent what is good about this country and set it apart from all the others.

Nonetheless, emigration may also trigger isolation and, in many cases, people develop different ways of keeping social contact with their original country. They keep contact with family and friends previous to migration ; are up-to-date with the main events in the home country; use social networks, a tool that has greatly contributed to shorten distance; establish friendship ties in the host countries, mostly Portuguese but also other foreigners who share the emigrant condition. Generally, subjects think that building a friendship with nationals of the host country is difficult, mainly because of the language barrier, the attitudes and the culture.

Under these circumstances, everyday sociability practices are often limited to Portuguese people met before migration, Portuguese people met in the host country after migration, and other emigrants. Solidarity bonding is powerful. Because this is a distinctive trend in migratory flows, a comparison between this and the migratory flows of the 20th century is believed to yield more similarities than differences. In some cases, social, leisure or associational activities carried out in Portugal are maintained after migration, showing a link with the country that is not totally broken, only shifted away.

National identity is also strongly updated through consumption: the demand for Portuguese daily consumption products (for own consumption, or as a gift); the purchase of food (codfish, coffee, etc.), clothes and footwear, medical and beauty and cosmetic services – both in the host countries and in their travelling to Portugal – brings individuals closer to their visual and emotional references. A widespread speech centred on “being away”, “missing home” and on the praise of what is no longer near sharpens national identity in the migratory context.

The following portraits, a selection of all the equally relevant portraits drawn, will contribute to illustrate and express what has been stated above.

ALEXANDRA VERÍSSIMO: “I THINK I’VE BECOME EVEN MORE PORTUGUESE AFTER MIGRATION”

Alexandra Veríssimo is 30 years old and comes from Cantanhede. She is the daughter of a primary school teacher and an office clerk in a trading company. She lived with her parents and older sister until she left home to move in with her boyfriend. She graduated in Marketing and Communication from the Coimbra Education School, in 2006. This was her preferred option for a degree but nowadays it is not what she sees herself doing. She has done no further studies in the meantime. Her first professional experience was a work placement in the external relations department of a pharmaceutical industry, a period that left no satisfactory memories.

Although there’s a long history of emigration in her family, especially to Brazil, migration has never been in her plans. The only reason she did it was to be with her boyfriend. She never had any international student mobility experience, but travelling was part of the family holidays, who often travelled in Portugal and abroad. Thus, she admits that migrating wasn’t that difficult, because she already had the habit to “pack her backpack” and go.

Emigration was an option and not a need. She wanted to be with her boyfriend, and had no initial perspective to get a job, something that didn’t happen until she arrived in London. She is now underemployed but has had some career development opportunities. She is professionally fulfilled and feels no need to find another job.

Alexandra plans to start a family at a later stage. She has friends in Portugal, who she contacts frequently. For the time being, friends in London are only a few but they are important. They are essentially Portuguese, her boyfriend’s friends or new friends she occasionally meets in the “Portuguese” area of the city.

She hopes she’ll be back to Portugal one day, when she’s “retired”. In London, she feels like a “Portuguese from Cantanhede”. Whenever she can, particularly at work, she makes a point in stating that she is Portuguese, and “offers” traditional products and food. Emigration has made her more aware of her nationality.

LILIANA SILVA: “RETURNING AND LIVING IN PORTUGAL FOREVER IS NO LONGER AN OPTION”

Liliana Silva, 30 years old, was born in Lisbon. She holds an integrated Masters in Psychology, from ISPA, in Lisbon, obtained in 2012.

She was born to a middle class family, and lived with her parents and a younger sister in a flat. Her parents paid for her higher education, masters and Erasmus programme. In August 2013, Liliana left to Belgium to join her boyfriend, an architect, who migrated a few months before. They now live together in a house.

The option to migrate has always been present in Liliana's life. She moved to Belgium (initially, her destination could have been Germany, where her uncle lives) with the expectation of starting a doctorate in Psychology at Ghent University, because she was interested in doing research. However, the professor in charge – who she had contacted from Portugal and was interviewed by – didn't support her research project, and she suddenly found herself unoccupied and disappointed. In face of this situation, she grabbed the opportunity as it presented itself, and she has been a cleaner for several months now. She sees it as a temporary situation, but her family regrets her decision.

She decided to learn Dutch, believing and hoping that improved language skills might earn her a better job, even if it's not in her academic field. But she naturally prefers professional areas related with Psychology.

Liliana feels disappointed with the investment made in Portugal to train people who can't then find compatible opportunities and are forced to migrate.

At the moment, Liliana has no intention to return; that is no longer an option, because she and her boyfriend, who have been living together for seven years now, are thinking of starting a family. However, she clearly says that returning to her country would be the obvious choice if she could have the same working conditions and pay, and the type of social support she can find in Belgium.

BRUNO AZENHA: “EXPERIENCE LONDON AND RETURN IF I DON'T LIKE IT”

Bruno Azenha is 30 years old and migrated by himself. He arrived in London in May 2011. He left his girlfriend in Portugal. That relationship was ceased later because they couldn't handle a long-distance relationship. A Computer Engineer graduated from *Instituto Superior Técnico*, he finished his Bologna Masters in 2008, despite the fact that his degree, started in 2001, was still in the former format.

He started work in September 2007, at NovaBase, as a product consultant, and had to travel abroad frequently for relatively short periods of two weeks up to one month, to follow up the configuration and testing of contact centre software. In early 2010, he decided to continue the international experience, and started a placement within the INOV Contacto programme, in Madrid. After returning to Portugal, he found it hard to get a job that was both interesting and in line with his salary expectations. He eventually got a job but it wasn't stimulating enough. He was then offered two job

opportunities: one in London and another in Warsaw, and Bruno opted for the first one. His solid technical skills and the Madrid experience, as well as reports of international experiences by former university colleagues were at the heart of his decision to resign.

Bruno has been with the same company for three years. This exceptional stability, in an area so prone to mobility, was strongly motivated by his job description, a recent promotion and, mainly, the possibility to balance his personal and professional life. Weekdays are spent out of London, to assist in different projects and clients, and he frequently travels around Europe. He met his current Polish girlfriend when travelling to visit friends.

The long-distance relationship lasted for some time but his girlfriend's recent transfer to England presented him with a new challenge: they will move in together for the first time, in London, something that threatens to put Bruno's single dweller routines to the test, but will be at the same time an opportunity to rethink how long they want to stay in England. For the moment, he admits that starting a mixed family out of Portugal might be the decisive factor that will extend the emigration period.

INÊS CABRITO: SEARCHING FOR ECONOMIC AND PROFESSIONAL STABILITY, TO REACH (CONSEQUENT) FAMILY STABILITY

Inês, born in Lisbon and aged 39, comes from a family with high academic and cultural capital. Her parents and her brother, two years her senior, have higher education qualifications.

She graduated in Applied Chemistry from *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, and accessed directly her doctoral studies in the same institution with a FCT scholarship. Later, she started post-doctoral studies in France, with a Marie Curie scholarship. That was, in fact, the first time she has left her parents' house to live in Nantes for two and a half years. That's where she met her current partner, a French national, and returned after giving birth to her first child.

An interest in research and the lack of employment opportunities in her area of study were the main reasons behind her choice.

Although she started a family in France, she has always intended to return and, when her scholarship ended, she came back to Lisbon and was unemployed for three months, applying for "all possible positions". She was then selected to integrate a three-year project as a post-doctoral fellow, but she left the project one year later to work in the Oporto branch of a biopharmaceutical company. Her motivation was to attain greater employment stability and the wish "to break out of the scholarship world and enter the true labour market". With the later closing down of the company branch in Oporto, anticipating that finding a job in Portugal wouldn't be easy, Inês accepted a job

offer and transferred to the parent company in Belgium, where she has been working up to this moment. She moved in 2012, together with her partner and their two children.

The family (both original and current) and their support have always been an important element in her life. The family sphere is the one Inês values and dedicates the most to, as a complete and extremely important supporting network.

She has never wished to migrate but now plans to move to another European country “where English, French or another Latin language is spoken”. This plan is a way to overcome her current language problems (with Dutch), a factor that has limited her integration in Belgium. Portugal is not in the list of possible destination countries. The precariousness pointed out by Inês in the scientific area prevent her aspiring to have a job in the near future that might ensure “a minimum living standard”.

MARISA FERREIRA: “I’M NOT AN EMIGRANT, I SIMPLY WORK ABROAD”

Marisa Ferreira is 31 and migrated to Norway in 2008, immediately after finishing her higher education in Portugal. She has a Masters in Fine Arts, started a Masters in Art and Design for the Public Space, but dropped out and decided to travel to Stavanger, a city that would be her home until 2011, when she moved to the Norwegian capital.

She comes from a family with strong migratory traditions: her mother was an emigrant in Germany up to the age of 21 and her only sister has also chosen to migrate, in her case, to France. Although Marisa acknowledges that the family legacy had significant influence in her decision to migrate, it was mainly her wish to experience other cultures – something she has always thought of as a personal and professional goal – that prompted her to leave the country. Also due to her early and permanent contact with culture, books, travelling and art, she felt a growing need to broaden her perspectives and explore new avenues and opportunities.

She now lives with her husband and son in Oslo, and fully dedicates herself to visual arts. She has had considerable success in the professional field, which, in her opinion, wouldn’t be possible in Portugal, at least at the present moment. Her medium-term plans do not include returning to Portugal. The fact that her career – in her area of study – is unfolding successfully, combined with the belief that Portugal fails to provide artists (as well as workers in other areas) with the necessary conditions to retain them in the country rule out the possibility of returning in the near future.

She is extremely critical about the situation in Portugal. Her opinion is that policies haven’t been put in place that can retain national human resources. However, she also blames the attitude and behaviour of a large part of the Portuguese for the country’s poor employability. Low motivation to work, lack of career investment and

reliance on social assistance schemes turn Portugal into a country seen in Europe and by the Europeans as having no entrepreneurship. A view that will ultimately aggravate Portugal's vulnerable employment situation.

5.2.3. Type-profile: European student mobility leading to integration in the primary or secondary sectors of the employment system

This section presents an anthology of the sociological portraits of European student mobility experiences that led to integration in the primary (qualified, stable and with contract of employment) or secondary (typically unqualified and unqualifying, precarious and with less social and labour protection) sectors of the employment system in the country where the subjects studied.

The first aspect worth a note is that incentive to student mobility is now a common practice in higher education institutions. In fact, most of the respondents had an Erasmus experience, whereas a small minority received Leonardo Da Vinci grants or were involved in some sort of work placement. For the subjects, the experience was also an opportunity to compare between the scientific systems in Portugal and the recipient country, and a chance to know people (teachers, colleagues, friends) who would later be crucially important in their decision to migrate. Recent research (Neto, Lopes e Costa, 2010) shows that institutional support, under the form of career guidance offices, employment opportunities or mobility, is extremely important. Such a large and varied array of specialised aids to integration means that more mediation is offered between students and their future. Trajectories can be rectified, new options can be sustained and, generally, access to target-oriented information means that subjects can make better informed decisions.

On the other hand, being a student elsewhere, being in touch with research possibilities and having an actual liaison with the labour market in a different setting inevitably triggers comparison. Destination countries are often praised for better consistency between higher education and job opportunities, with permeable well-equipped R&D systems that offer sustainable careers and perspectives. Most respondents consider that their basic training in Portugal prepared them to meet the highest standards, from a scientific point of view, but are unanimous as to the shortage of actual opportunities.

However, we found that, even before their training experience abroad, respondents showed an inclination for non-linear trajectories, were open to a certain degree of improvisation, embraced mobility and cosmopolitan contact, as opposed to expecting or wishing for a rapid settling of their academic and professional careers.

Also to be highlighted is that a part of these subjects worked in Portugal while they were university students. This has not only prepared them to the need to reconcile different spheres of life (work, study, family), but also unveiled the difficulties of achieving career advancement in our country.

Unlike what might be assumed, not all of them enjoy a stable professional status. Some are experiencing situations of contractual uncertainty and insecurity. Still, living on incomes much higher than what could be expected for similar positions in Portugal, and drawing great satisfaction from their current jobs, for the time being, they don't seem to be any less optimistic about their future. Surely they are part of an "adaptable generation", socialised in the assumption that fixed and taken for granted careers are no longer available, as widely conveyed by a variety of political forces. Hence, no existential issues arise, as long as "one is doing what one likes to do" and a certain standard of living and consumption can be provided for.

Another integration facilitating aspect is related with sociability networks. With rare exceptions, pathways were strongly motivated by the contact with "significant others" who opened the door to academic and professional opportunities. Meaningfully, Portuguese are widely known for their qualifications, dedication to work and "flexibility". Partly due to that, the time gap between graduating and leaving the country was relatively short, as integration in the destination country had been previously arranged. If we look at the social capital of the interviewees, we will find, with only rare exceptions, a variety of social roles and nationalities: Italians, Romanians, French, Iranians, Norwegians... Workplaces turn into international contact platforms, where some co-workers become friends.

Leisure practices also promote diversity, as they offer occasions to mobilise contacts and friendship ties around conversation, going-outs, dinner parties, travelling and in some cases civic activism activities. To be noted however that, in cases of longer working hours, the time available for this type of activity is clearly short.

As it can be seen, some respondents have partnered up with people of other nationalities, forming mixed couples. Apart from having the potential to reinforce integration at the destination country, this may also suggest that multiple transitions into adult life, marriage and work intertwine and reinforce one another.

In contrast, the emotional sphere in the original country is gradually limited to lifelong "friends", even more so because face-to-face contacts tend to lessen with the passing of time, and because a big part of the friendship network is also spread across multiple destinations. Even if family ties remain solid in most cases, visits to Portugal vary, on average, from one to two a year, generally for Christmas and on holidays.

Long-distance interaction (over mobile phone, chat, Skype, social networking) play an important role in keeping up those ties.

Time, of course, is expected to take its toll and produce the corresponding effects. These portrayed left Portugal not a long time ago. Many of them admit they will pursue their careers in other countries and none considers an upcoming return to Portugal. That is, in fact, one of the most striking features in this set of portraits. In abstract, they wish to return to Portugal but none of them places that option in the near future, and for all of them the decision is dependent on many factors: finding a stable job in Portugal; returning only to the cosmopolitan atmosphere of a big city, never a small town; returning only when their children are grown-ups; or only if their partner can also find a job.

Generally, these subjects foster ties with their country of origin, they keep updated and some take part in associations related with the Portuguese culture. But criticism seems to grow along with the distance. They cast a sceptical look at Portugal; they suspect the quality of the dominant elites and the politicians, in particular; they despise decisions meant to produce immediate results and the lack of strategic moves towards qualification, innovation, sustainable development, diversified production, and investment in solid R&D systems. Because they believe nothing will change in the short and medium term, they are more prepared to keep on their journeys, particularly in cases of precarious employment, than to face a dim future in Portugal.

We're in the presence of respondents with high academic credentials and high professional qualification, who value work as a form of self-fulfilment and certain post-materialistic aspects, like quality of living. In the selected sample, social origins are relatively privileged, although the extended sample also includes examples of clear social mobility, where parents didn't go beyond 4th grade and have jobs like "worker in a cellar", "caretaker", or "cook". Some mention the existence of migratory experiences in the household, but they don't see them as especially important in their decision to leave the country. Their cultural and symbolic framing sets them apart from the traditional image of the diaspora.

The factor that seems to have been the "trigger" for certain trends and predispositions was actually the chance to experience short duration mobility in other countries during higher education. Once it has been experienced, contacts, emotions and calculations converged to make departure possible, with no return anticipated in the near future.

MARTA AMARAL: BERLIN IS NOT GERMANY (YET) – FROM EMOTIONS TO DIVERSITY

Marta Amaral, the daughter of a laboratory technician and a bank clerk, was born in Covilhã 35 years ago. That's where she lived until she was 18. She left Covilhã to study in Lisbon and never returned as a resident ever since then.

A trainee in the Vatican museums, with a Leonardo Da Vinci scholarship, she invested in conservation and restoration sciences, the area of her doctorate (in Florence, on a Marie Curie scholarship and one from the Gulbenkian Foundation), after finishing in Rome a degree she started in Lisbon, in Technological Chemistry.

Marta says that, even though she's working in a precarious part-time job, she wouldn't leave Berlin easily. For her, Berlin is a "special" city within the German context. The city's social and ethnical diversity inspire a cosmopolitan atmosphere that favours social activism.

While looking at Portugal with sceptical eyes, Marta wouldn't refuse a qualified job in her area of study, in Lisbon or in Oporto, as she can't see herself living in a small town again.

FRANCISCO FERNANDES: PROVING HIMSELF IN THE FRENCH ACADEMY (THE EFFECTS OF A SHORT-SIGHTED MERITOCRACY IN PORTUGAL)

Francisco, aged 35, comes from Guimarães. His father was born in the North of the country, and his mother was born in the Portuguese province of Beira. The father's side of the family has granted him the wealthy tradition of the industrial middle class. His mother comes from a long lineage of farmworkers that valued schooling as an asset. His parents met and got married in France, but he claims that he has no special fascination about that "legacy", even if now he is following in their footsteps, although with other reasons and under very different circumstances.

He was socialised from an early age to pursue higher education studies, and lived in Braga until he finished his Masters, except for the time spent in France, as an Erasmus student. He graduated in Applied Chemistry from the University of Minho, in the variant of plastic materials, and did a Masters in Environment Sciences, at the same institution.

Strongly affected by his parents' divorce, he soon learned the advantages but also the demands of emancipation. He worked and studied at the same time and had an early informal experience of living with a partner.

Francisco was an average student during the 1st cycle of higher education and has gradually developed an interest in research. He has more than once been denied a FCT scholarship, but the will to pursue a career in research was so strong that the

managed to prove the old saying wrong¹²: good winds blew from Spain and Francisco finished his Ph.D. in Madrid, a moment that is proudly remembered as a milestone.

In the meantime, he moved along international networks and mobilities and finally went to Paris to do post-doctoral studies. The return to Portugal has been postponed over and over again, due to the fragility of the national R&D network, offering few and little attractive opportunities.

The stability of his job in the French academic world has become a strong competitive edge. *Et voilà*, Francisco is now a college professor in a reputed French university, living with an Iranian partner, who also works in the academic world. He has fulfilled his lifelong dream.

JOANA CAMPOS: WE PREPARE THE RETURN BY BEING A WINNER IN BOTH CAREER AND LIFE

Joana Campos is 25 years old and graduated in Anatomical Pathology with an average mark of 16 out of 20, in a successful path marked by an early choice and “hard-working” secondary education. The family tried to persuade her to do a degree in Medicine, but she gradually felt attracted towards an area of Medicine where she didn't have to deal directly with human suffering. Instead, through friends and placement experiences, she realised she greatly enjoyed practical laboratory work.

She was born to an aviation pilot and an English teacher. Her family, particularly her strongly influential mother, have always supported her decision to pursue an international path. The decision was made after a work placement under the Erasmus programme, in a laboratory where scientific research was the core activity. Her supervisor at the laboratory, the working environment focused on research, her friendship network and the meeting of her current English boyfriend, all these factors converged to help accelerate the process of becoming independent from her family.

A mix of chance and good timing earned her approval of her application for a Ph.D. in the University of Birmingham. There, she earns a salary that allows her to provide for herself with no parental support and has developed some self-managed working habits, while she continues to be a student.

She saves money, avoids any extraordinary expenses, and acknowledges her mother's influence in being frugal. She was brought up in a safe financial environment, grew up in a big house, and was from an early age taught to share and make good use of the available resources. The hardships her mother and grandparents had to endure while they lived in Germany as immigrants have always been in the back of her mind.

¹² There's a Portuguese old saying stating that no good winds blow from Spain.

The wish to return to Portugal, together with her English boyfriend, is alive and vibrant, as Joana intends to raise her future children in this country. She hates the sight of planes full of young emigrants and nurtures a love for national references. She will come back holding a greater capital (after finishing a doctorate and, quite possibly, a post-doctorate), ready to carry on the social upward mobility path initiated by her parents.

TIAGO FRANCO: HE WILL RETURN ONE DAY, WHO KNOWS, WHEN HIS SON IS INDEPENDENT

Tiago Franco, who is currently 37, has never had an easy life. With separated parents, he has lived in a number of different locations, depending on the professional requirements of the parent he was living with at the time. Used to the Azorean landscape, where he spent childhood, free and close to Nature, he hates the concrete in the South bank of the Tagus river, where he eventually moved to, to live with his mother. The school is remembered as low quality and confusing. However, with a Portuguese subject teacher, he gained a taste for the mother-tongue that has accompanied him all his life.

He finished a degree in Electronics Engineering, and had an Erasmus experience in Finland, in 2000, that triggered a thirst for travelling and for the unknown.

Tiago obtained a degree (in the pre-Bologna format) while he was working for AutoEuropa. Later, in 2006, he grabbed the opportunity to work in Sweden in the automotive industry, and since then he has had numerous well-paid jobs, that made him grow a strong sense of autonomy and responsibility.

Father of a boy, his main concern is his child's future. Tiago lives near his son, in Gothenburg (he separated from his child's mother years ago), and tries to instil in him the feeling of being a Portuguese child in Sweden.

He is a fan of cycling and football, two interests that have earned him friends of many different nationalities. His free time is mainly spent in a Portuguese association, where he is trying to prepare a programming that goes beyond the traditional vision of the culture.

Tiago is permanently updated with what is happening in Portugal, and is a severe critic of the political priorities (highways instead of education), the corruption and the political party elites.

He wants to return some day and has thought of starting a business in Portugal, but he is aware that the conditions are unfavourable for the time being. He has got a son to raise and he can't forget how scared he was of losing his job when the 2008 crisis hit Sweden and he was one of the few survivors to a wave of layoffs-off.

SÓNIA MACHADO: “I WOULD LOVE TO GO BACK TO PORTUGAL, BECAUSE I MISS IT, I MISS EVERYTHING”

Sónia is 28 and has lived in Berlin since 2010. She graduated in Architecture from *Universidade Técnica de Lisboa*, and went to Berlin for the first time as an Erasmus student. The city was again her choice when she later had to decide where to do her end-of-degree work placement.

Studying Architecture wasn't an immediate decision – she was more interested in cinema, dance or maths –, but Sónia doesn't regret her degree, although she recognises this is not really her favourite working area. Her interest in urbanism and intervention in the public space grew gradually over the years spent in higher education. Her preference was then confirmed in the working context. Although she is now working in an architecture office where she feels her work is valued (the same place where she did her placement and where she was offered an indefinite term contract), she would like to get a new job, or maybe resume her studies, in an area more closely related with urbanism and public space.

She was born in the Algarve, in Vila Real de Santo António, where she lived with her parents (her father was an accountant and her mother was a beautician) and her ten year younger brother, until she accessed university. She says she has always felt supported by her family in her decision to go abroad (first, as an Erasmus student and then as an immigrant). She currently lives in Berlin, and shares a flat with her boyfriend, who she met there. He is also an architect who, just like her, travelled from Portugal to Berlin for a work placement after his degree and then got a job.

Being an immigrant is, in fact, a reality shared by many of her friends and university colleagues. Sónia underlines that only two of her closest colleagues, in the same area, are in Portugal working in architecture. All the others work in something other than their area of study or left to work in different countries.

Sónia feels “angry” at the precarious employment situation in Portugal, mainly for the lack of consistency and responsibility in the political speech. Thus, although she wishes to return to Portugal within three or four years, because she “misses everything”, this wish is nothing but a wish.

5.2.4. Type-profile: temporary or pendular mobility and circulation in the European networks of science, industry, services or culture

The five portraits in this type-profile depict lives in transit, both because of their constant spatial mobility and because they correspond to life projects undergoing

transition. The two aspects combine to make them ambiguous experiences, “sour as many, yet liberating as few”, in the words of Eduardo Lourenço, who knows too well what it is like to spend a considerable number of years abroad.

The life experiences captured in these portraits are built on a new type of nomadism facilitated by the contemporary societies and driven by the world’s space and time compression. These are the stories of people who have been through several emigration experiences, including short periods when they returned to Portugal, although they hardly identify themselves with the figure of the emigrant. Firstly, because the European space is perceived as a common house, and secondly because they have experienced transitory emigration. This transitory nature, however, does not mean they wish to return to Portugal soon or that they have been socially excluded; on the contrary, they set out on a constant search for inclusion through new itineraries, new forms of looking at work, different life rhythms and unusual ways of overcoming obstacles.

The striking feature in the working experiences of some qualified emigrants is their great flexibility and adaptability. Qualified emigrants are flexible in their working hours and in their job descriptions; they feature spatial flexibility and cognitive and personal adaptability to deal with a short-lived and yet challenging working setting. Even if these trajectories are, for the great part, successful and take place in segments of the labour market with some level of protection, the choice for a consistent well-structured professional career has become a scarce commodity. The creation of a permanent identity based on work is only accessible to a part of the qualified workers. Life fragmentation is the result of a work organisation that relies on flexible specialisation to respond to the variety and speed of the markets. But it is also often a choice of the workers themselves who use flexibility as a way of building apparently freer biographies. The logic of free choice of employment, just like the free choice of any commodity, is now present in some highly dynamic labour markets, such as London, and forces workers to rapidly move between jobs.

In this universe where imposed or sought after flexibility is the rule, there are those who win, those who lose and those who resist. Among the winners, predominant life narratives are the ones that focus on vocation and professional engagement as a way to achieve self-fulfilment. Losers, on the other hand, see work as an instrument to ensure the means of living necessary to build a life project. For resisters, life is centred off work, and the expressive and reflexive dimensions of life are considered a greater good in terms of personal fulfilment.

The former embody what Bauman (1998) refers to as the aestheticisation of work. For those who assess work against aesthetic criteria, a line is drawn between

interesting jobs and regular tedious jobs. Work is not perceived as an obligation, but rather as an activity from which a variety of experiences, challenging projects and exciting results can be expected. When all these fail, the focus is then set on the adventure and the risk of trying to find another job, another city or another country.

But not all have the privilege of perceiving and living work as art. In the tumultuous process of changing and adapting to a new job description, a new occupation or an unknown country, skills acquired in initial training are lost and an attempt is present to obtain new ones. The will and the responsibility of reinventing oneself become character traits that overtake any other more or less magic representations of work. Self-production becomes a project involving the demands of the immaterial production contexts they work in, the symbolic analysis present in problem solving and the effort to manipulate and control the subject's own emotions.

In this self-production process, expressions can also be found of what we refer to as resistance. These assume typical forms of separation between private and public life, family and work, emotional and cognitive overinvestment in individual artistic or cultural projects, against underinvestment in the immaterial production demanded by the working contexts. In other words, the dominant logic of power that places subjects as social production machines, where work congregates all essential relationships of life, physical or intellectual, is confronted with the subjects' refusal to submit reserved parts of their lives to work.

Greater or lesser difficulty in drawing a guiding line for life is present in all cases. Pendular change of jobs or job descriptions very often hinders full integration in all types of career. Though wages abroad are more attractive than in Portugal, they cannot always be taken for granted. Consequently, some who take part in the new wave of qualified emigrants shape themselves to what seems to be the worker profile preferred by the contemporary flexible economy: they are permanently open to new experiences, they are able of questioning themselves and they can adjust to short-term working experiences, even when they are little rewarding.

Spatial flexibility often brings transitory and pendular emigrants to a crossroad where it is not only a matter of changing jobs, cities or countries, but rather accepting the mobile character of life as a whole. Coming and going, being today in a Portuguese city and in a foreign city tomorrow is more than just changing places. It requires permanent cultural mediation. Multilocalism is certainly enriching for those who experience it, but it is also challenging in terms of the subjects' ability to identify themselves with people and places. The very concept of place is now versatile. When life itself unfolds in multiple locations, reference to airports or other transit and mobility "places" becomes an indirect way of asking: where do I belong? Where am I after all?

Notions of belonging and identity are no longer tied with a specific territory and local processes. The idea of one's own culture doesn't make sense anymore for those who have long translocal learning and working experiences. The plurality of cultures is easily accepted, but managing plurality implies multiple localisms in the majority of cases.

The fragmentation of working trajectories, added with frequent relocations, creates equally fragmented subjectivities. This is, in fact, an indispensable condition to decipher the fluid conditions under which work and social relationships take place. Fragmentation is a form of social adaptation to the extreme uncertainty of life and not a process of psychological disruption. Under these conditions, long-term commitments associated with the working ethics inherited from the parents' generation are replaced with short-term responses; the difficulty in maintaining face-to-face relationships with older friends is compensated by electronic long-distance relationships. In this multifaceted adaptations, fleetingness is dominant, yet no more extreme forms of absent mutual commitments are visible.

Generally, qualified emigrants are not physically or socially close to the traditionally less qualified Portuguese emigrants. As a consequence, there is no evident empathy with those experiences. The biographies we follow narrate academically successful subjects, who see themselves as competent people, with a comfortable middle class status. Even when they are familiar with less qualified emigrants, mainly through relations that go back to the parents' or grandparents' generation, the comparison between the two only sets them apart. The invisible frontier is drawn by their different class status, mutually exclusive lifestyles and work and friendship networks that rely on quite different resources and strategies. The first reason is that the latest emigration wave is generally the outcome of previous academic mobility experiences that consolidate friendship networks close to middle class typical codes. Not by chance, social downward mobility trajectories involving underemployment – though transitory and reversible – show greater empathy towards the unqualified emigrants' experience.

Romantic relationships play quite an important role in driving emigration or consolidating the decision not to return. Family or romantic reunification motivate migration, by creating or facilitating the emotional conditions that support the decision-making. The establishment of romantic bonds in mixed couples consolidates the decision not to return. Mixed couples incorporate multicultural world contradictions in the family life or the circle of friends and turn life in the host country into a true topopolygamy (Beck, 1998). One of the most typical and homogeneous characteristics of qualified emigration mixed couples is the fact that relationships follow a principle of

reciprocity. Subjects try to find the basic link for the establishment of strong love or friendship ties in the emigration experiences of identical “others”. Social networks built this way are a form of enlarging and confirming the validity of a globalised biography, where no one has to do special effort or develop a specific strategy to achieve that purpose. The globalisation of many lives allows each individual subject to locate his or her own life and stop seeing his or her nomadism as a form of uprooting. Just like more instantaneous and faster means of transport and communication compressed distance and time, multicultural relationships also turned into translation biographies. They concentrate the plural contradictory reality of barely known local cultures in small families or friendship and working networks, thus accelerating the process of mutual knowledge and recognition. In the process of biographic translation, the logic of nationality gradually loses ground as the traditional symbol of each individual’s roots and partners involved in a mixed couple are less likely to return to their home countries.

However, the stage of the lifecycle when people meet also plays an important part in how people face the decision to migrate or to return. The largest part of the subjects represented in this set of portraits is in one of two very different stages of their lifecycle. Some are in the *stage of young adult* who has met a part of the traditionally set criteria to access that status: they earn a salary and live independently on their own. But not all of them have stable romantic partnerships, with or without marriage, or children. At this stage, the career occupies a central role in the life of the young adults between 25 and 35 years old. They are still quite open to explore new career possibilities, they value the contents of their work, they represent emigration as a personal discovery adventure and consider returning in the medium-term, to start a family. A second group, aged between 35 and 45 years old, maintain the same characteristics but have started a family and have children or plans to have them in the short term. This is obviously a *family stage*, and the criteria are changed. Family wellbeing plays now a decisive role in career options and the search for job and city stability is more evident here. Emigration is no longer viewed as an adventurous process involving some emotional disruption with the original family and is seamlessly integrated in the emotional upbringing of children. The comparatively more advantageous conditions of the welfare state in the host countries outweigh any nostalgic considerations of national belonging. In this context, return to Portugal is viewed as an impossibility or something to do after retirement.

ANA BAIÃO: MIGRATE TO EXPERIENCE AND IMPROVE, NOT TO STAY

Ana Baião is 29 and migrated to London in 2010 with her partner. She holds a degree in Archaeology and is now finishing a Masters in Museology, in London. She

comes from a family with low schooling resources but high cultural aspirations. The family's economic standing was unstable and the initial support provided by her grandmother, an emigrant in London since the late 1980's, was the anchor that facilitated her decision to migrate with her boyfriend.

Archaeology was a choice made during secondary education, but Ana soon realised she wouldn't be able to cope with the field work pace in the area. In Portugal, she worked as a solicitors' clerk; in London, she continued to be underemployed, in jobs not the least related with archaeology. Her working experiences include client support in an online casino, secretary in a lawyers' office and, more recently, freelancer in small museology projects and related tasks. Five years after finishing her degree, Ana has lost part of her acquired skills. But she is not worried about her trajectory. Although she has professional ambitions, her professional fulfilment doesn't depend on them. She only wants a job that allows her to do what is really important in her life: starting a stable family relationship with everlasting values.

Involved in an unmarried partnership with no children, Ana wishes to return to Portugal in the short or medium term to have children and raise them near her family. She can't see herself raising her children in a country other than Portugal. She has a critical view of the country's situation but considers that the Portuguese public education system is more reliable than the English one.

Ana admits that returning to Portugal involves negotiating with her partner, who has reached a rather stable and challenging professional position over the last four years and has no intention to return to Portugal soon. Anyway, Ana will try to use her Masters in the short-term to start a career in local museology.

CARLOS AZEREDO MESQUITA: TRAVELLING AS A STRATEGY NOT TO STAY IN PORTUGAL

Carlos Azeredo Mesquita is 26 and he has been living in Berlin since 2011, while he is constantly travelling to different countries as a result of his professional occupation. He doesn't see himself as an emigrant but rather as a "citizen of the world".

If, as Susan Sontag put it, travelling is a strategy to collect pictures, Carlos Mesquita has found the perfect way of living to do what fulfils him from a professional point of view. He graduated in Graphic Design from the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Porto, in 2011. He was an Erasmus student in Budapest at MOME – Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design – where he specialised in an area that particularly interests him: photography.

The choice for arts was an early one, and has somehow followed a family tradition. His father and his uncle both specialise in that area, and his mother, who Carlos lived with in Oporto, has strongly encouraged his interest in arts.

He has had different jobs, in both graphic design and more specifically in photography. He is currently self-employed, and most of his income comes from a collaboration with an art gallery in Oporto, where he sells his work to collectors, museums and institutions. He shows his pictures in exhibitions, in different countries, all around the world: Germany, the Czech Republic, The United States, among others where he has had a presence.

Not romantically involved with anyone at the moment, and with no children, Carlos believes that his situation facilitates constant travelling around the world, just like it favoured his decision to leave Portugal. However, he claims he is starting to feel a growing need to have a more permanent base.

Returning is not anticipated, because he no longer feels at home. The city he now identifies with is Berlin. He lost part of the friends he had in Portugal and his new circle of friends is mostly made up of people who share the same “nomad” condition.

He thinks that Portugal doesn't offer the right conditions to develop the kind of work he wants to do and the experiences reported by his Portuguese colleagues working in precarious distressful jobs with limited expectations cannot but confirm his belief.

DANIEL BARRADAS: “I PHYSICALLY LIVE IN NORWAY, BUT WORK IN AN INTERNATIONAL BUBBLE”

Daniel Barradas is 41 years old and he migrated for the second time to Norway in 2008. He had been in Oslo between 1999 and 2003, but the emotional drive was then decisive to leave Portugal. The country's economic situation and the unsuccessful business experience he had in Portugal for three years were the grounds for his decision to return to Norway. He graduated in Graphic Design from the Faculty of Fine Arts of the *Universidade de Lisboa* (1996), and currently works as a designer for a small company in Oslo. Having started musical studies as a child, he was also a student at the Conservatory, but didn't graduate. He attended two medium duration courses: Art Management in Portugal, and Design Management in Norway.

In 1996, Daniel started work in small offices in Portugal. He knew labour exploitation was the rule in major design companies. Until 1998, he had a series of little rewarding professional experiences. After attending a cyber-dance workshop at Gulbenkian and the Art Management course, he applied to the Pratt Institute in New York, for an international experience. The application was successful but Daniel had

then started a romantic relationship with a Norwegian who challenged him to live in Norway. The high living standard of the Nordic countries did the rest and he moved to the new country. After six months of a trying period, applying for different positions, he got a job at the State TV Station. Up to 2003, he worked as a graphic designer, and was unemployed when the company went bankrupt.

The opportunity to start a business with a former colleague of the Art Management course made him return to Portugal. All went well at the beginning, but the economic crisis set in and the lack of liquidity caused by several clients' default soon forced the partners to close down the company, in 2006. His boyfriend's return to Norway opened a new opportunity to migrate. The economic crisis was fully settled in by then. He easily got a job in the small design company where he currently works. Relying on a small client base, the company has come vulnerabilities, but Daniel doesn't anticipate that he'll return to Portugal before retirement.

Meanwhile, he broke up with his partner in 2011 and started another relationship that resulted in recent marriage. The couple is now planning to open a Portuguese café within some months. The traditional "pastéis de nata" [*custard pastries*] will be the secret ingredient of the new project.

JOANA ANTUNES: "IF IT HADN'T BEEN FOR THE CRISIS, I WOULD STILL BE IN PORTUGAL. I'VE ALWAYS SAID I DIDN'T WANT TO LEAVE PORTUGAL"

Joana Antunes is 30 years old and she has just arrived in London with her husband, coming from Malaysia. Joana was there since early 2012 and her husband since a little before, in 2011. She studied Geological and Mining Engineering (2008) at the *Instituto Superior Técnico* and finished with a Masters-equivalent degree, although she started the course in the pre-Bologna format. She is now finishing a distance learning Masters in Civil Engineering and Project Management at the Heriot-Watt University, in Scotland.

During the last year of her degree and for another six months after finishing it, Joana worked in image analysis at *Instituto Superior Técnico*, as a research fellow. In April 2009, she was hired by a mining consulting company (Sínese), and travelled a few times to Angola on business. Looking for a new experience, she sent out CVs to the few civil construction companies that were recruiting at the time and in 2011 she joined Ferconsult, to work in the Mondego light rail system. The project, just like many other public works, was suspended as the economic crisis set in, and Joana didn't have her contract renewed at the end of 2011.

The year 2011 started and ended without major changes to her life: her boyfriend, a mining engineer, moved to Malaysia, hired by a client of the American

company he had started working for in January. They got married in June and, in January 2012, Joana joined him in Malaysia and tried to find herself a new job. Four months later, she started working for a Spanish company. The company eventually lost the contract that justified their presence in Malaysia and Joana was a job-seeker again. She finally landed a contract with a small consulting company owned by an English man, and she worked part-time in several projects.

In 2013, the couple decided to move closer to Portugal. Her husband got a job in London and Joana started sending out CVs again. She was glad about this new opportunity. Being a woman working in a Muslim country, she didn't have great career expectations. They returned to Portugal for a month to prepare the move. Joana had then a phone interview with a London company and started working two weeks after the couple settled in the big city.

Right now, she is a Geotechnical Assistant Engineer at Mott MacDonald, a leading multinational company, and is happy about her job. She wants to stay at least enough time to become a Chartered Engineer. Joana wishes to return to Portugal in three years but fears that the country's situation might not favour her plans.

RITA RODRIGUES: A LIFE IN TRANSIT BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH

Rita Rodrigues is 31 years old and is currently living between Portugal, Germany and Finland. She works and lives for the most time in Lisbon, travels frequently to Germany, where she did her Ph.D. and was granted a one-year research scholarship. At the same time, she regularly visits her Colombian boyfriend, Ph.D. in Material Engineering, who she met in Germany but has been working in Finland for two years now.

She graduated in Veterinary Medicine from the *Universidade Técnica de Lisboa* (2007). In 2013 she finished her Ph.D. in Virology at the Freie Universität, in Berlin, with a FCT scholarship, after a two-month work placement in the United States, where she met the professor who would later supervise her dissertation. After finishing her Ph.D., she came back to Portugal and started working as an assistant lecturer in a private university in October, on a service rendering contract. At the same time, she travelled frequently to Germany to continue her work at the Freie Universität, where she applied for and won a scholarship in the same period.

Reconciling her work at the Portuguese university with her scholarship in Germany is a way of keeping her future opportunities in research open. Rita's goal is to spend one year preparing an application for a different type of funding. The Portuguese institution where she works is interested in developing joint projects with the German university. Because she now has a job in Portugal, her initial grant was reduced by

50% and only pays for the rent of her flat in Berlin. As for the romantic relationship started in Berlin, everything is more difficult now that she has returned to Portugal and her boyfriend is living in Finland. Keeping her scholarship is a facilitating strategy. Finland is only two hours away from Berlin by plane and the cost of travelling is substantially lower.

The globalisation of biography creates a situation shared by other mixed couples who met at some point of the migration process: love no longer implies that both live permanently on a common location. They see each other once a month when things run smoothly, once every two months when something goes wrong. In between, they compress time and space using long distance communication. This can be distressful at times but they might have an opportunity to work in the same country, after her boyfriend's contract ceases. For the time being, they live in total transnational emotional mobility.

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ANNEXES

I – Interview script: Focus Group

II – Questionnaire outputs

III – Interview script: Sociological Portraits

I – Interview Script: Focus Group

Focus Group – Interview script

- 1) I'll start by asking each person to briefly describe their experience, stating how long they have been living as an immigrant, how the idea to migrate first appeared in their lives and if they had already made arrangements at the destination country by the time they migrated (or if, on the contrary, it was an adventure) – if that is not mentioned in their speech, ask if they had any emigration experiences in the family or if they had ever spent an extended period abroad.
- 2) The reasons that made you migrate were more related with Portugal's or the destination country's issues and conditions? – explore the different kinds of factors and opportunities.
- 3) How did you see your situation when you migrated? Was it temporary? Was it for the rest of your life? Was it like "let's go and then we'll see"? Has that changed in the meantime? Why?
- 4) What was your employment situation when you left Portugal?
- 5) Do you think you're working in your area of study or has migration changed your career perspectives?
- 6) Do you think you have a stable position with your organisation?
- 7) Do you consider yourself to be well-paid?
- 8) Do you have anyone working under your supervision? If you do, are they Portuguese? If they are, is your relationship strictly professional?
- 9) In your daily life, is there anything that makes you feel Portuguese on a daily basis?
- 10) What is that you found at the destination country that you couldn't find in Portugal? Was it only your job?
- 11) What do you miss about Portugal at your destination country (that prevents you forgetting your country)?
- 12) Have you ever influenced or directly helped another Portuguese person to migrate? If you have, was it a colleague, a relative (...). If you haven't, why haven't you?
- 13) How often do you travel to Portugal and what are the things you try to do while you're there?
- 14) Have you built or rebuilt your personal life at the destination country or have you brought your personal life along with you, all the way from Portugal?
- 15) How do you see the future in the next 5 years? If relevant, ask "Do you believe you'll return to Portugal someday?"
- 16) What could make you immediately return to Portugal?

II – Questionnaire outputs

Social characterisation

		N	%
Gender	Female	548	54.2
	Male	463	45.8
	Total	1011	100.0
Age	Up to 29 years	309	32.2
	30 - 39 years	546	56.9
	> 39 years	105	10.9
	Total	960	100.0
Highest academic qualifications	Bachelor degree	250	25.4
	Postgraduation	91	9.2
	Masters degree	424	43.0
	Ph.D.	220	22.3
	Total	985	100.0
In Portugal, before migration: net monthly income	No income	309	30.6
	Up to 500€	103	10.2
	501€ - 1000€	329	32.5
	1001€ - 1500€	160	15.8
	1501€ - 2000€	69	6.8
	2001€ - 2500€	23	2.3
	2501€ - 3000€	8	.8
	> 3000€	10	1.0
Total	1011	100.0	
In your current country of residence (or after migration if you have returned): net monthly income	No income	35	3.5
	Up to 500€	19	1.9
	501€ - 1000€	66	6.5
	1001€ - 1500€	146	14.4
	1501€ - 2000€	191	18.9
	2001€ - 2500€	174	17.2
	2501€ - 3000€	112	11.1
	> 3000€	268	26.5
Total	1011	100.0	

I – MOBILITY AND MIGRATION

P1. How important was each of the following factors when you decided to emigrate:

	Not important at all		Not very important		Important		Very important		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Economic reasons (better remuneration, unemployment)	56	5.6	137	13.8	375	37.7	428	43.0	996	100.0
Professional reasons (career, self-fulfilment)	15	1.5	31	3.1	231	23.1	721	72.2	998	100.0
Emotional reasons (family or relationship related)	417	43.0	250	25.8	139	14.3	163	16.8	969	100.0
Education (Further qualification)	287	29.6	183	18.9	200	20.6	299	30.9	969	100.0
Other reason	25	15.6	7	4.4	63	39.4	65	40.6	160	100.0

		N	%
P2 The decision to leave Portugal was:	A planned decision	861	85.2
	An unexpected decision	150	14.8
	Total	1011	100.0
P3 The decision to leave Portugal was:	On your own initiative	764	75.6
	My employer's decision (eg. company transfer; ...)	14	1.4
	Upon a received invitation (eg. take part in a research team; job offer; ...)	233	23.0
	Total	1011	100.0

		N	%
P4 Did you have any connections in the host country?	Yes	489	48.4
	No	522	51.6
	Total	1011	100.0
P5 connections in the host country?	Family connections	114	23.3
	Business connections	50	10.2
	Portuguese professionals working in the same field of interest	104	21.3
	Professionals from the country of residence working in the same field of interest	111	22.7
	Friends	240	49.1
	Employment agency	21	4.3
	Other connections	35	7.2
	Total	489	100.0

P6 Year in which you left Portugal

	N	%
1968	1	.1
1978	1	.1
1985	1	.1
1988	2	.2
1989	1	.1
1992	2	.2
1995	2	.2
1996	4	.4

1998	6	.6
1999	6	.6
2000	9	.9
2001	11	1.1
2002	12	1.2
2003	17	1.7
2004	14	1.4
2005	26	2.6
2006	42	4.2

2007	40	4.0
2008	62	6.1
2009	55	5.4
2010	59	5.8
2011	112	11.1
2012	178	17.6
2013	208	20.6
2014	140	13.8
Total	1011	100.0

P7. Before your most recent departure from Portugal to work/live in another country in Europe, had you ever worked or studied in other countries for more than 6 months?

		N	%
Before your most recent departure from Portugal to work/live in another country in Europe, had you ever worked or studied in other countries for more than 6 months?	Yes	435	43.0
	No	576	57.0
	Total	1011	100.0

Countries where you have worked or studied for over 6 months

Germany	43
Angola	5
Algeria	1
Argentina	4
Australia	2
Austria	14
Bahamas	1
Belgium	38
Brazil	22
Bulgaria	1
Cape Verde	2
Cambodia	1
Canada	5
Chile	1
China / Macau	11
Colombia	1
South Korea	2
Croatia	1
Denmark	11
Dubai	1
United Arab Emirates	2
Scotland	7

Slovakia	3
Slovenia	4
Spain	71
Estonia	1
USA	36
Philippines	2
Finland	8
France	42
Greece	4
Netherlands	42
Hungary	4
Reunion Island	1
India	1
Ireland	10
Italy	44
Japan	2
Latvia	1
Lithuania	2
Luxembourg	5
Madagascar	1
Mozambique	8
Norway	4

New Zealand	1
Wales	1
Peru	1
Poland	5
United Kingdom	81
Central African Republic	1
Czech Republic	13
Democratic Republic of Congo	1
Rhodesia	1
Romania	4
Russia	1
Sao Tome and Principe	1
Serbia	1
Singapore	1
Sweden	20
Switzerland	20
East Timor	3
Tunisia	1
Turkey	2
Venezuela	3

		N	%
What have you done in the countries where you've been for over 6 months	Working	177	40.9
	Studying	257	59.4
	Working and Studying	115	26.6
	Total	433	100.0

8. After you left, did you ever return to Portugal for more than 6 months?

		N	%
After you left, did you ever return to Portugal for more than 6 months?	Yes	241	23.8
	No	770	76.2
	Total	1011	100.0

P9. If you are currently working/living in another European country, how much longer are you planning to stay?

		N	%
If you are currently working/living in another European country, how much longer are you planning to stay?	Up to 1 year	58	5.7
	From 2 to 3 years	124	12.3
	From 4 to 5 years	142	14.0
	From 6 to 10 years	174	17.2
	More than 10 years	376	37.2
	I am not currently living out of Portugal	137	13.6
	Total	1011	100.0

P10. What are your expectations for your future?

	Not likely at all		Not very likely		Likely		Very Likely		It doesn't apply to me		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Stay permanently in Portugal (if you are not currently working/living in a foreign country)	184	18.2	163	16.1	87	8.6	40	4.0	537	53.1	1011	100.0
Return permanently to Portugal	147	14.5	378	37.4	253	25.0	142	14.0	91	9.0	1011	100.0
Stay permanently in the country where I am living now	79	7.8	277	27.4	332	32.8	242	23.9	81	8.0	1011	100.0
Go to work/live in another European country	61	6.0	249	24.6	476	47.1	212	21.0	13	1.3	1011	100.0
Go to work/live in another non-European country	159	15.7	406	40.2	317	31.4	117	11.6	12	1.2	1011	100.0
Return temporarily to Portugal and leave again to work/live in another country	221	21.9	374	37.0	234	23.1	107	10.6	75	7.4	1011	100.0

P11. How often do you (or did you) engage in the following activities, in your host country?

	Very often		Often		Not very often		Rarely		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Access Portuguese Media (eg. newspapers, TV, blogs)	551	54.5	288	28.5	118	11.7	54	5.3	1011	100.0
Go to Portugal	132	13.1	517	51.1	303	30.0	59	5.8	1011	100.0
Contact your family in Portugal	757	74.9	235	23.2	17	1.7	2	.2	1011	100.0
Contact your friends in Portugal	504	49.9	400	39.6	102	10.1	5	.5	1011	100.0
Contact other professionals in your field in Portugal	151	14.9	322	31.8	380	37.6	158	15.6	1011	100.0
Contact other Portuguese people (other than relatives) in your host country	274	27.1	321	31.8	278	27.5	138	13.6	1011	100.0
Purchase Portuguese goods and services	131	13.0	314	31.1	409	40.5	157	15.5	1011	100.0

II – EMPLOYMENT SITUATION

P13. What is your employment situation?

		N	%
In Portugal, before migration: employment situation	Employed	544	53.8
	Unemployed	365	36.1
	Occasionally employed (only works from time to time)	102	10.1
	Total	1011	100.0
In Portugal, before migration: employment situation	Employed	931	92.1
	Unemployed	38	3.8
	Occasionally employed (only works from time to time)	42	4.2
	Total	1011	100.0

P14. What is the form of your employment contract?

		N	%
P14a Employment contract in Portugal, before migration	Fixed-term contract	169	16.7
	Indefinite term contract	209	20.7
	Self-employed (green receipts) or equivalent	134	13.3
	Student	13	1.3
	Research Fellow	89	8.8
	Businessman(woman)	2	.2
	Professional internship	7	.7
	Unpaid internship	6	.6
	Working without a contract	3	.3
	Unemployed	1	.1
	NR	378	37.4
	Total	1011	100.0
P14 b Employment contract in your current country of residence (or after migration if you have returned)	Fixed-term contract	332	32.8
	Indefinite term contract	494	48.9
	Self-employed (green receipts) or equivalent	44	4.4
	Student	6	.6
	Research Fellow	73	7.2
	Businessman(woman)	9	.9
	25	1	.1
	26	9	.9
	Professional internship	3	.3
	NR	40	4.0
	Total	1011	100.0

P15. What is your form of employment?

		N	%
P15a Form of employment in Portugal, before migration	Part-time job	91	14.1
	Full-time job	555	85.9
	Total	646	100.0
P15b Form of employment in in your current country of residence (or after migration if you have returned)	Part-time job	91	9.4
	Full-time job	882	90.6
	Total	973	100.0

P16. What is your net monthly income?

		N	%
P16a 16. What is your net monthly income?	No income	309	30.6
	Up to 500€	103	10.2
	501€ - 1000€	329	32.5
	1001€ - 1500€	160	15.8
	1501€ - 2000€	69	6.8
	2001€ - 2500€	23	2.3
	2501€ - 3000€	8	.8
	3001€ - 3500€	5	.5
	3501€ - 4000€	2	.2
	4001€ - 4500€	1	.1
	4501€ - 5000€	2	.2
Total	1011	100.0	
P16b In your current country of residence (or after migration if you have returned): net monthly income	No income	35	3.5
	Up to 500€	19	1.9
	501€ - 1000€	66	6.5
	1001€ - 1500€	146	14.4
	1501€ - 2000€	191	18.9
	2001€ - 2500€	174	17.2
	2501€ - 3000€	112	11.1
	3001€ - 3500€	71	7.0
	3501€ - 4000€	64	6.3
	4001€ - 4500€	32	3.2
	4501€ - 5000€	23	2.3
	5001€ - 5500€	18	1.8
	5501€ - 6000€	18	1.8
	6001€ - 6500€	11	1.1
	6501€ - 7000€	7	.7
7001€ - 7500€	3	.3	
Over 7500€	21	2.1	
Total	1011	100.0	

P18. How does your current job relate with your academic qualification?

		N	%
P18a In Portugal, before migration: match between your job and your academic qualification	Job compatible with my qualification	547	54.1
	Job requiring higher qualification than mine	35	3.5
	Job requiring lower qualification than mine	150	14.8
	It doesn't apply to me	279	27.6
	Total	1011	100.0
P18b In your current country of residence (or after migration if you have returned): match between your job and your academic qualification	Job compatible with my qualification	759	75.1
	Job requiring higher qualification than mine	92	9.1
	Job requiring lower qualification than mine	108	10.7
	It doesn't apply to me	52	5.1
	Total	1011	100.0

P19. Employment status in main occupation

		N	%
Employment status in main occupation of your spouse	Employer (with employees)	22	2.6
	Self-employed (with no employees)	68	8.1
	Employee on a contract	476	56.9
	It doesn't apply to me	271	32.4
	Total	837	100.0
Employment status in main occupation of your mother	Employer (with employees)	45	5.0
	Self-employed (with no employees)	98	10.8
	Employee on a contract	528	58.3
	It doesn't apply to me	235	25.9
	Total	906	100.0
Employment status in main occupation of your father	Employer (with employees)	106	11.8
	Self-employed (with no employees)	122	13.5
	Employee on a contract	515	57.1
	It doesn't apply to me	159	17.6
	Total	902	100.0

		N	%
Employment status in main occupation of yourself before migration	Employer (with employees)	19	2.1
	Self-employed (with no employees)	71	7.7
	Employee on a contract	527	57.0
	It doesn't apply to me	307	33.2
	Total	924	100.0
Employment status in main occupation of yourself in your current country of residence	Employer (with employees)	23	2.4
	Self-employed (with no employees)	48	5.0
	Employee on a contract	802	84.0
	It doesn't apply to me	82	8.6
	Total	955	100.0

P20. Employment position

		N	%
Position of your spouse:	Top-level manager	22	4.8
	Middle-level manager	98	21.3
	Supervisor/direct management of the work of others	82	17.8
	Worker with no managing responsibilities	258	56.1
	Total	460	100.0
Position of your mother:	Top-level manager	36	6.9
	Middle-level manager	99	19.1
	Supervisor/direct management of the work of others	67	12.9
	Worker with no managing responsibilities	317	61.1
	Total	519	100.0
Position of your father:	Top-level manager	106	19.4
	Middle-level manager	99	18.1
	Supervisor/direct management of the work of others	120	22.0
	Worker with no managing responsibilities	221	40.5
	Total	546	100.0

		N	%
Position of yourself in Portugal, before migration:	Top-level manager	8	1.5
	Middle-level manager	77	14.8
	Supervisor/direct management of the work of others	65	12.5
	Worker with no managing responsibilities	371	71.2
	Total	521	100.0
Position of yourself in your current country of residence (or after migration if you have returned):	Top-level manager	16	2.1
	Middle-level manager	158	20.8
	Supervisor/direct management of the work of others	145	19.1
	Worker with no managing responsibilities	440	58.0
	Total	759	100.0

P21. Number of subordinate employees:

		N	%
Number of subordinate employees of your spouse:	Less than 6 employees	15	71.4
	From 6 to 49 employees	4	19.0
	More than 100 employees	2	9.5
	Total	21	100.0
Number of subordinate employees of your mother:	Less than 6 employees	34	75.6
	From 6 to 49 employees	9	20.0
	From 50 to 99 employees	1	2.2
	More than 100 employees	1	2.2
	Total	45	100.0
Number of subordinate employees of your father:	Less than 6 employees	65	62.5
	From 6 to 49 employees	30	28.8
	From 50 to 99 employees	6	5.8
	More than 100 employees	3	2.9
	Total	104	100.0

		N	%
Number of subordinate employees of yourself in Portugal, before migration:	Less than 6 employees	12	63.2
	From 6 to 49 employees	4	21.1
	From 50 to 99 employees	1	5.3
	More than 100 employees	2	10.5
	Total	19	100.0
Number of subordinate employees of yourself in your current country of residence (or after migration if you have returned):	Less than 6 employees	13	56.5
	From 6 to 49 employees	7	30.4
	From 50 to 99 employees	1	4.3
	More than 100 employees	2	8.7
	Total	23	100.0

SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS

P22. According to your own situation, how true are the following statements:

	I totally disagree		I disagree		I neither agree or disagree		I agree		I totally agree		It doesn't apply to me		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
The emigration of friends or relatives has influenced my decision to leave Portugal	307	30.4	138	13.6	225	22.3	208	20.6	78	7.7	55	5.4	1011	100.0
My dissatisfaction with my socioeconomic status was a determining factor in my decision to leave Portugal	106	10.5	126	12.5	129	12.8	265	26.2	351	34.7	34	3.4	1011	100.0
I chose a country where some of my friends and/or relatives were already settled	391	38.7	127	12.6	152	15.0	136	13.5	110	10.9	95	9.4	1011	100.0
Adequate salary and/or material conditions pertaining to the job in the host country were determining factors in my decision to leave Portugal	53	5.2	63	6.2	103	10.2	355	35.1	404	40.0	33	3.3	1011	100.0
Despite current working conditions, professional self-fulfilment in my area can still be achieved in Portugal	158	15.6	353	34.9	104	10.3	312	30.9	71	7.0	13	1.3	1011	100.0
General income reduction in Portugal is not an impediment to a stable and safe life	325	32.1	402	39.8	55	5.4	147	14.5	69	6.8	13	1.3	1011	100.0
Uncertainty about professional self-fulfilment in my area, in the host country, was an obstacle to my decision to leave Portugal	392	38.8	319	31.6	96	9.5	63	6.2	44	4.4	97	9.6	1011	100.0
Greater job availability in the host country does not necessarily grant the desired socioeconomic status	140	13.8	316	31.3	183	18.1	252	24.9	69	6.8	51	5.0	1011	100.0

MACROECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND GOVERNMENT POLICY

P23. What is your opinion regarding the following statements

	I totally disagree		I disagree		I neither agree or disagree		I agree		I totally agree		I don't have an opinion		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Portugal's current austerity causes lower citizenship and participation in the democratic life	65	6.4	236	23.3	106	10.5	391	38.7	183	18.1	30	3.0	1011	100.0
Portugal's current economic crisis is 'pushing' people to explore other European countries to work and live in	9	.9	60	5.9	52	5.1	518	51.2	368	36.4	4	.4	1011	100.0
Emigration, as an alternative way, allows people to achieve a more stable financial situation	28	2.8	119	11.8	101	10.0	534	52.8	208	20.6	21	2.1	1011	100.0
Democratic countries with more stable social protection systems are more prone to be chosen as host countries	37	3.7	117	11.6	219	21.7	387	38.3	196	19.4	55	5.4	1011	100.0
Although the crisis may extend in time, Portugal still has a number of attractive factors which justify an option to return	67	6.6	201	19.9	149	14.7	413	40.9	163	16.1	18	1.8	1011	100.0
The policies currently in place to reduce the Welfare State in Portugal are merely temporary, and there is a trend for change along with the improvement of the global situation	203	20.1	450	44.5	137	13.6	140	13.8	18	1.8	63	6.2	1011	100.0
The current economic crisis has global effects and impacts on the country in which I am currently living	133	13.2	343	33.9	142	14.0	302	29.9	58	5.7	33	3.3	1011	100.0
I wouldn't move to a country whose international policies were unfavourable to Portugal	84	8.3	198	19.6	322	31.8	255	25.2	93	9.2	59	5.8	1011	100.0

EDUCATION AND ACADEMIC SYSTEM

P24. According to your own situation, how true are the following statements

	I totally disagree		I disagree		I neither agree or disagree		I agree		I totally agree		It doesn't apply to me		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Previous experience as a student in other countries (eg. ERASMUS) has encouraged my decision to leave Portugal	52	5.1	44	4.4	77	7.6	224	22.2	350	34.6	264	26.1	1011	100.0
The low value associated with my area of study in Portugal was a factor in my decision to leave Portugal	82	8.1	177	17.5	164	16.2	282	27.9	215	21.3	91	9.0	1011	100.0
The adequacy of my education background to the labour market was a factor in determining the host country	34	3.4	76	7.5	158	15.6	393	38.9	282	27.9	68	6.7	1011	100.0
A broader range of professional options in the host country has positively changed my perception regarding my primary education background	21	2.1	71	7.0	186	18.4	378	37.4	286	28.3	69	6.8	1011	100.0
I think that my area of qualification is adequate to the Portugal employment context	59	5.8	223	22.1	104	10.3	399	39.5	204	20.2	22	2.2	1011	100.0
Unsuccessful experiences as a student in other countries had a negative influence on my decision to leave Portugal	290	28.7	141	13.9	83	8.2	36	3.6	2	.2	459	45.4	1011	100.0
The high value associated with my area of study in the host country influenced my decision to leave Portugal	56	5.5	66	6.5	183	18.1	335	33.1	266	26.3	105	10.4	1011	100.0
The quality of school education is a significant factor in a future decision to educate my the children in Portugal	74	7.3	121	12.0	160	15.8	283	28.0	243	24.0	130	12.9	1011	100.0

PROFESSIONAL SYSTEM

P25. According to your own situation, how true are the following statements

	I totally disagree		I disagree		I neither agree or disagree		I agree		I totally agree		It doesn't apply to me		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
My belief that my remuneration wasn't adjusted to my job description contributed to my decision to leave Portugal	43	4.3	127	12.6	119	11.8	271	26.8	265	26.2	186	18.4	1011	100.0
I left Portugal because there was little demand for my professional qualification in the Portuguese labour market	70	6.9	155	15.3	109	10.8	317	31.4	263	26.0	97	9.6	1011	100.0
In my host country, I can have a job where my academic qualification is valued	11	1.1	37	3.7	50	4.9	394	39.0	488	48.3	31	3.1	1011	100.0
Demand for my job in the host country's labour market influenced my choice of a host country	29	2.9	64	6.3	146	14.4	345	34.1	341	33.7	86	8.5	1011	100.0
I think it is possible to have a job in Portugal, for which my academic qualification is required	54	5.3	179	17.7	61	6.0	503	49.8	202	20.0	12	1.2	1011	100.0
I had professional recognition in Portugal, which negatively influenced my decision to leave Portugal	212	21.0	266	26.3	166	16.4	157	15.5	29	2.9	181	17.9	1011	100.0
Lack of information on salary conditions in the host country has undermined my decision to leave Portugal	318	31.5	326	32.2	98	9.7	32	3.2	2	.2	235	23.2	1011	100.0
Uncertainty about professional recognition in the host country has negatively influenced my decision to leave Portugal	348	34.4	330	32.6	97	9.6	57	5.6	5	.5	174	17.2	1011	100.0

INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY

P26. According to your own situation, how true are the following statements

	I totally disagree		I disagree		I neither agree or disagree		I agree		I totally agree		It doesn't apply to me		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I choose to keep my geographic mobility according to the educational and/or professional challenges presented to me	16	1.6	90	8.9	97	9.6	475	47.0	295	29.2	38	3.8	1011	100.0
The will to have new experiences in other cultural contexts has influenced my decision to leave Portugal	18	1.8	51	5.0	62	6.1	359	35.5	506	50.0	15	1.5	1011	100.0
Social life in Portugal offers few identity expression alternatives	150	14.8	362	35.8	170	16.8	201	19.9	100	9.9	28	2.8	1011	100.0
The expectation of an easy integration was a determining factor in choosing the host country	55	5.4	146	14.4	227	22.5	390	38.6	152	15.0	41	4.1	1011	100.0
Gender equity was an important attractive factor in my decision to leave Portugal	128	12.7	163	16.1	400	39.6	164	16.2	56	5.5	100	9.9	1011	100.0
Inclusion as a full-right citizen in the other EU countries facilitated my migration process and duration of my stay	12	1.2	19	1.9	46	4.5	299	29.6	596	59.0	39	3.9	1011	100.0
Being satisfied with my integration in multiple life contexts in Portugal was a factor that negatively influenced my decision to leave Portugal	94	9.3	243	24.0	212	21.0	301	29.8	90	8.9	71	7.0	1011	100.0
I feel that there is no gender-based discrimination in Portugal	180	17.8	440	43.5	140	13.8	193	19.1	37	3.7	21	2.1	1011	100.0
One of Portugal's main advantages, in spite of the hardships people are currently enduring, is that xenophobic movements have little expression	30	3.0	163	16.1	173	17.1	487	48.2	132	13.1	26	2.6	1011	100.0
Emigration is not a project for life, is more like fulfilling a immediate need to find better living conditions	59	5.8	195	19.3	126	12.5	417	41.2	190	18.8	24	2.4	1011	100.0
Although people are curious about other cultures, there is always some comparison with the original culture	8	.8	29	2.9	55	5.4	496	49.1	418	41.3	5	.5	1011	100.0
Fear of confrontation with unknown identity expressions has negatively influenced my decision to leave Portugal	322	31.8	370	36.6	164	16.2	47	4.6	4	.4	104	10.3	1011	100.0

FAMILY CONTEXT

		N	%
Gender	Female	548	54.2
	Male	463	45.8
	Total	1011	100.0
Country of birth:	Portuguese	989	97.9
	Other	21	2.1
	Total	1010	100.0
Age	Up to 25 years	51	5.0
	26 - 29 years	309	30.6
	30 - 39 years	546	54.0
	40 - 49 years	88	8.7
	50 - 59 years	14	1.4
	> 59 years	3	.3
	Total	1011	100.0
Country of residence:	Germany	97	9.6
	Andorra	2	.2
	Austria	33	3.3
	Belgium	56	5.5
	Bulgaria	4	.4
	Denmark	9	.9
	Slovakia	1	.1
	Slovenia	1	.1
	Spain	54	5.3
	Estonia	1	.1
	Finland	17	1.7
	France	90	8.9
	Greece	1	.1
	Hungary	4	.4
	Ireland	13	1.3
	Italy	22	2.2
	Luxembourg	39	3.9
	Norway	34	3.4
	Netherlands	35	3.5
	Poland	3	.3
	Portugal	146	14.4
	United Kingdom	270	26.7
	Czech Republic	3	.3
	Romania	1	.1
	Russia	1	.1
	Sweden	29	2.9
	Switzerland	44	4.4
Vatican	1	.1	
Total	1011	100.0	

		N	%
Highest academic qualifications	Bachelor degree	250	25.4
	Post-graduation	91	9.2
	Masters degree	424	43.0
	Ph.D.	220	22.3
	Total	985	100.0
Scientific area of initial academic qualification	Education (teacher training and education science)	18	1.8
	Arts and Humanities (fine arts, handicraft; design; languages and literature; history; philosophy; religion and theology)	86	8.5
	Social Sciences, Business and Law (social and behavioural sciences; journalism; law; business studies)	187	18.5
	Science, Mathematics and Computer Science (life sciences; physical sciences; maths and statistics; computer science)	356	35.2
	Engineering, Processing Industries and Construction (engineering and related techniques; architecture and construction)	196	19.4
	Agriculture (agriculture, forestry and fishing; veterinary)	17	1.7
	Health and Social Work (health and social services)	104	10.3
	Services (personal services; transport services; environmental protection; security services)	30	3.0
	Unknown or unspecified	17	1.7
	Total	1011	100.0
Scientific area of highest academic qualification	Education (teacher training and education science)	14	1.4
	Arts and Humanities (fine arts, handicraft; design; languages and literature; history; philosophy; religion and theology)	80	8.3
	Social Sciences, Business and Law (social and behavioural sciences; journalism; law; business studies)	197	20.3
	Science, Mathematics and Computer Science (life sciences; physical sciences; maths and statistics; computer science)	352	36.3
	Engineering, Processing Industries and Construction (engineering and related techniques; architecture and construction)	173	17.9
	Agriculture (agriculture, forestry and fishing; veterinary)	15	1.5
	Health and Social Work (health and social services)	105	10.8
	Services (personal services; transport services; environmental protection; security services)	33	3.4
	Total	969	100.0
Country in which you did get your highest qualification	In Portugal	710	70.2
	In the country where you are currently working/living in (or were, if you have returned)	170	16.8
	In another European country	123	12.2
	In another non-European country	8	.8
	Total	1011	100.0

		N	%
Marital status	Single	591	58.5
	Divorced/Separated/Widow(er)	18	1.8
	Married/Unmarried Partners	402	39.8
	Total	1011	100.0
Do you have any children	Yes	203	20.1
	No	808	79.9
	Total	1011	100.0
Number of children	1	102	50.2
	2	86	42.4
	3	13	6.4
	4	1	.5
	11	1	.5
	Total	203	100.0

P44. Is anyone of your close relatives (grandparents, father, mother, brothers/sisters) an immigrant?

		N	%
Grandparents	Yes	216	21.4
	No	746	73.8
	I don't know	11	1.1
	It doesn't apply to me	38	3.8
	Total	1011	100.0
Father	Yes	209	20.7
	No	774	76.6
	I don't know	1	.1
	It doesn't apply to me	27	2.7
	Total	1011	100.0
Mother	Yes	165	16.3
	No	815	80.6
	I don't know	31	3.1
	Total	1011	100.0
Brother/sister	Yes	219	21.7
	No	653	64.6
	I don't know	139	13.7
	Total	1011	100.0

IX - IDENTITY

P45 How important would each of the following changes in Portugal for your possible return:

	Not important at all		Not very important		Important		Very important		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Economic changes (better remuneration)	29	2.9	85	8.4	429	42.6	463	46.0	1006	100.0
Professional changes (career development, self-fulfilment)	21	2.1	36	3.6	306	30.4	643	63.9	1006	100.0
Family changes (birth of a son/illness of relatives)	76	7.6	205	20.4	423	42.1	301	30.0	1005	100.0
Education: Further qualification (my own or my relatives/children)	257	25.7	404	40.4	245	24.5	95	9.5	1001	100.0

P46 To which of the following geographic groups do you consider to belong in the first place? And the following? And the last one?

		N	%
First place	Town or city where you currently live	124	12.3
	Country where you currently live	59	5.8
	Your country of birth	590	58.4
	Europe	129	12.8
	The world as a whole	109	10.8
	Total	1011	100.0
Second place	Town or city where you currently live	170	16.8
	Country where you currently live	211	20.9
	Your country of birth	199	19.7
	Europe	346	34.2
	The world as a whole	85	8.4
	Total	1011	100.0
Third place	Town or city where you currently live	161	15.9
	Country where you currently live	196	19.4
	Your country of birth	105	10.4
	Europe	207	20.5
	The world as a whole	342	33.8
	Total	1011	100.0

P47 What was the value for you to feel Portuguese before migrating? And after you migrate?

		N	%
Before the migration	No value at all	39	3.9
	Low value	109	10.8
	Neutral	253	25.0
	Some value	341	33.7
	A lot value	269	26.6
	Total	1011	100.0
After the migration	No value at all	28	2.8
	Low value	48	4.7
	Neutral	117	11.6
	Some value	303	30.0
	A lot value	515	50.9
	Total	1011	100.0

		N	%
P48 How would you classify your current situation?	Emigrant	259	27.2
	In mobility by choice	305	32.0
	In mobility for obligation	62	6.5
	Citizen of the world	326	34.2
	Total	952	100.0

49. Satisfaction with life in general

50. Degree of happiness

	N	Mode	Mean	Standard-deviation
Satisfaction with life in general	1011	9	8.5	1.55
Degree of happiness	1011	9	8.4	1.57

Scale: 0=Extremely unsatisfied/unhappy; 10= Extremely satisfied/happy

III – Interview Script: Sociological Portraits

INTERVIEW SCRIPT FOR THE ELABORATION OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL PORTRAITS

1st Interview session

Block A: Higher Education Background

A1. **Background description** (Degrees and institutions; Choices and reasons for the choices; Social and academic conditions; Information, aspirations, expectations; *1st assessment: How important were these aspects to your trajectory?*)

- characterisation of the academic trajectory, particularly in higher education; most striking successful/unsuccessful episodes; other important aspects along the trajectory; self-perception of acquired skills; expectations; adequacy or inadequacy between academic qualification profile and labour market; representations of how important academic qualification was in your life and your decision to migrate

A.2. **Type of Mobility** (organisation and planning; type of programme; duration; important experiences – personal, academic and possibly professional; other significant aspects; possible relation with the decision to migrate)

Block B: Other Dimensions of the Social and Educational Trajectory

B1. **Social origin** (Original family and social background, up to admission into higher education; Household composition; residence; living conditions during childhood and adolescence; influential people and important episodes; migratory experiences and/or memories *1st assessment of social origin influences/meanings in the decision to migrate*)

B2. **Work** (Present and former professional activities and professional activities during higher education; Influential people and important episodes; *1st assessment of work influences/meanings in the decision to migrate*)

B4. **Family, emotions and residence** (Present; own family, if any; comparison with original family; future expectations regarding family options and models; residence; means of support; influential people and important episodes; emotional maps; migratory memories and/or experiences *1st assessment of destination family influences/meanings in the decision to emigrate*)

B5. **Sociabilities and networks** (Present and during biographical trajectory; Friends; Activities; Leisure activities; Influential people and important episodes; migratory memories and/or experiences; *1st assessment of sociabilities and networks influences/meanings for the type of trajectory*)

INTERVIEW SCRIPT FOR THE ELABORATION OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL PORTRAITS

2nd Interview Session

(Includes resuming questions that were not completely answered in the previous session; clarification of possible contradictions and new questions to explore any emerging clues)

Block C: Assessments and Suggestions

C1. Interviewee's assessment of factors, causes, and reasons of the decision to migrate

Check how the following are considered to have influenced the decision to migrate:

- Family, economic, cultural, geographic and group initial conditions.
- Initial information and clarification about the original and the destination labour market.
- Adjustment or misadjustment between expectations and situation actually found.
- Future projects, both professional and others.
- Personal preparation, maturity, motivation.
- Social integration: relations with friends, partners.
- Personal situation and life projects: needs, possibilities, opportunities, priorities, goals.

Higher or lower compatibility/reconciliation between different life spheres.

- Other aspects

C2. Interviewee's assessment of general employability in Portugal:

- Situation (and diversity of situations)
- Factors (conditions, causes, reasons)
- Expected evolution

C3. Improvement suggestions; contributes to (re)define emigration public policies

(besides the governments' role, emphasise the role of the Portuguese authorities and State; mention sectorial policies – employment, housing, family, etc. – but also general cross-sectorial policies)