TIMES THEY ARE A-CHANGING? FOR PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION:

A COMPARISION OF EMIGRANTS THAT DEPARTURE BEFORE AND AFTER THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to answer the question: To what extent do the Portuguese emigrants who left after the economic and financial crisis differ from those who left before this turning point? To fulfil this purpose, it is covered some literature on the impacts of this crisis on international migrations as well as some theories about the motivations that lead to emigration. The empirical component of this paper mobilizes data from a questionnaire survey applied to a sample of about 6,000 Portuguese residents in about 100 foreign countries. The field work took place between May 2014 and May 2015 and was applied in a multi-mode strategy, collecting surveys online and in paper-and-pen format. Several characteristics of the respondents are compared taking into account the year of departure from Portugal: before 2008 or after 2009. Furthermore, official statistics are also used to better corroborate the arguments.

KEYWORDS

Emigration, Economic crisis, Quantitative methods

¿LOS TIEMPOS ESTÁN CAMBIANDO PARA LA EMIGRACIÓN PORTUGUESA? UNA COMPARACIÓN DE LOS EMIGRANTES SALIDOS ANTES Y DESPUÉS DE LA CRISIS ECONÓMICA

RESUMEN

Este trabajo pretende responder a la pregunta: ¿En qué medida los emigrantes portugueses que salieron después de la crisis económica y financiera difieren

DE LOS QUE SE FUERON ANTES DE ESTE PUNTO DE INFLEXIÓN? PARA CUMPLIR CON ESTE PROPÓSITO, SE CUBRE UNA PARTE DE LA LITERATURA SOBRE LOS IMPACTOS DE ESTA CRISIS EN LAS MIGRACIONES INTERNACIONALES, ASÍ COMO ALGUNAS TEORÍAS SOBRE LAS MOTIVACIONES QUE CONDUCEN A LA EMIGRACIÓN. LA COMPONENTE EMPÍRICA DE ESTE TRABAJO MOVILIZA A LOS DATOS DE UNA ENCUESTA APLICADA A UNA MUESTRA DE CERCA DE 6.000 RESIDENTES PORTUGUESES EN CERCA DE 100 PAÍSES EXTRANJEROS. EL TRABAJO DE CAMPO SE LLEVÓ A CABO ENTRE MAYO DE 2014 Y MAYO DE 2015 Y SE APLICÓ EN UNA ESTRATEGIA MULTIMODAL, RECOPILANDO ENCUESTAS EN LÍNEA Y EN FORMATO DE PAPEL. SE COMPARAN VARIAS CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LOS ENCUESTADOS TENIENDO EN CUENTA EL AÑO DE SALIDA DE PORTUGAL: ANTES DE 2008 O DESPUÉS DE 2009. ADEMÁS SE UTILIZAN ESTADÍSTICAS OFICIALES TAMBIÉN PARA CORROBORAR MEJOR LOS ARGUMENTOS.

PALABRAS CLAVE

EMIGRACIÓN, CRISIS ECONÓMICA, MÉTODOS CUANTITATIVOS

INTRODUCTION[1, 2]

This paper aims to understand to what extent the latest economic crisis had an impact on Portuguese emigration. The importance and relevance of this exercise is linked to the recent context in Portugal (debt crisis and bailout), which combined an economic crisis and a high relevance (both quantitative and qualitative) of emigration flows. In this context, the political, mediatic and common sense discourse often connects both crisis and emigration in a causal mechanism. In order to better understand this link some of the literature on the latest crisis is reviewed. To latter analyse the empirical data from a questionnaire survey applied to a sample of Portuguese emigrants left before and after the 2008 crisis.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

BACKGROUND

The principle of freedom of movement for workers is one of the four basic elements of the European Union. European citizenship, implemented in 1992 in the Maastricht treaty, gives some special rights to its citizens: for example, equal treatment in the occupation of workplaces or the right to participate in local elections in the destination countries. This has not prevented the fact that over the past 30 years, only 2% of European citizens have lived and worked in a European country other than their country of birth. These values remained stable even with enlargement to the east (Hanewinkel et al. 2013).

Analysing the departure countries, Hungary and Slovenia experienced a slight increase of emigration after accession to the EU —around 1% of the population— the proximity to other countries

and economic growth behave as retention factors of the population. At the other extreme, Romania, a country with a long history of emigration, with the accession to the European Union, now presents emigration rates of around 9%. In this country, the estimates pointed to 3 million exits only in the year 2010. Poland, although with a positive economic situation, has also been a country with large outflows, at least since 2004, being responsible for most of the immigration to Ireland and the United Kingdom (Fic, Holland and Paluchowski 2011).

THE CRISIS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

The economic and sovereign debt crisis began in 2007, largely triggered by real estate speculation in the United States. In many countries, the financial crisis was associated with a recession. In several countries there has been a need to invest large sums to save domestic banks. This crisis has affected each European country differently (Hanewinkel et al. 2013).

According to Castles and Miller (2010), this crisis had different phases and each one had affected differently the immigrant population. Initially was a real estate crisis that particularly affected construction workers in the United States. In a second phase the crisis spread to the financial sector, which affected to large extent skilled workers in the financial sector or IT. It was further aggravated by an employment crisis, where low-skilled workers were particularly affected. Finally there was a debt crisis whose impact on migration is hard to understand. Along with the loss of employment in the above sectors, the decline in export demand and the decline in foreign direct investment also had impacts on industries and commercial enterprises that employ immigrants (Hanewinkel et al. 2013).

In demographics, taking into account the SOPEMI data, immigrant stocks did not decline sharply, in some cases stabilized and in others even increased (Dobson, Latham and Salt 2009). According to OECD 2012 data, intra-European migration declined between 2007 and 2010 (Hanewinkel et al. 2013). Specifying some of these migrations:

Countries such as the UK and Germany saw the number of immigrants from southern Europe rise, especially young unemployed from Greece, Spain and Portugal, dubbed by some as the «new guest workers» (Volker, 2012 in Hanewinkel et al. 2013). Some characteristics make these new workers distinctive from the previous emigrant generation: they are often highly qualified and often arrive already with some experience of European student mobility program (Hanewinkel et al. 2013).

With regard to the types of migrants, labor migrations were the most affected by the crisis, although the remaining (family reunions, student) should be postponed due to the lack of adequate income to support them. Forced migration and refugee migration, in their logic, are independent of economic factors. However, because they originate in economically vulnerable countries in which should be a greater pressure to exit. Also the possible reduction in the financial aid to development will imply a greater pressure on the population exits (Beets and Willekens 2009).

As unemployment increases in destination countries, the demand for immigrant labor is expected to decline. In turn, resident immigrants may lose their jobs and newly arrived immigrants may not find work. However, it is necessary to take into consideration the country to which these immigrants work. For example, countries such as France and Germany have not suffered so much from the increase in unemployment in 2009, because they have fewer part-time workers than Spain (among others), and also because the weight of construction in the national economy is lower (Rogers, Anderson and Clark 2009: 680). Decreases in wage values may also be observed, but should not affect stocks, flows or returns, for what matters most are the relative advantages between destination and origin (Beets and Willekens 2009).

Regarding the economic activity sectors, it was observed that during the years 2008 and 2009, the first years of the crisis, that there were impacts in four sectors of activity: construction, finance, manufacturing and travel services, all of them employers of immigrant population, but with different characteristics. Finances employ highly

skilled workers. The manufacture sector that employ medium-skilled workers. Construction and travel services deal with very low-skilled immigrants (Martin 2009). There should be more irregular workers in sectors of the economy employing less skilled workers such as construction, agriculture and catering, which are characterized by high volatility according to economic cycles (Castles and Miller 2010). However, it will not be an exclusive situation of the foreign population; these immigrant workers share the same characteristics with precarious autochthonous workers (Rogers, Anderson and Clark 2009).

At the other end of the spectrum, the most qualified segment, tending to be young and single, should be able to stay in the destination country more easily due to their ability to obtain a different work due to their language skills (Beets and Willekens 2009). Finally, it is worth mentioning that rapidly expanding areas such as Dubai (or Angola) can dispense both financial and construction workers (Martin 2009).

Theoretical framework and hypotheses

Post-materialist motivations

Recently, studies such as the ones from Colic-Peisker (2008) or Blitz (2014) associate the motivations underlying emigration to post-materialist values. This concept is based on Inglehart's theory of value change. According to this theory, since the 1960's there has been a modernization resulting from structural transformations such as economic and technological development, long periods of peace, increased levels of schooling and expansion of the media (Inglehart 1977: 4-5; 1990: 3-7). Consequently, culture has changed to adapt to these structural changes.

The impacts of modernization can be observed in phenomena such as «bureaucratization, hierarchy, centralization of authority, secularization, and a shift from traditional to secular-rational values» (Inglehart and Welzel 2010: 552). It is within this context of values change that is find,

more specifically, the shift from materialistic values to post-materialist values. The prevalence of materialistic or post-materialistic values is based on a needs-satisfaction logic inspired by Maslow's theory of hierarchy of needs (1970 [1954]). On the base of the priorities are the first-order needs that refer to the maintenance of existence and physical well-being (absence of hunger, subjective sense of security). Only when these needs are assured the individual can be concerned with second-order needs, which include, among others, the need for self-realization. First-order needs characterize individuals with materialistic value priorities, while second-order needs are present in individuals classified as post-materialists. Materialistic individuals ascribe higher priority to physical well-being and security, while individuals classified as post-materialists attribute greater relative preference to issues of self-expression, aesthetics, belonging, participation, and quality of life. In some more recent works (Inglehart and Norris 2016) post-materialistic values are associated with values of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. Regarding the second: «Cosmopolitan values emphasize the value of open national borders, shared multicultural values, diversity of peoples and lifestyles in outward looking and inclusive societies» (Inglehart and Norris 2016: 8).

In this way coexist people whose first-order needs are to be met and people who already have these needs satisfy, and thus feel the need to the fulfill second order needs associated with post-materialistic values. Inglehart's studies have observed over the years an increase in the number of people with post-materialist priorities. Largely, but not only, due to the replacement of the generations. This change in values explains the growth of emigration based on the demand for a lifestyle associated with certain countries or cities. As well as emigration for career reasons or as a milestone for personal fulfillment. These emigrations would have been residual in previous decades.

However, empirical evidence indicates that during 1970 and 2008 (the period when data collection on values change has been made), in times of insecurity there is a resurgence of materialistic values (Inglehart and Norris 2016). This explains

the coexistence of models of analysis of recent emigrations associated with post-materialist values (Blitz 2014; Colic-Peisker 2008) with other explanations that would easily be classified as materialist, as the theory of relative deprivation (Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2014) or anomie (Bygnes 2015). Both are described below.

Relative deprivation

The theory of relative deprivation, although not recent, neither originally conceived to explain emigration, deserves attention, especially because some updates may be made in order to better suit the recent context. The idea of relative deprivation, coined by Stouffer (Stouffer et al. 1949), gained special notoriety with Merton (1938), with his adaptation to deviant behavior. Relative deprivation is explained by a discrepancy between culturally defined goals and the institutionalized means to obtain them. It is based on the comparison with a reference group and on the perception of inequality in relation to this group. Its application to migration has gained notoriety with Stark and Yitzhaki (1988) according to which the perception of income inequality within a country or region leads to emigration, which in turn, through remittances, attenuates this inequality.

Although not directly related to economic crises or periods of economic instability, it is important for the present case if some revisions are made. In the initial formulations such as the one of Stark and Yitzhaki (1988) or Stark and Taylor (1991) the comparison is based on the co-nationals in the country of origin, these are the reference group. However, in this case, it may be considered that the reference group may also be the population of the destination country or other emigrants in this country. In this second case, the increase in emigration observed leads to a larger size of the reference group and, consequently, a greater notoriety on the part of this group. This could lead to an subsequent increase in emigration. The increase in news in the media about emigration (largely portraying cases

of success) also leads to greater awareness of these reference groups.

Regarding income inequality between coutries, the empirical data also seem to indicate, in the last years, a greater inequality among some of the countries that are part of Portugal's migratory system. With data from the World Bank was calculated the difference between the average income obtained in Portugal and in some of the main destination countries of Portuguese emigration (Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, France, United Kingdom and Luxembourg). Two periods in time were taken into account: 2007 and 2012 (to Germany 2006 and 2011). With the exception of the United Kingdom, the yield differential was always higher. That is, the income inequality between Portugal and these countries had increased (see Annex 1).

One last note should be pointed. The logic of relative deprivation applied to emigrations, while originally thought to have an economic dimension, may also be based on other dimensions as cultural, associated with lifestyles; or individual, associated with personal fulfillment. That is, the perception of the existence of amenities and lifestyle conditions in the destination country that not exisit in the country of origin can act as a motivation for the emigration.

Anomie

Durkheim's concept of anomie (2005 [1897]) was created to explain the sense of frustration and distress that emerges in situations of sudden changes in the economic context (whether they are of booms or of recession). The explanation is that these sudden changes are situations of instability that are inconsistent with the common goals preexisting in society. What generates in people a «lack of normative rules, moral guidance and moral values» which associates with feelings of «normlessness, meaningless and isolation» (Braham 2013: 7).

The link between anomie and emigration has been applied in a number of contexts, such as the

period that anticipated the independence of Hong Kong from the United Kingdom (Wong 1992), in the Eastern European countries after the fall of the Soviet Union (Savelsberg 1995), and more recently in the emigration after 2008 of highly qualified Spaniards to Norway (Bygnes, 2015).

Given the enumerated theories it can be expected that, during periods of economic stability or growth, emigration based on post-materialist motivations had increased. In times of economic crisis, sentiments of anomie should emerge and, given that the crisis has unequally affected the countries of the world (Dadush, Falcao and Ali 2009) will generate feelings of relative deprivation having as reference groups members of less affected countries as well as co-national emigrants in the same countries.

2. APPLICATION TO THE RECENT PORTUGUESE CASE

OBJECTIVES

The aim of the empirical component of this paper is to compare

some characteristics of Portuguese emigrants that departed before and after the turning point of the economic crisis, considered here the year of 2008. It is aware of the difficulty in objectively define the year in which the economic crisis was triggered, but the observation of the GDP growth rate in Portugal (Figure 1) shows that from 2007 to 2009, there was a relevant decrease, although negative values were also observed in 1993 and in 2003 were not so low.

Figure 1 GDP growth rate in Portugal, 1990 to 2013, %
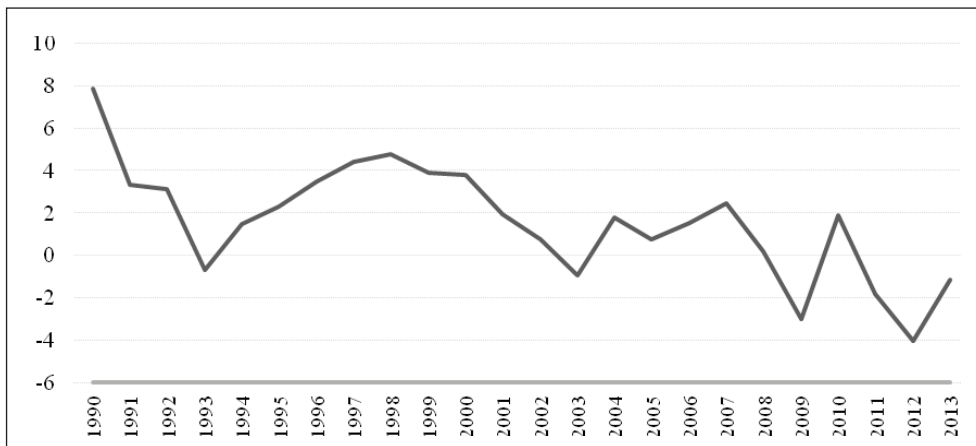
Source: INE/BP, Pordata

Method and objectives

The empirical material used results from a questionnaire survey applied under the project REMIGR[3]. This research project aimed to characterize the new Portuguese emigration (departures of the country after 2000) and its transnational relations. The universe defined consisted in all the Portuguese (Portuguese born or Portuguese citizens) living abroad that departed after the year of 2000. Since the official statistics on migrant stocks only present an accumulated of all migratory

waves and not only of the most recent migrations, it is not possible to know the dimension of the universe, so, it was not possible to calculate the size of the sample to inquire, neither to know its statistical representativeness. Thus the sample used is considered a convenience sample. The fieldwork took place between May 2014 and May 2015. The surveys were applied both online and through the traditional paper-and-pen format.

The online strategy involved the creation and maintenance of an online website (www.remigr. pt), as well as a facebook page. These two channels made it possible to disseminate the research project and the questionaire survey on the web. In the online survey the strategy of disclosure privileged an approach inspired in the theory of the two-step flow of communication (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1948). This means that rather than requesting collaboration directly, the research team identified mediators between them and the Portuguese emigrants. Special attention was given to emigrant associations and media. In the emigrant associations it was taken as a basis a list available on the website of the Observatório da Emigração (observatory of emigration) (http:// observatorioemigracao.pt). This original list has been purged and updated with new memberships. About 70 associations of emigrants were contacted and asked to spread the online survey to their associates. Regarding online media for emigrants, about a dozen newspapers addressed to the Portuguese diaspora communities were contacted. About 10 blogs managed by Portuguese emigrants were also contacted. Finally, invitations to participate in the study were launched in about 200 facebook private groups directed to Portuguese emigrants. Since the web survey link has circulated over the internet, and the invitations have been resubmitted, it is not possible to know how many invitations were sent and thus know the response rate.

Within what is considered the offline promotion strategy, Portuguese newspapers were contacted, both general and specific (i.e.: economic, sports). Were also contacted some newspapers directed to Portuguese diasporas. Some of these newspapers

have published articles regarding the research project and disseminated the online survey.

In the online modality, 4.428 responses were collected from about 100 countries. In the traditional modality, 1.658 questionnaires were collected in France, United Kingdom, Luxembourg, Brazil, Angola and Mozambique. The most significant limitation of the collected sample is the high weight of the responses obtained in online mode. Since access to questionnaire surveys is facilitated for those with internet access with computer experience, that is, only a part of the digital divide (Rhodes, Bowie, & Hergenrather, 2003). This implied, as will be seen, a high proportion of emigrants with a higher education qualification on the sample.

The main objective in this paper is to compare some characteristics of the respondents that have left Portugal before 2008 (including) with the ones that departed after 2009. These characteristics will be first analysed in a descriptive comparative analysis. The analysis is to be divided into the following topics: sociodemographic, migratory trajectory and integration. Secondly, a logistic regression will help to better understand these effects.

Results

Variable criteria: Year of arrival

The proportion of respondents that arrived up to 2008 represented in Figure 2 represents a minority: 24%. This should be interpreted with due caution, it does not mean that the majority of Portuguese emigration after the year 2000 occurred after 2009, only that, because of convenience sampling, more recent emigration data were collected. This could have happened also due to high turnover in emigration, which means that many people who have emigrated until the year of 2008 have returned in the meantime. These data can also be due to a greater propensity of more recent migrants to take part in the study.

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Figure 2 Year of arrival at the destination country, n
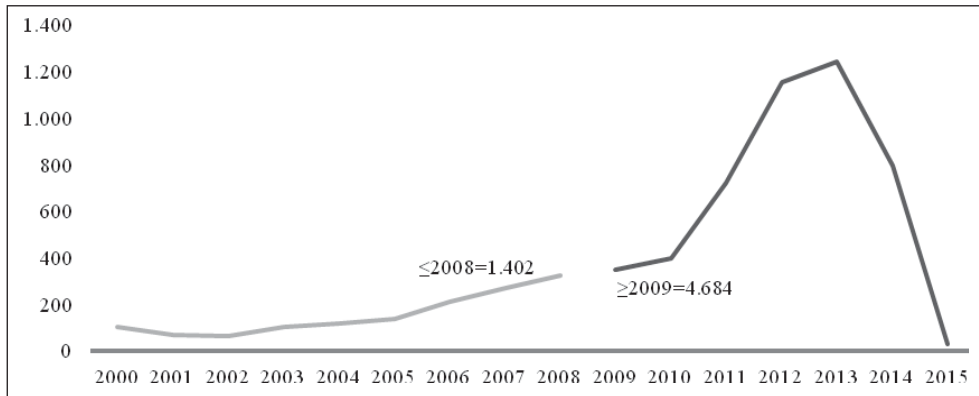
Source: REMIGR (2014-1015)

Demographics

By comparing the characteristics of emigrants who left before and after the crisis turning point

(Table 1), it is clear that both subsamples are slightly balanced in terms of gender differences.

Table 1 Comparison of sociodemographic characteristics, %

Sociodemographic	≤ 2008	≥ 2009
Sex		
Male	52,9	51,9
Female	47,1	48,1
Marital status		
Single	32,1	47,5
Married or in union	58,8	46,4
Divorced or separated	8,1	5,8
Widowed	0,9	0,3
Level of school education		
high school	42,1	26,1
higher education	57,9	73,9
Age when emigrated (mean)	29,25	31,92

Source: REMIGR (2014-1015)

Regarding schooling, there is a substantial proportion of emigrants with a college degree; however, this should be largely a result of a greater predisposition of the more educated population to respond to surveys by questionnaire (see method section). Through official statistics, there is no empirical basis for considering that the more recent emigration is majorly higher education graduates, although this group has increased its relative weight (For data on Portuguese born living in OECD countries see Pires et al. 2014: 33). The post 2009 subsample presents an even more scholarly profile. Two factors should be mentioned in order to defend the higher proportion of more educated in the most recent emigrated. First, there is an increase in the enrolment in higher education

of the resident population in Portugal (Figure 3). That is not so much a result of factors of attraction or repulsion but of profound structural changes in the Portuguese population.

Figure 3 Resident population aged 15 and over with higher education, %
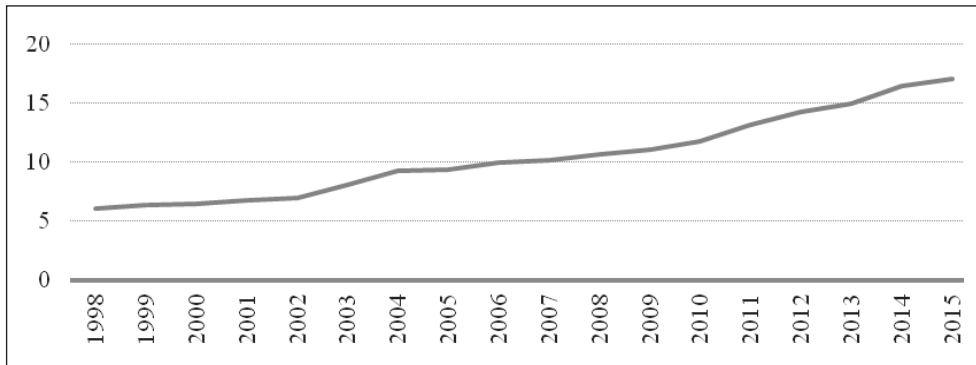
Secondly, there were also changes in the Portuguese economic environment. In particular, the increase of unemployment in higher education graduates (Figure 4). Especially between 2012 and 2014 when more than one-tenth of the graduates were unemployed, compared to about 3% at the beginning of the millennium. Nevertheless, unemployment is lower in this group than in other education levels.

Figure 4 Unemployment rate of the population with full tertiary education
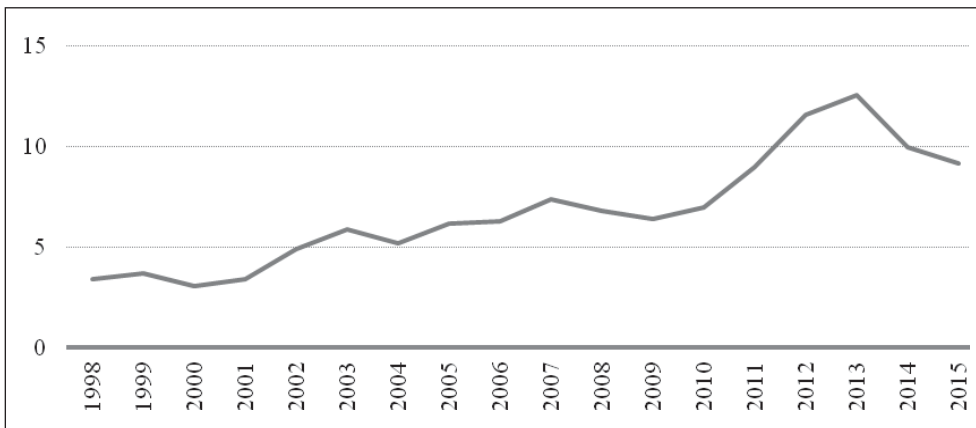
Contrarily to what some literature suggests, the age in which the respondents' departure in the quota of after 2009 is slightly older than the ones that emigrated before. This may point to a greater diversity of emigration profiles in the post 2009 period. That is, it is not much a question of an older emigration nowadays, but in addition to the classic young emigrants, there is also a profile of less younger departing emigrants. Among them some

expatriates, often framed in projects of companies in which they already collaborated with[4].

As regards to the marital status (Table 1), it should be noted that while in the first group, marriage and civil unions predominate, in the second group this concentration gives rise to a greater diversity, coexisting in similar proportions those who are married or single. If the figures for the resident population in Portugal are taken into account, the proportion of married people follows a general trend in which, according to census data, around 50% of

the Portuguese population is married since the 1981 census (with a slight decrease to 47% in the census of 2011) (Source: INE / Pordata).

Migratoty trajectory

In the items referring to the migratory trajectory were analysed the existence of emigration experience, the reasons attributed to the departure from Portugal and the migratory strategy (Table 2).

Table 2 Comparison of indicators regarding the migratory trajectory

	≤ 2008	≥ 2009
Destination countries		
Europe	77,5	62,5
Outside Europe	22,5	37,5
Emigration experience		
Yes	29,1	35,3
No	70,9	64,7
Departure reasons		
Family reasons (gather or follow family)	14,3	11,7
Was unemployed	13,0	21,0
Was employed, but my salary was very low	17,5	20,3
Had no career opportunities	24,8	32,5
Business development opportunity	3,9	5,5
Wanted to study or improve professional training	17,6	14,0
Saw no future in the country	31,9	39,8
Desire to carry out new experiences	35,7	35,1
Migration strategy		
Alone	53,2	52,6
With the spouse, partner, boyfriend or girlfriend	30,9	34,8
With other family members	10,4	5,8
With colleagues or friends	4,4	5,7

Source: REMIGR (2014-1015)

The first indicator on the migratory trajectory shows that the ratio between emigration to European countries and to countries outside Europe was initially constituted by about ¾ to European destinations. In the second moment it loses relative weight, although it is still the majority, counting

63% of the emigrants in the most recent period. There may have been a shift in migration to countries that were not so affected by the economic crisis. A phenomenon that has already occurred in previous crises, such as the Oil Shocks on the 1970´s (Koser 2009; Sward and Skeldon 2009).

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[4] For theoretical debates around expats see Findlay, Jowett, and Skeldon (1996) or Koppenfels (2014) for empirical data see Dumont and Lemaître (s.d.)

Another explanation on this shift on the destination countries can lay down on the data displayed on Figure 5. It shows that although a large number of non-European countries also experienced economic growth failures in 2009, they recovered better than the Portugal (with due reservations since some countries like Mozambique started from lower per capita values). The rationale is that the low economic growth in Portugal, together with a not so unfavourable scenario in other countries may have worked as a conjuncture situation for this emigration.

Figure 5 GDP growth rate in Portugal and in the main non-European destination countries[5]
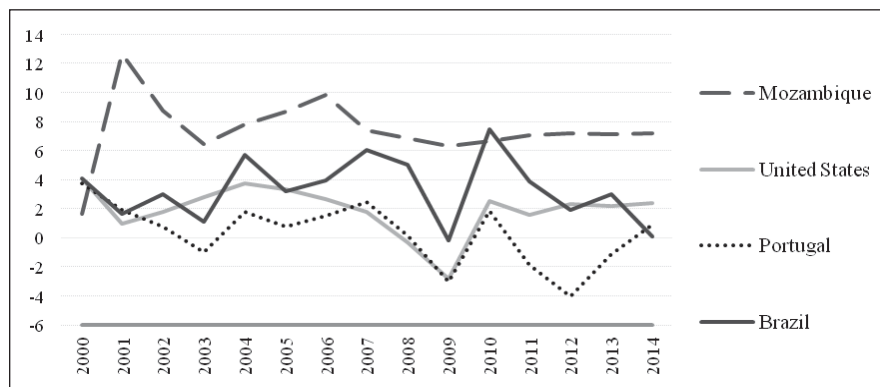
Source: World Bank

This shift could also be a result of the influence of the investment of Portuguese companies in non-European countries (Figure 6). The rational is that this money investment is accompanied by some human resources. This explains why countries like Brazil and Angola that have relevant investment from Portugal, are also important countries for emigration.

Figure 6 Direct investment of Portugal abroad (in millions of Euros)
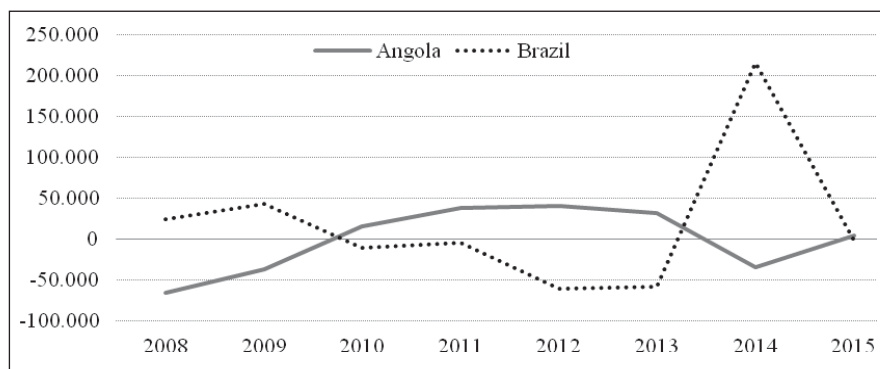
Source: Banco de Portugal - Monetary and financial statistics

[5] Although Angola is one of the main destinations of the sample, it only had values of GDP growth rate for 2000 and 2001. For the ease of reading the figure it was decided not to include these values.

Secondly in Table 2 the existence of a previous migratory experience is analyzed. It is argued by some literature that the new migrations already have some previous experience of mobility, especially academic mobility such as the ERASMUS programs (Hanewinkel et al. 2013). In fact, among the group that emigrated after 2009, there is a higher proportion of emigration experience (35% versus 29%).

The third item analyzed in Table 2 refers to the factors that led to the emigration.

The pre-crisis migrations where especially motivated by the need to undertake new experiences

(36%) and secondly by the lack of future in the country (32%). In the most recent emigration subgroup, the hierarchy is inverted, with the lack of future and in second place the motivations by experience (40% and 35%). This idea of having no future in the country of origin is even one of those items where the difference between the two subsamples is higher. Unemployment is also one of t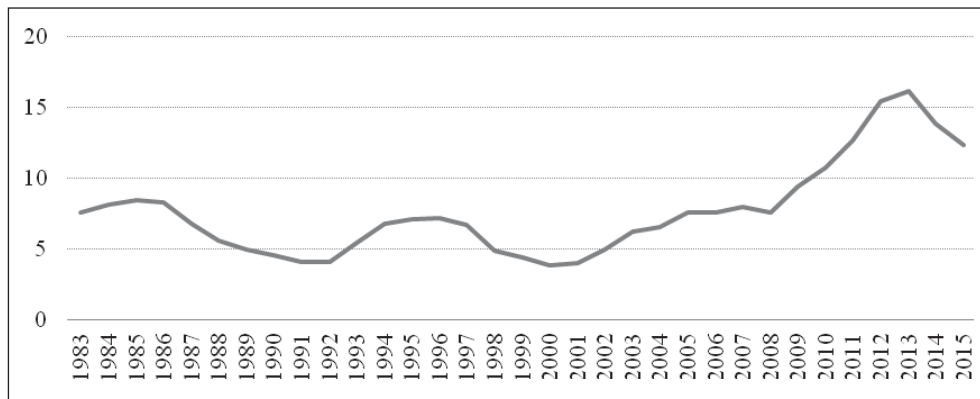he items where the difference is substantial, what is a clear result of the rise of unemployment in Portugal (Figure 7).

Figure 7 Unemployment rate in Portugal 1983-2015

Source: INE Labor Force Survey, Pordata

In the first moment the motives of the experiment predominate, very close to the results of Favell (2011) on the eurostars (even if the sample being analyzed is not a eurostars sample). In the more recent quota, the motivations for experience continue to exist, but they lose space for the item «lack of future in the country», this goes in line to what other authors consider anomie (Bygnes 2015). If one takes into account the theoretical framework presented on the section regarding the motivations for emigration, it can be said that, while in the pre-crisis period, the most mentioned item can be classified as post-materialists. In the second moment the materialist factors gain weight. However, it is not an abrupt change but

more a change in ranking positions. Nevertheless, it deserves attention.

One last reference in the motives do departure is related to the lower weight of the migrations for family reasons. Like Beets and Willekens (2009) refer, there should be a tendency to postpone non labor migrations such as student migration and family reunifications.

One of the factors that attract the Portuguese to foreign countries is the wage differentials since 18% (pre 2008) and 23% (post 2009) emigrated due to low salary. The wage differentials comparison relates directly to what some authors consider the relative deprivation theory (Massey et al. 1993; Stark and Taylor 1981; Stark and Yitzhaki 1988; Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2014). If the average

income per capita of Portugal is considered in comparison to the one in some of the destination countries for which data is available (Figure 8), it is clear that the average salary is always higher. Obviously, the per capita wage does not mean per se the income of the immigrant population. But there must be some contagion effect, for example, through limits such as the minimum wage. However, some other factors can make this difference not as beneficial for the immigrant population as for example the cost of living underlying in each country.

The case of Brazil emerges as singular, since per capita wages are substantially lower than the Portuguese. However, given to the fact that Brazil is also a very unequal country regarding income differentials[6], it is expected that the Portuguese will not occupy lower base positions in this country.

Figure 8 Average income per capita in Portugal and some of the main destination countries of emigration (2011 PPP $ per day)
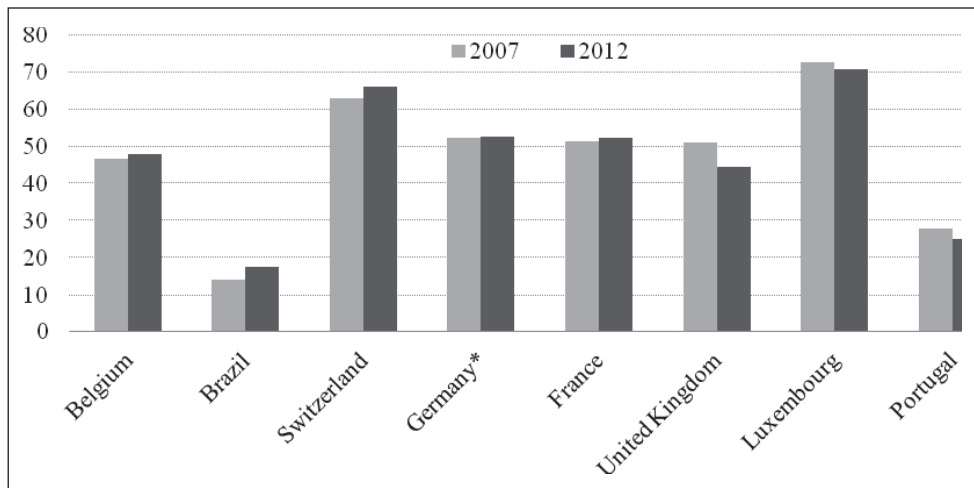
Source: World Bank

* German data from 2006 and 2011

Next, family reasons are referred by 14% (pre 2008) and 12% (post 2009) of the emigrants. This may indicate that the most recent migrations tend to be within a short emigration project, thus not compensating for family reunification, or as previously mentioned family reunions tend to be postponed in periods of crisis (Beets and Willekens 2009).

Last in table 2 are the migratory strategies. Solitary migrations predominate in both cases; however, in the most recent emigration group there is an increase in migrations with the spouse and a slight increase in migrations with colleagues or friends. The reduction of unaccompanied migrations and the increase in the relative weight of these two modalities may be an evidence of what is claimed to be a greater diversity in recent migrations. However, the decrease in migration with other family members does not help to corroborate this argument.

[6] Between 1981 and 2013, the values of the GINI coefficient for Brazil ranged from 52,7 to 63,3, standing in the last year for which data are available at 52.9; In Portugal, the figures between 2004 and 2012 ranged from 34,9 to 38,9, in the last year was 36 (Source: World Bank).

Integration

The integration indicators analyzed will be the providers of support at the destination country and some integration difficulties. The main support received is compared in four fields (information about the destination country, financing of the trip, finding accommodation and finding work) (Table 3). Regarding information about the country of destination, 30% of those who emigrated before 2008 obtained this help through their relatives, while in the most recent subsample; the more important informants were Portuguese friends, covering 30% of the answers. The financial support of the trip in the period prior to 2008 was predominantly financed by family members, and in the most recent period the figure of the employer dominated (31%). With regard to housing, while in the previous period it was almost equally divided between the employer and family members (25% each), in the group of the most recent emigrants stood out the employer with a third of the answers. Finally, in the field of obtaining employment, the employer predominates in both moments, but is much more important in the second moment (36% versus 26%). The relatives, who assumed some weight in the first moment (18%), lose importance in the second group (11%).

To sum up, support networks seem to go from being anchored in family members to becoming more formal and centred on the employer. The field seems to be one of the few in which there is not greater diversity of situations in post 2009 emigrants, but instead there is a high concentration of the figure of the employer.

Table 3 Comparison of the main support providers[7]

	≤ 2008	≥ 2009
Information about the country		
Relatives	29,8	24,9
Portuguese friends	21,8	30,0
Employer	19,5	25,9
Financial support for the travel		
Relatives	27,4	24,1
Portuguese friends	2,1	2,0
Employer	20	30,7
Find accommodation		
Relatives	24,6	18,9
Portuguese friends	14,1	16,3
Employer	24,7	33
Finding work		
Relatives	18,4	11,0
Portuguese friends	11,3	12,4
Employer	26,2	36,4

Source: REMIGR (2014-1015)

When the difficulties of integration are analyzed in nine different domains (Table 4), the tendency is for more pronounced difficulties in the most recent emigration. The only item in which the mean values are lower is in the situations of racism and discrimination. This can be explained by a positive image towards recent European emigrants that exist in some countries, for example, in Germany (Hanewinkel et al. 2013). The differences are especially relevant in the case of difficulties in

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[7] An item named «Portuguese that you met on arrival» is not shown due to the low frequencies.

accessing housing and also in dealing with the bureaucratic apparatus, access to health services and integration of children into school. If in the first case it should be the result of a migration that seeks residence in more central and cosmopolitan areas of cities, which can be considered the «seekers of life experiences and culture» (Meeteren and Pereira 2013). The remaining ones may be the result of a strong migration to countries such as Angola and Mozambique, countries in reconstruction where the generalization of health and education services is

still ongoing. The bureaucracy will be higher in the most recent quota probably due to the increased incidence of non-European destination countries, which most of them require visas.

It should be noted that the observation of higher values in the group of more recent emigrants should also take into account the retrospective character of the question. For those who left Portugal before, emigration and arrival at destination is a more distant event in their life and, in which over time, difficulties experienced may tend to be minimized.

Table 4 Comparison of integration difficulties (means)

	≤ 2008	≥ 2009
Language / language problems	2,2	2,3
Discrimination / racism	2,1	2,0
Difficulties in finding a job	2,1	2,1
Obtaining social support	2,3	2,5
Few friends or loneliness	2,4	2,5
Access to health care	1,8	2,2
Bureaucracies	2,6	3,0
Integration of children into school	1,7	2,0
Difficulties to rent a house / apartment	2,6	3,0

Scale: 1- not difficult, 5- very difficult

Source: REMIGR (2014-1015)

Multivariate model

In order to better understand the previous differences a series of logistic regressions were run having as criteria the year of arrival (post 2009=1). Initially were run three isolated models, one for each block of variables: sociodemographic, migratory trajectory and integration. The first model had three variables. The female sex as dummy variable, the age when emigrated, and the higher education graduations as dummy (Annex 2). All three are positively related to post 2009 emigration but only the last two assume statistical significance.

A second model (Annex 3) with the variables related to the migratory trajectory counts with

the destination countries outside Europe and the existence of emigration experience as dummy variables. They are both positively related to the criteria variable. The reasons for leaving Portugal (also as dummy variables) that revealed statistical significance were the unemployment situations in Portugal, the low salary, the lack of future in Portugal, and the desire to pursue a career (in this order). In the variables related to the migratory strategy, none assume statistical significance.

In the third block (Annex 4) were introduced the received support items as dummy variables and the difficulties experienced in a Likert scale[8]. The information about the country received through the employer and the obtaining of employment

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[8] The 5 item Likert scale scale was recoded to 3 item due to a low frequency on some items.

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through family members are statistically relevant and positively related to the newer emigrants[9]. In regard to the difficulties felt, situations such as racism and discrimination are negatively related to the recent emigrations; and the difficulties in access to housing and integrating children in school are both positively related to the recent emigrated group.

In the final model were introduced the statistically significant variables from the previous models (Table 5). In this model, the figure of the employer as information provider regarding the country loses relevance. The remainders remain statistically significant. Summing-up in other words, emigration

in a recent post-crisis period, compared with those who emigrated before the crisis, is more likely to be associated to people who emigrated older, with higher education, that departed to non-European countries and that had previously emigrated. This new group is more associated with departure motives like unemployment, low salaries, a lack of future in Portugal or the will to pursue a career. They are also more associated with getting jobs through the networks of family members, feeling fewer difficulties in the field of racism and discrimination, but with more difficulties in finding a place to live.

Table 5 Final model

	B	Odds Ratio
Age at time of emigration	0,04***	1,04
Higher-level education (dummy)	-0,69***	0,50
Country of destination outside Europe (dummy)	-0,53***	0,59
Emigration experience (dummy)	-0,24*	0,78
Left Portugal…		
…due to unemployment (dummy)	-0,71***	0,49
…for having low salary (dummy)	-0,34***	0,71
…to develop a career (dummy)	-0,17*	0,84
for having no future (dummy)	-0,40***	0,67
Supports:		
Country information from employer (dummy)	-0,05	0,95
Getting work from relatives (dummy)	0,26**	1,30
Integration difficulties:		
Discrimination / racism	-0,19***	0,83
Difficulties to rent a house / apartment	0,30***	1,35
Constant	1,60***	4,95
Nagelkerke R Square		0,13

*p<0,05, **p<0,01, ***p<0,001

Conclusion

It was the aim of this paper to better understand to what extent the most recent economic crisis affected the profile of Portuguese emigration. To fulfil this purpose was used data from a questionnaire

survey applied to a sample of Portuguese emigrants that departed between 2000 and 2015.

Differences were found in terms of demographic profile, of motivation for leaving Portugal and in some indicators of integration. Some characteristics that distinguish the most recent wave of emigration

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[9] Although in the descriptive analysis the weight in this item was higher in the group that emigrated before 2008 in the multivariate model the weight reverses, possibly due to the introduction of other factors.

result from structural changes in Portuguese society such as the greater schooling of the Portuguese population or the increase of unemployment that assume in 2013 values almost 4 times higher when compared with those observed at the beginning of the millennium. Other external reasons to the Portuguese structural features concern the unequal impact of the crisis, some of the countries that were not affected by this event became Portuguese labor destinations. Secondly, some investment of Portuguese companies in third countries, especially Lusophone countries, was accompanied by a human resources posting. There were also differences in the motivations underling the emigration. The relative economic stability that was felt until 2008 led to a greater awareness of emigration based on post-materialist motivations. However, the impact of the crisis implied a reflux of these motivations and gave rise to the motivations classified as materialists. A expectable phenomenon in light of Inglehart's theory (Inglehart 1990; Inglehart and Norris 2016). The economic crises, being periods of instability, also become migrations based on feelings of anomie, like a «lack of future in Portugal», following Durkheim's (2005[1897]) proposals. Another relevant difference that follows in line with the materialistic explanations was the rise of emigration due to unemployment, situation that can be explained by changes in the labor market. It has been shown through official statistics that unemployment rose from 2009 and reached in 2014 values never observed before-in the last 30 years.

In the integration difficulties, the more recent profile, due to his higher school qualifications, is privileged with a positive image in some countries of destination (Hanewinkel et al. 2013), which means that do not suffer so much from situations of racism and discrimination, in comparison with the emigration of the previous period. In turn, it is possible that a desire to reside in more central and cosmopolitan areas (which can be considered part of post-materialistic motivations) make it more difficult to the post 2009 emigration group to find a residence.

One consideration must be made before finishing. It is not argued that it was the economic crisis that changed the profile of Portuguese emigrants. On the one hand, and as in previous crises, it is difficult to isolate the effects of the crisis from other structural changes that occur simultaneously (Koser 2009: 10). The profile of highly skilled migrants had already been identified since the middle of the last century (see Peixoto 1999). And when the factors of repulsion are specified, it should be emphasized that they all existed previously, though with the crisis they were magnified (Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2014). Although there have been some changes in the profile and characteristics of the integration of Portuguese emigrants after the economic crisis, these differences do not correspond to a change of profile. It is not a substitution of one type of emigrants for another type. The pseudo R square is of 0,13 so although statistically significant, it is not very high. It is argued that the more recent emigration became a more diversified emigration, adding of diversity to the classic profile of emigrants. In conclusion, Portuguese emigration after the economic crisis is a more diversified emigration: more diversified in its profile, more diversified in its motivations and more diversified in its integration. In comparison to what Vertovec (2007) referred to as a superdiversity of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom, it is argued that in Portuguese emigration, there is now a greater diversity of profiles. Future directions of the research will test the characteristics of these profiles using statistical methods for cluster analysis.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1: Difference in average income per capita (2011 PPP $ per day) between Portugal and some of the main destinations of Portuguese emigration.

	2007	2012
Belgium	18,91	22,81
Switzerland	35,21	41,08
Germany	24,44	27,68
France	23,54	27,42
United Kingdom	23,13	19,27
Luxembourg	44,83	45,74

Source: World Bank. Author's calculations.

Annex 2 Regression coefficients and odds ratio for sociodemographic variables

	B	Odds Ratio
Female (dummy)	0,1	1,11
Age at time of emigration	0,04***	1,04
Higher-level education (dummy)	0,77***	2,15
Constant	-0,60***	0,55
Nagelkerke R Square	0,06	

*p<0,05, **p<0,01, ***p<0,001

Annex 3 Regression coefficients and odds ratio for variables related to migratory trajectory

	B	Odds Ratio
Country of destination outside Europe (dummy)	0,83***	2,30
Emigration experience (dummy)	-0,30***	0,74
Left Portugal…		
for family reasons (dummy)	-0,07	0,93
due to unemployment (dummy)	-0,76***	0,47
for having low salary (dummy)	-0,33***	0,72
to develop a career (dummy)	-0,28***	0,75
to study (dummy)	-0,01	0,99
for having no future (dummy)	-0,37***	0,69
for the experience (dummy)		
Migratory strategy:	-0,06	0,94
Alone (dummy)	-0,06	0,94
With the spouse (dummy)	-0,22	0,80
With other relatives (dummy)	0,39	1,48
With friends or colleagues (dummy)	-0,32	0,72
Constant	2,74	15,44
Nagelkerke R Square	0,075	

*p<0,05, **p<0,01, ***p<0,001

Annex 4 Regression coefficients and odds ratio for integration-related variables

		B	Odds Ratio
Support			
Country Information	Family (dummy)	0,07	1,08
	Portuguese friends (dummy)	-0,15	0,86
	Employer (dummy)	0,58*	1,78
	Family (dummy)	0,15	1,16
Travel financing	Portuguese friends (dummy)	0,62	1,86
	Employer (dummy)	-0,09	0,91
	Family (dummy)	-0,4	0,67
Getting accommodation	Portuguese friends (dummy)	-0,31	0,73
	Employee (dummy)	-0,46	0,63
	Family (dummy)	0,66***	1,94
Finding work	Portuguese friends (dummy)	0,04	1,04
	Employer (dummy)	-0,23	0,8
Integration difficulties		0,02	1,02
Language / language problems		-0,27*	0,77
Discrimination / racism		0,09	1,1
Difficulties in finding a job		-0,07	0,93
Obtaining social support		0,09	1,1
Few friends or loneliness		0,06	1,06
Access to health care		-0,15	0,86
Bureaucracies		0,32*	1,37
Integration of children into school		0,28***	1,32
To rent a house / apartment		-0,85	0,43
Constant			
Nagelkerke R Square		0,081	

*p<0,05, **p<0,01, ***p<0,001