

LUSO-AMERICAN
FOUNDATION

IS AN ETHCLASS
EMERGING IN
EUROPE?
THE PORTUGUESE CASE



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JOSÉ CARLOS MARQUES
GRAÇA FONSECA

Lisbon, July 2000

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INTRODUCTION

All Southern European countries have a long-standing tradition of emigration and a quite recent history of immigration. It is a well-known fact that new developments require adaptation and adaptation requires time, which essentially means that societal processes of adaptation to the existence of significant and visible foreign minorities are still in the making in all Southern European countries.

Given the extremely different economic and political contexts in which the in-flows to Southern Europe are taking place, the political handling of immigration by Southern European countries has been substantially different from the migration policies endorsed by the Northern European countries during the “thirty glorious years” following the Second World War. It is, thus, reasonable to presume that this difference in contexts will produce different outcomes both in terms of domestic societies’ responses to the presence of foreigners in their midst, and of immigrants’ processes of integration into their respective host societies¹.

The main objective of the present report is to describe the recent Portuguese migratory experience according to a standardized framework of items to be followed by all the countries involved in the project².

Given the overall research design and the methodological approach that were proposed for this project some methodological clarification needs to be done in order to insure the greatest possible accuracy in interpreting and handling the information contained in the present report.

This clarification is of utmost relevance when we consider the content of the three basic concepts that guided all the data collected and subsequent analysis, namely: immigrants, ethnic minorities and ethnic class.

¹ The present report resulted from a European Project named “Towards An Emerging Ethclass” whose aim was to provide a description and discussion of the current situation and recent trends of immigration in seven European countries (United Kingdom, Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal. In this project participated the following Foundations: European Cultural Foundation (Amsterdam), Fondation Roi Baudouin (Brussels), Fondazione Cariplo per le Iniziative e lo Studio sulla Multietnicità (Milan), Freudenberg Stiftung (Weinheim), Fundação Luso-Americana para o Desenvolvimento e Fundação Oriente (Lisbon), Fundacio Serveis de Cultura Popular (Barcelona), The German Marshall Fund of the United States (Berlin).

² The original report, (Freudenberg Stiftung, 2000), also includes a section that focuses on the economic incorporation of immigrants into the Portuguese informal economy not included in the present publication.

The concept of immigrants was defined in the “Model for Country Report”³ as follows: “all people from a foreign origin living and working in the country, including non-working family members”. The present report has adopted this definition.

³ The project “Towards An Emerging Ethclass” was guided by a common framework, titled “Model for Country Report” elaborated, in April of 1999, by the project coordinators.

The concept of ethnic minorities was defined as “descendants of immigrants who have the country’s citizenship but who suffer from discrimination due to their origin”. This concept, however, raises serious questions of accuracy with regard to its objective and in its subjective components. First, it is more than debatable that in Portugal “foreign” ethnic minorities are the outcome of previous processes of immigration. In fact, the existence of ethnic minorities of non-European origin is, in the case of Portugal, largely the outcome of a process of de-colonization that, contrary to the rest of Europe, only took place during the mid 1970’s, after the Revolution of 1974. The disorganized transfer of political power to the former African Colonies entailed the forced return to the mainland of about half a million people, a substantial part of whom retroactively lost their Portuguese nationality on account of their African ancestry. In light of Portuguese history, to consider “some” of the children of these returnees as “descendants of immigrants” is, in our opinion, unacceptable.

Second, the definition of ethnic minorities mentioned above also involves a value judgment regarding the existence or non existence of “discrimination due to their origin”. As it stands, this value judgment introduces an extremely high level of subjectivity into the project, since each national team may eventually adopt different types of measurements to evaluate discrimination, seriously undermining future prospects of comparability on this topic.

Given that no further operationalization of the concept was done to insure comparability of results, we have defined the content of the term “ethnic minorities” as follows: first, we

restricted the content of the term ethnic minorities and excluded from the analysis a substantial domestic ethnic minority, the Gypsies. Second, we consider ethnic minorities to be those groups of people who, owing to their visibility and spatial concentration in run-down suburban areas, are referred to as ethnic minorities in the media, in academic works, and included in a number of public and semi-public programs aimed at social inclusion. These are Portuguese or foreign citizens of African ancestry and their descendants, from Portugal's former African colonies, who inhabit or have inhabited downgraded suburban areas. This definition (and it is the only possible definition to adopt, given the secondary sources available on this topic) imposes specific limitations on the interpretation of results that need to be taken into consideration. First, the term overlaps with the concept of immigrant, since the definition is based on African ancestry (independently of legal status and of date of arrival) and poor living conditions (regardless of the roots of their present social exclusion). Consequently, the content of the term adopted in the present report will probably address a different population than the one targeted under the same concept by the other national reports. Second, the definition of the term "ethnic minorities" that has been adopted implies that our assessment on the emergence or non-emergence of an ethnic class will be based on the aforementioned definition.

Finally, the content of the last basic term "ethnic class" also presents problems, since the definition proposed by the "Model for Country Report" specifically states that "an ethnic class is the outcome of a process of ethnic stratification, which means a systematic and stable combination of material class positions at lower levels with specific cultural characteristics". Given the novelty of the presence of sizable and visible minorities of African ancestry in Portugal, the first problem the definition

raises is how long is “long enough” for a social process to be considered stable? Is less than one generation a long enough span of time when intergenerational stability is crucial to the definition? The second problem has to do with the empirical evidence available to verify the condition “only a systematic and stable social exclusion due to origin is to be considered the basis for an ethnic class”. In fact, to our knowledge, in the case of Portugal, there is no empirical evidence that can reliably be used to determine causation for social exclusion. Due to the above-mentioned conceptual problems and empirical limitations, our reflection on the emergence or non emergence of an ethnic class in Portugal will probably be based on different assumptions than the reflections on these topics presented in the other national reports.

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Part A

General Descriptive Overview

1. HISTORY AND GROUPS OF IMMIGRANTS

Until the mid-1970's, the number of foreigners residing in Portugal was of small relevance numerically. The Census of 1960 registered 29,000 foreign residents in Portugal of which 67 percent were from Europe, 1.5 percent from Africa, and 22 percent from Brazil⁴. Fifteen years later, the number of resident foreigners was still only 32,000 (INE, Estatísticas Demográficas, 1995)⁵.

After the revolution of 1974, and due to the process of decolonization that ensued (1975-1980), the foreign population grew at an annual average rate of 12.7 percent and progressively changed in composition to the extent that it became primarily composed of African citizens, largely from Portugal's former colonies⁶ (in 1980 there were 58,000 foreign residents, of whom 48 percent were from Africa, 31 percent from Europe and 11 percent from South America). During the next 10 years, the number of foreign residents increased at an annual rate of 6.4 percent, and became more diversified, due particularly to a renewed in-flow from Brazil.

Finally, in the past seven years, the growth of the foreign population has intensified, increasing at an average of 7.2 percent per year, while becoming more heterogeneous in composition. In 1997, of the 175,000 legally registered foreigners, 47 percent were from Africa, 28 percent from Europe, 14 percent from South America and 6 percent from North America. It is important to note that during the 1990's, two drives to legalize the status of the foreign population took place. The first, in 1992, was aimed at legalizing the status of approximately 39,000 foreign individuals, while the second drive in 1996, took in 35,000 immigrants. This means, in essence, that the growth observed in the legal foreign population during this period was

⁴ In Esteves, 1991:161. Note that, at that point in time all natives from any of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa were Portuguese nationals.

⁵ On the characteristics of the resident foreign population in Portugal several summaries are available, like Esteves, (1991), Malheiros (1996), Baganha (1996, 1998a, 1998b), Pires (1993, 1999), Baganha and Góis (1999), Baganha, and Ferrão et al., 1998.

⁶ "The growth of immigration in Portugal during this period can be attributed to: 1) entrance and residence in the country of Portuguese nationals of African origin and presence of Portuguese nationals of African origin previously residing in Portugal, who lost their Portuguese nationality (D.L. 308-A/75); 2) entrance of relatives that joined them between 1976 and 1981" (Baganha and Góis, 1999: 259).

⁷ The term PALOP means African Countries having Portuguese as their Official Language.

⁸ Throughout the next sections we will use national averages for the mainland, obtained in the 1991 Censuses or in the Employment Surveys of 1992-1997 as the control group. We will refer to these national averages as the Portuguese population, the domestic or the national population. No major distortion is introduced in the analysis by the slightly different time spans of the data, because no significant structural changes occurred in this period.

⁹ 64 percent of the immigrant community lives in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (from now on referred as MAL) where, in 1991, they represented approximately 5 percent of the resident population.

essentially more the result of these two special legalization drives than of new inflows (Table 2).

For analytical purposes, the resident foreign population was divided into three numerically significant sub-groups: citizens from Portugal's former colonies in Africa (from now on referred to as citizens from the PALOP⁷), citizens from other European countries, and citizens from Brazil. The following description of the main characteristics of legal foreign residents, based on the past seven years, takes specifically these three sub-groups into consideration.

1.1. Patterns of Settlement – 1990-1997⁸

At the aggregated level, the resident foreign population in Portugal reveals a pattern of settlement similar to the one expected for low skilled economic migrants. This is, a population with a marked tendency towards that segment made up of males of working age, highly concentrated in the suburban areas of the capital city⁹. However, when the data is broken down into the three above-mentioned analytical sub-groups (citizens from the PALOP, Europe, and Brazil), we find three different patterns of settlement, indicating different migratory motivations and objectives. Thus, while the percentage of immigrants from the PALOP that in 1990-1997 inhabited the MAL ranges between 72 percent for citizens from Guinea to 90 percent for citizens from São Tomé, for Europeans the corresponding figure is 50 percent, and for Brazilians, 43 percent. In table 3, we show the regional distribution by districts for some selected nationalities.

Looking at the areas of preferred settlement for Europeans, the Algarve, a tourist region with a mild climate, stands out, while Brazilians present a more diffuse pattern of settlement.

The diversity of these three sub-groups becomes even clearer if we look at their sociodemographic characteristics.

1.2. Sociodemographic characterization – 1990-1997

As expected, when compared to the national distribution for the Portuguese mainland at the time of the last census, in 1991 all the foreign groups present an age structure biased toward the active age cohort (15 to 64 years of age) and lower dependency rates. The gap is, however, narrower for the European group than it is for the other two groups, the PALOP and Brazil.

The most interesting fact with regard to the age distribution of foreigners is that those aged 65 years or older is practically twice as large as the group composed of individuals 14 years of age or younger (Table 4). This pattern of age structure is obviously the result of very diverse migratory flows. European citizens have a share of 16 percent of elderly people (age group 65 or older) and 1 percent of young people (0 to 14 years of age), while citizens from the PALOP exhibit a similar share (5 percent) in both groups. Brazilian citizens display the largest share of youngsters (9 percent) and the smallest of elderly individuals (2 percent). Overall, we may say that the immigrant communities from the PALOP and Brazil have lower dependency rates than the immigrants from Europe. It is, however, important to note that the numbers of youngsters among citizens from the PALOP may be highly under-represented. In fact, and even taking into consideration that under similar headings different sources target quite diverse populations, it is remarkable that while the statistics of SEF¹⁰ indicate, between 1990 and 1992¹¹, the existence of approximately 820 young immigrants from the PALOP (bet-

¹⁰ SEF, Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (Portugals Foreigners and Borders Bureau).

¹¹ The information available on ages stops at 1992.

¹² As stated ahead 'EntreCulturas' adopts an ethnic concept where the parents nationality is more important than the nationality of the children.

ween 0 and 14 years), the numbers presented by 'EntreCulturas' indicate that in 1997, 30,638 students whose parents were from the PALOP¹² were enrolled in compulsory primary school (normally with ages between 6 and 16) (Table 12). Also relevant is the fact that in the special regularisation of 1996 a substantial number of illegal immigrants were children. The two most frequent situations were children living in Receiving Institutions and children born in Portugal but never legally registered.

The current age structure of the foreign population from the PALOP seems to be the outcome of a very specific migratory story. Consider, for example, the case of the population from Cape Verde, the largest group. The 1981 Census showed that the Cape Verdean population residing in Portugal had a very young population structure, with 18.7 percent of that population in the age bracket of 0-14 (Census of 1981. Vol. 1, pag. 207); while in 1990, SEF data registered less than 1 percent in the same age bracket .

In our opinion (and regardless of possible errors in both sources), the huge gap observed between the age structures between 1981 and the early 1990's is essentially the outcome of two different migratory waves. The first wave, which took place between 1975 and 1980, during the process of independence of the former colonies, often entailed the displacement of the family unit. The second wave began to take shape after the mid-1980's and was essentially made up of economic migrants who usually do not bring their families with them in the first phase of their migratory experience.

Given the weight of the age cohort 65 and over in the age structure of the European resident population, it would be reasonable to expect this group to have the highest inactivity rate of all the foreign groups. Furthermore, it is 'common knowledge' that this group is essentially composed of retired

people from Great Britain, Germany, and Scandinavian countries who are looking for a region with a mild climate in which to spend the “twilight years” of their lives. As we so often see, the stereotypes are not borne out by reality. In fact, Europeans register lower inactivity rates than the ones observed for the domestic population¹³ (the national inactivity rate for the mainland Portugal averaged 51 percent between 1992-1997) (Table 5).

In comparison with the domestic inactive population, the foreign population is over-represented in the domestic, and student categories, and under-represented in the retired and others categories (Table 6). The gap between the share of the national and of the foreign population in the housekeeper category is particularly interesting because it is known that this category is essentially made up of women, and, as is also known, female immigrants tend to have higher activity rates than native females. In *A Comunidade Caboverdiana em Portugal* (França et al., 1992) the low inactivity rates of Cape Verdean women is attributed to three main causes: low level of qualifications, low level of language proficiency; and the preponderance of the young population in Cape Verdean families¹⁴. Of the three suggested reasons for the low inactivity rates observed for Cape Verdean women, none seems particularly convincing, especially if we consider that several female immigrant populations in similar situations (e.g. the Portuguese female immigrants in Switzerland and France), do show, as a rule, higher activity rates than the activity rates of the domestic female population of the receiving country. In our opinion, if a comparative historical perspective is taken on this topic, other factors such as employment opportunities and different cultural values regarding labor must be affecting the behavior of the female populations from the PALOP.

As the data on Table 7 shows, the average sex distribution of the foreign population in Portugal between 1990 and 1997

¹³ The two other immigrant groups that register lower inactivity rates than national average of 51 percent are made up of individuals from Cape Verde and Guinea.

¹⁴ A serious methodological problem arises when we try to compare or consider results obtained for the Cape Verdean or any other ‘ethnic’ community in Portugal (e.g. Costa et al., 1991). First of all, given the historical context in which these communities from the PALOP were formed, it is highly debatable that we can speak about immigrants. It is difficult to argue that someone who has been a Portuguese citizen all his/her life is an immigrant, and this was the case of the overwhelming majority from the PALOP that arrived in Portugal before 1981; and it is even more difficult to contend that he/she is an immigrant if the skin colour is black, but he/she is Portuguese if the skin colour is white, regardless of the date of arrival, and for how many generations the family lived in a PALOP country (Baganha and Góis, 1999).

is biased towards male immigrants. They represent, in fact, 58 percent of the total foreign population. Given that the national average distribution in the 1991 Census was 48 percent for males and 52 percent for females, the conclusion to be drawn from the findings on inactivity and on the sex distribution of the foreign population is as follows: relative to the domestic population, immigrant women are, as expected, under-represented in the total foreign population but they are, surprisingly, extremely over-represented in the inactive population.

2. LEGAL STATUS

The legal status of immigrants will be analyzed on three different levels: the entry, residence and expulsion of immigrants within national territory; the possibilities of acquiring citizenship and naturalization; and, finally, the access to social and political citizenship.

2.1. Legal Framework on Entry, Residence and Expulsion

The Portuguese legal framework on immigration has gone through several reforms in the present decade. This process started with the revision of the Law regulating the entry, residence and expulsion of foreigners – Law 37/81 of October, 1981 – which was replaced by Law 59/93 of March, 1993. This new legal framework was the natural consequence of Portugal's joining the European Community in 1986, and later becoming part of the Schengen zone, which required harmonization with other member states concerning certain legal provisions, such as visa typology.¹⁵ Recently, a new Law – 244/98 of August 1998 – was enacted which introduced relevant changes, especially with regard to the right to family reunification. This new legal framework will be briefly described.

In order for nationals from a third country to enter Portuguese territory, a number of general conditions must be met. One must have a valid in-out journey title, be able to prove sufficient economic means of support, not be listed on the Schengen or national lists of non-admissible persons, and have a visa suitable for entry purpose.

¹⁵ Thus, for example, the uniform visa, a short term visa valid in all the member countries, formerly not included in Portuguese legislation, was introduced in 1993 (Law n. 59/93 of March, 1993).

¹⁶ The kind of visa most commonly used for entry in Portugal is a short duration visa. The reasons given for asking for this type of visa are various, from visiting family members to tourism. After this, many just stay on beyond the 90 day validity of the visa; some just overstay, others "hand in their documents" for a residence permit, others just do not bother.

¹⁷ Law 59/93 stipulated a maximum period of 90 days for this type of visa

¹⁸ Law 59/93 stipulated a maximum period of 90 days for this type of visa

¹⁹ Law 59/93 did not take in this type of visa. Instead, there was a uniform visa that was a transit or short duration visa granting the possibility to stay within European Community borders up to three months.

The Portuguese consulate is the entity responsible for issuing mandatory visas¹⁶. According to Law 244/98, the types and duration of valid visas are:

- a. The stop over visa only grants permission to stay on international territory in order to make a travel connection;
- b. The transit visa, grants permission to stay on Portuguese territory, for a maximum of 5 days, in order to go to a third country;
- c. The short duration visa, grants permission to stay up to three months;
- d. The residence visa, grants permission to stay up to six months, allowing the holder to request a residence permit;¹⁷
- e. The student visa, grants permission to stay up to one year for study purposes;
- f. The work visa, grants permission to stay up to one year.¹⁸ There are four types of work visas, according to the activity the individual is to carry out on Portuguese territory: 1. Sports activities; 2. Show business; 3. Independent Work; 4. Dependent work;
- g. The short-term stay visa grants permission to stay up to one year for medical treatment to patients themselves and accompanying family members. This visa is also granted under other special circumstances.¹⁹

Prior application to the Foreigners and Borders Bureau (SEF) must be made before the following visas are granted: short term stay; residence and work visas for independent or dependent workers (Law 244/98 article 40). Furthermore, Law 244/98 prescribes specific conditions for granting work and residence visas:

- The work visa is contingent upon authorization from the Ministry of Labor, and should favor EU workers and workers

from third countries with legal residence in Portugal. It can be refused on grounds of unemployment in the economic sector for which the foreigner has been contracted.

- When considering a residence request, authorities have to pay particular attention to the objective declared for establishing residence in Portuguese territory, namely family reunification, and the existence, or not, of housing and working conditions for those requesting the visa.

In special cases, at the moment of entry of a third country national, the Foreigners and Borders Bureau may issue, whenever the person does not possess a valid visa, one of three types of permits: transit, short duration or special visa. The first two are contingent upon the general conditions stipulated by law, and have a time limit of 5 or 15 days. Special visas may be granted for humanitarian reasons or reasons that serve national interests. Special visas are not contingent upon the general conditions usually required for entry and allow the bearer to remain on Portuguese territory on a temporary basis.

After a visa expires, it may be extended or changed to a residence permit. If a residence permit is authorized a residence card is issued. The types and duration of these cards are, according to Law 244/98, as follows:

- a. Temporary residence card, valid for two years and eligible for renewal;
- b. Permanent residence card, granted to foreigners legally residing in Portuguese territory for the past ten years.²⁰

In exceptional cases, when humanitarian issues or national interests are involved, a temporary residence card can be granted. According to article 88.^o of Law 244/98, this card does not require the fulfillment of legal conditions. The previous

²⁰ Law 59/93 established a maximum period of five years for a temporary residence card and a minimum of twenty years of legal residence for issuing a permanent residence card. There was also an annual card.

law – 59/93 – allowed for the granting of a similar residence card only for reasons of national interest. Art. 88.^o of Law 244/98 is considered, by the NGOs working in the immigration field, to be a very important legal mechanism, since it affords the chance to stay to many persons, who under other circumstances, would not have been able to remain in the country.

It is not possible, at this point, to fully evaluate the impact of this new mechanism of requesting residence, considering that we only have statistical results regarding 1998, and Law 244/98 was only enacted in September of 1998. Its importance becomes clear, however, when we consider that in 1998, the Foreigners and Borders Bureau received 1,873 requests for residence on the basis of national interest reasons and logically, in smaller numbers, for humanitarian reasons. In 1999, only until August, and according to one of our key NGO informants, SEF had already received over 5,000 requests for residence on the basis of humanitarian reasons. In general, immigrants who request this type of visa state two kinds of motives. The first deals with illness and the need for medical attention and treatment that is not available in their country of origin. The second is family-related. For example, it is frequent for immigrants who, during the last legalization process did not legalize their children born on Portuguese territory, to try to effect this legalization under Art. 88 of Law 244/98.²¹

²¹ Note that immigrants could also invoke, in this case, the right of family reunification, established in article 56 of Law 244/98.

Law 244/98 is considerably open to family reunification, regarded as a fundamental right of foreign citizens. It expressly recognizes the right to family reunification in Portuguese territory and requires that the petitioner legally resides in Portugal and that he or she presents proof of housing and sufficient economic means to support the family. Moreover, Law 244/98 confers upon all foreign family members of Portuguese citizens the same rights as those granted to relatives of an EU citizen,

namely the right to stay as a permanent resident. Under the same law, children born on Portuguese territory to parents who are legal residents, have the right to be covered by the same residence card granted to the parents, provided the parents file a request within six months of the child's birth.

Finally, it is important to mention the legal conditions under which a foreigner can be expelled from Portuguese territory. Law 244/98 establishes that, besides those circumstances related to violation of constitutional and criminal law, illegal entry and sojourn within national borders constitutes sufficient motive for expulsion. Regarding this matter, we should make a short reference to the legalization processes that have occurred this decade.²²

Two special processes for legalizing the status of illegal immigrants were launched, in 1992 and 1996 respectively, with the stated objective of bringing out in the open the growing number of immigrants that, from 1985 onwards, had entered or remained in the country illegally. In both processes, a similar number of candidates applied to legalize their residential status. Thirty nine thousand persons filed applications in 1992 and thirty-six thousand in 1996. Both processes specifically targeted illegal immigrants from Portuguese speaking countries i.e. both included positive discriminatory articles that specifically favour this group (see Table 31).

Thus, for example, the title conditions governing how an immigrant could apply to legalize his or her residential status under Law 17/96 (May 1996) stated the intention to legalize "citizens from countries in which Portuguese is an official language (i.e.; PALOP and Brazil) who entered the country on or before December 31 of 1995, have remained, and who have the minimum economic conditions to care for themselves, namely by exercising an economic activity".²³ This possibility was also extended to all citizens from other countries who,

²² The simple occurrence of these legalization processes points to the existence of a political will to include those who are illegally in the country. In fact not only was the launching of the last legalization process unanimously approved, but the political will was never questioned during the preceding debates that took place on the Portuguese parliament.

²³ Immigrants who were in the country before June 1 of 1986 did not need to prove means of subsistence.

²⁴ Excluded were those foreigners who had been judicially condemned to prison sentences of periods over one year; those who had pending decisions of expulsion for other causes than unlawful entry and/or sojourn in the country; and those who in the Schengen System of Information are indicated as non-admissible.

²⁵ During the process of independence of the former African colonies, more than half a million persons returned or came to Portugal. Although the composition of the so called 'returnees' (retornados) was overwhelmingly made up of persons born in Portugal (68% of the returnees that in 1981 were over 15 years of age were born in Portugal, in Esteves, 1991: 16), a significant share was not.

²⁶ This new legal provision on nationality created legislatively, with retroactive effect,

under these same conditions, entered the country on or before March 25, 1995.²⁴

The requests were to be filed on an individual basis, so every member of a foreign family living in national territory had to fill out one application, including the children. Those who were admitted received a residence permit valid for one year, renewable up to a three-year period, after which it can be converted into a permanent residence permit.

2.2. Legal Framework on Nationality

Portuguese migratory policy after 1974 is first of all marked by the legal framework produced on nationality, which was rendered urgently necessary by the end of the Portuguese colonial empire and the subsequent accession to independence of the former African colonies.²⁵

The law in force in 1974 – Law 2098 of July 29, 1959 – stated that “All infants born on Portuguese territory are Portuguese”, except when the parents are foreign representatives of another state. In other words, anyone born in the former colonies was legally entitled to Portuguese nationality. In 1975, the government limited the maintenance of Portuguese nationality held by residents in the former African colonies, by revising the law of nationality to include only those persons born in Portugal, or of Portuguese parentage.²⁶ Still, Law 308-A/75 (June 24) allowed for the possibility of extending or maintaining Portuguese nationality to those persons born in the former colonies who had a “special connection with Portugal or showed an undeniable wish” to become Portuguese.

It was only in 1981 that a legal framework aimed at regulating the acquisition of nationality (Law n. 37/81) was enacted. The great novelty of Law 37/81 on nationality is that it

abandons the dominance of the *jus soli* tradition that marked Portuguese legislation on nationality for more than a century, in favor of the *jus sanguini* principle²⁷. In 1994, the Law on Nationality was revised, introducing positive discriminatory rules for foreigners from Portuguese-speaking countries.

Within the Portuguese legal framework, one can be Portuguese by origin or by acquisition of nationality, through marriage, adoption or naturalization.

Nationality by birth can be either automatic or by declaration of will:

- Automatic nationality by virtue of birth is reserved for those who are born on national territory of Portuguese parentage;
- Persons of Portuguese parentage who are born in a foreign country are considered Portuguese provided they make an official declaration of their will to that effect;
- Those who are born on national territory may be considered Portuguese if their parents are foreigners who have been legally residing in Portuguese territory for at least six years if from a Portuguese speaking country, or ten years if from other countries, provided they make an official declaration of their will to that effect;
- Those who are born on national territory, and have no other nationality, are also considered Portuguese by origin.

The acquisition of Portuguese nationality through marriage may occur after three years of marriage with a Portuguese citizen, provided the person files a declaration of will.

The acquisition of Portuguese nationality is automatic for those who are adopted by Portuguese nationals.

Finally, one can acquire Portuguese nationality through the process of naturalization. Furthermore, children of foreign parentage may acquire Portuguese nationality if their parents have

the largest “immigrant” community in Portugal. This immigrant population was composed mainly of persons of African ancestry already in the country and of ‘returnees’ of African ancestry that entered Portugal when the former African colonies became independent states.

²⁷ The interviews conducted during a previous project “MIGRINF Project” showed that the *jus soli* principle was considered still in effect by many immigrants. In fact, we were told that many children of illegal parents, who were born in Portugal, did not become legalised because it was assumed by the parents that a child born in Portugal was automatically Portuguese (Bagnha, 1998). The recognition of this situation is being addressed by the government under a special legal provision that allows later requests for authorization to stay in the country.

become Portuguese nationals, and if they declare the will to naturalize their children.

In order to be naturalized the petitioner must:

- a.* Be of legal age;
- b.* Have maintained legal residence in Portuguese territory for at least six years if from a Portuguese speaking country, or ten years in other cases;
- c.* Be sufficiently fluent in the Portuguese language;
- d.* Prove an effective connection to the Portuguese national community;
- e.* Have civic integrity;
- f.* Have the ability to take care of oneself.

2.3. Social Citizenship: Legal Rights

According to articles 13 and 15 of the Portuguese Constitution, except for political citizenship rights, all other citizenship rights – civil, social, and economic – are granted to foreign nationals legally settled in the country, which means that everyone has the same social dignity and is equal before the law. Furthermore, Portugal has signed all major international instruments on human rights and migrant worker protection and has established several bilateral treaties extending social and various political rights to the main extra-Community immigrant groups in Portugal, namely the Brazilians and the immigrants from the Portuguese speaking African countries (PALOP).

However, while the guarantee of civil rights is universal, social and economic rights, although separate from nationality, are linked to residence status and to the social mode of economic incorporation. In fact, those social rights specified in the Constitution only pertain to legal residents, and the enti-

tlement to several relevant social security benefits (e.g. unemployment benefits, or retirement pension) are directly dependent on formal employment.

In sum, the existing legal framework bars access to full social citizenship to all immigrant workers and their dependents who do not have lawful residence status and to all those who, regardless of their residence status, are incorporated into Portuguese society in the informal economy. Or, in other words, from the legal-institutional point of view, we may say that the degree of exclusion from social rights is a function of legal residence status and of the level of economic informality exhibited by the foreign population in the country.²⁸

Several legal instruments serve to illustrate this. Law 19-A/96 on the Guaranteed Minimum Income establishes that access to this important mechanism of social inclusion depends on having legal residence in Portugal and not having sufficient income to provide for the needs of oneself or the one's family. Law 20/98, regulating the working conditions of foreigners in Portuguese territory, states that foreigners with legal residence or permission to remain in Portugal, are entitled to the same working conditions as nationals. Law 48/90, regulating the National Health Service, says that citizens from third countries legally residing in Portugal have access to the national health services in conditions of reciprocity. The national policy for the re-location of individuals living in run-down areas has been guided by the principle of undifferentiated access to housing conditions for all resident citizens and, thus, only depends on the legal status of the immigrant.

²⁸ The term "informal economy" is taken to mean economic actions that bypass the costs and are excluded from the protection of laws and administrative rules covering 'property relationships, commercial licensing, labor contracts, torts, financing credit, and social security systems' (in Feige 1990: 990-992).

2.4. Political Citizenship: Legal Rights

1997 marked the first year in which foreigners were allowed to participate in local elections. Law 50/96 of September 4 allows

EU nationals, citizens from Portuguese speaking countries with legal residence for more than two years, and other foreigners with legal residence for more than three years to vote in local elections. According to that same law, nationals from Portuguese-speaking countries and other foreigners can run in municipal elections, provided they have four and five years of legal residence in the country, respectively. However, the right to vote and to run for office hinges on reciprocity, that is, only if Portuguese nationals have the same rights in those countries. At present, aside from EU citizens, only those from Norway, Cape Verde, Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Uruguay and Israel are entitled to vote and run for office.

3. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION OF IMMIGRANTS

3.1. “Ethnic” Differentiation in the Labor Market

Three indicators will be used to evaluate ethnic differentiation in the labor market: professional status, occupational distribution and unemployment of the foreign population.

The professional status of the foreign population between 1990 and 1997 was on average, when compared to the domestic population, slightly biased in favor of wage earners (77 percent for the foreign population and 74 percent for the domestic population²⁹) (Table 10). If we analyze the distribution by professional status and nationality, it becomes evident that the share of the domestic employed population (on average 26 percent for 1992-1997) in the categories employer and self-employed is much lower than the share of these categories among resident Europeans (43%) and Brazilians (31%).

Conversely, the percentage of employed domestic population in the mentioned categories is much higher than that registered for the PALOP (varying from 1 percent for Cape Verdeans to 15 percent for citizens of Mozambique). This singular result for the citizens from Mozambique may be partially attributed to the bearing that persons of Hindu extraction have on the population from Mozambique in Portugal. This group has been consistently found to be overwhelmingly connected to trade activities (e.g., Bastos, 1990, Freitas e Castro, 1993 and Malheiros, 1996). In sum, the Portuguese population presents a distribution by professional status between the distribution registered for Europeans and Brazilians and that observed for the PALOP. The explanation for these findings is partially found in the

²⁹ The data is for 1992 to 1997 and includes unpaid family workers to make both figures comparable.

analysis of the occupational structure of foreign groups, to which we turn now.

Both Brazilians and Europeans present an occupational distribution strongly biased towards professional, technical, and managerial occupations (occupation codes 0/1 and 2). The percentage of these occupations in total employment ranges from 51 percent for Brazilians to 56 percent for Europeans. Between 1992 and 1997, the corresponding figure for this set of occupations was, for the domestic employed population, approximately 27 percent³⁰. Table 11 shows the available information on the occupational structure of the foreign population.

³⁰ We cannot be rigorous, since the occupational data in the Employment Surveys (INE. IE, 1992-1997) for the domestic population is not fully comparable to the groups used by the SEF.

The relative distribution of the employed population from the PALOP by occupation is, compared with the national average, over-represented in the blue-collar occupations (occupation codes 7/8/9) and under-represented in all the white-collar occupations (occupation codes 0/1 to 5), with one exception. The percentage of employed persons from Mozambique with occupations connected to trade (occupation code 4) is well above the mainland average, and may be linked to the fact that, among the employed from the PALOP, citizens from Mozambique register the highest share of employer and self-employed and the lowest of blue-collar workers.

In sum, the occupational structure of the foreign population is, when compared to the occupational structure of the domestic population, biased both towards the top (Brazilian and European occupational structure) and towards the bottom (PALOP occupational structure) of the occupational ladder.

The growing inflow from Brazil and from some European countries can be partially attributed to the labor needs of the most modern tertiary activities, namely finance, insurance and business services, political marketing, and so on, all of which have increased considerably. The remaining growth, particularly

that observed for the PALOP, has been mainly determined by the labor opportunities promoted by a market growth of construction and public work in the past few years (Baganha, Ferrão and Malheiros, 1998) and by the special processes of legalization of 1992 and 1996 that helped bring to light a large number of immigrants formerly submerged in the underground economy.

As a recent study concluded, “foreign workers in Portugal are largely complementary to the Portuguese active population mainly in professional areas where skilled labor is required (marketing, design and others). In specific qualified sectors such as dentistry and medical practice and in unqualified professions such as construction and personal and domestic services where Portuguese applicants are fewer and fewer, they are apparently substituting the domestic population” (Baganha, Ferrão e Malheiros, 1998).

In Portugal, there are two main sources for official statistics on unemployment: the *National Employment Survey* carried out yearly by the National Institute of Statistics (INE); and the *Register of the Unemployed* of the National Employment Institute (IEFP). The first source is of little use for the present topic because, on matters concerning the attributes of the foreign population, the survey registers sampling errors of unacceptable magnitude.

We will thus, base the following reflection on the register of foreigners as unemployed individuals in the files of the National Employment Institute³¹. Since registration is not compulsory, the numbers leave out those who consider registration unnecessary because they aren't eligible for unemployment benefits and/or believe that it cannot aid them in finding employment. On the other hand, it includes foreign workers who were unemployed at the time of registration but did not annul their registration when they started working again³².

³¹ It would also be possible to use unpublished data from the employment survey conducted by the National Statistical Institute. However this source has, in regard to figures on immigrants, sampling errors that are usually above 25 percent for those attributes being studied.

³² For example, the National Employment Survey carried out by INE indicates that in 1997, 313,100 people were unemployed, while the register of the National Employment Institute indicates that there were 405,964.

The first and indeed most puzzling fact revealed by the evolution of the unemployment registers is that Brazilians, Europeans and Cape Verdeans have consistently a much lower tendency to be registered as unemployed than the remaining foreigners and the domestic population. Even though this result is to be expected in the case of Brazilians and Europeans who, due to their general high level of qualification, could be seen as less prone to unemployment; the case of the Cape Verdeans is surprising, since it is a very poorly qualified population that should be at least as prone to unemployment as the domestic population. Their under-representation on the IEFP registers may indeed be an indirect indicator of the strength of this “ethnic” network and of their privileged position in the construction and public building sector, where members of their community dominate the intermediary level of recruitment (this is, sub-contractors to construction firms).

The second remarkable feature is the greater tendency to become unemployed exhibited by workers from São Tome, which stands out for being higher than the domestic rate in all the three observations. Finally, it is interesting to note that a comparison of the behavior of the national ratio of the registered unemployed and active population with the ratio for the PALOP seems to indicate a systematic worsening of the position of the latter group in the Portuguese labor market. This is a particularly interesting result. Unfortunately, since we only have observations over a three-year period, we cannot make any sound inferences from this fact, which undoubtedly deserves future attention.

3.2. “Ethnic” Differentiation in the Educational System

Since the creation, in 1991, of a database on students enrolled in public schools, managed by the task group ‘EntreCulturas’

(Cordeiro, 1997: 17), it has been possible to gather data on “ethnic” differentiation in the educational system, based on two indicators: school leavers and success rates.

It should be noted that ‘EntreCulturas’ adopts an ethnic concept in which the nationality of the parents assumes greater importance than that of the children. This concept diverges from the concept of immigrant that has been followed in this report and also from the concept of ethnic minorities proposed, since “EntreCulturas” ascribes ethnicity according to parents’ nationality.

In 1997, children of foreign parentage represented 4.7 percent of the whole student population on mainland Portugal³³. As can be expected, due to the immigrants’ geographical distribution, the students of foreign parentage are concentrated, above all, in the districts of Lisbon and Setúbal where they represent 10.5 percent of the school population. In decreasing order, the most highly represented geographical areas of origin of students of foreign parentage were: Angola, Cape Verde, Europe (only the European Union), Mozambique, Brazil, Guinea and São Tome. Together they represented 82 percent of the total number of students of foreign parentage (Table 12). If we break down these numbers by school levels, we notice that the weight of the different groups varies with each school level. Thus, while at compulsory primary school the students from PALOP represent 63 percent against 14 percent from Europe and 5 percent from Brazil, at the secondary school level, the percentages were respectively, 47 percent, 24 percent, and 9 percent.

Let us now turn to some indicators of foreign parentage in relation to students’ school performance. As we can see from table 13, the success rates of students of foreign parentage are, in general (except for Brazil), lower than the national average. Cape Verde reveals a success rate that lags far behind that of

³³ It is important to note the huge discrepancy that exists between the numbers presented by ‘EntreCulturas’ and the ones presented by SEF. For this last source in 1997 there were 33,825 foreign students, while for the first source there were 60,539. A great part of this difference can be due to the use of different concepts by the two sources (see footnote n.º 11). Another part of the difference can be attributed to the reasons pointed out above.

children with parentage of other nationalities. If we take a closer look at table 13 and figure 1 and 2, we detect two different situations. During compulsory primary school, the Cape Verdeans and the São Tomense exhibit success rates that are lower than those displayed by the rest of the school population, while at secondary school these two groups exhibit success rates that almost attain or even surpass (as in the case of students from São Tome) the national average. The justification for that is, according to the coordinator of the 'EntreCulturas' database, that there are few immigrant children who succeed in entering secondary school, but those who do, perform at a level that is slightly higher than the national average (*Público*, July 26/99).

The low success rate of Cape Verdeans and São Tomense in compulsory primary school seems to be directly related to their high drop-out rates during this school level. Table 14 shows that the percentages of school leavers during compulsory primary school are much higher for these two groups. This negative picture changes at secondary school where these two groups are among those with the lowest drop-out rates, while in 'compensation' all other nationalities register a sharp increase in drop-outs. These figures substantiate the statement of a key NGO informant who evaluated the situation as follows:

“... at the primary school level, here, initially 80% of the kids are Africans, who by the end of the secondary level, in the final year, have been whittled down to 12%”. (Interview, cit. in Baganha, 1998).

The percentage of school waivers (Table 15), that is, students who leave school during the academic year, shows that a high percentage of students of foreign parentage do not complete the academic year. In general, this percentage is at least

three times higher than the national average and affects all students of foreign parentage. When observing the two school levels, we can see that the number of school waivers is much higher than the average in both school levels under observation. If we take this percentage as an indicator of school failure, it is significant that at secondary school, almost one third of students of foreign parentage did not finish the academic year for which they enrolled.

The differences observed point to the existence of a highly divergent pattern of behavior between the foreign and the domestic populations, the determinants of which need to be further researched, since they may be due to a much higher degree of mobility of the foreign population, earlier entry in the job market for foreign youth, and/or to the number of foreigners who definitively drop out of the Portuguese school system.

In conclusion, we may say that there are a number of signs of ethnic differentiation in the educational system. The fact is that the children of foreign parentage, especially those from the PALOP, generally have lower success rates than the average. This group also contains a high percentage of students who do not finish the school year and a significantly high proportion of school leavers. But it would be fallacious to conclude from these observations that the lower performance of the children of immigrants in the educational system is due to ethnic discrimination. Other variables such as the socio-professional status of the parents and the living conditions of the children play an important role in how children perform at school, regardless of their backgrounds. All these factors were considered by the task force to be of great relevance when trying to understand the school performance of children of African parentage enrolled in primary schools.

Consequently, a special program on 'Intercultural Education', coordinated by the task force 'EntreCulturas', was launched in 1993. The program was aimed at promoting the integration within schools of students belonging to minority groups and the creation of harmonious and constructive relationships between the school and the community (Alaiz, 1998: 17). The program coordinators soon realized that some of the causes behind the lack of integration layed in the very poor living conditions of some of the children (*Público*, 14/08/99). Thus, a substantial part of the efforts of the program were aimed at 'feeding children' (Alaiz, 1998: 40). This means that the primary objectives of the program were not fully attained because some of the most basic pre-conditions, such as adequate nutrition, had not been guaranteed. Even so, the evaluators of this four-year program affirm that there has been an improvement in the success rates of children of immigrant parentage in most of the schools taken in by the program (Alaiz, 1998: 47-54). Unfortunately no measurement of such an improvement is given in the evaluation report.

4. PUBLIC AND SEMI-PUBLIC MEASURES FOR INTEGRATION

Integration policies in Portugal will be analyzed with reference to social policies, social labor policies and educational policies. Two different levels will be considered: the non-discrimination level and the positive discrimination level

4.1. The Portuguese Legal Framework on Non-discrimination

Portuguese Constitutional Law establishes the principle of equality as one of its fundamental precepts. As mentioned before, article 13 of the Constitution states that a person can not be discriminated against for reasons of sex, race, language, nationality, religion, political or ideological ideas, and economic or social status. Furthermore, article 15 states that all foreigners, while on Portuguese territory, enjoy the same rights (except political rights) and are bound by the same duties as Portuguese citizens. Under Portuguese constitutional law, people coming from Portuguese speaking countries may enjoy extended citizenship rights (see legal status).

In 1996 the Portuguese Government institutionalized the Office of High Commissioner for Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities. The High Commissioner operates within the Office of the President of the Council of Ministers and answers directly to the Prime Minister. The High Commissioner is responsible for promoting, in permanent dialogue with private and public institutions working on migration issues, the improvement of the living conditions of immigrants and ethnic minorities and their inclusion in Portuguese society, while respecting their identity and culture. Aside from its activities at the political level, the Office of the High Commissioner also works directly with

immigrants and members of ethnic minorities, providing counseling services that deal primarily with legal and bureaucratic problems (Law no. 3-A/96).

In August of 1999, the Legislative Assembly passed an anti-discrimination Law (134/99) prohibiting discriminatory practices based on race, color, nationality and ethnic origin. Article 1 states that the objective of this Law is to prevent and prohibit racial discrimination in all its forms and sanction all acts that violate a person's basic rights or impede the exercise of economic, social, or cultural rights for reasons such as nationality, color, race, or ethnic origin. Some examples of discriminatory practices are specifically addressed, with special attention being given to discrimination in economic activities and labor relations, health, education, and social rights in general. As examples, Law 134/99 considers discriminatory practices to be those that involve refusing or limiting access to health services and to public or private educational institutions. It also bans all advertisements for labor recruitment that may directly or indirectly indicate any kind of preference regarding race.

Law 134/99 also provides for an Advisory Committee for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination, working within the governmental framework for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities. The Committee is responsible for promoting studies on equality and racial discrimination, supervising enforcement of the law, and making legislative proposals considered suitable for the prevention of all forms of discrimination.

Restriction of certain rights taken in by constitutional law and acts of positive discrimination are not prohibited within this legal framework. Positive discrimination is considered an important instrument in guaranteeing equal access to social, economic, and cultural rights by members of underprivileged groups such as immigrants and ethnic minorities.

4.2. Positive Discrimination: Public Measures for Social Inclusion

As far as public measures for the social inclusion of immigrant communities and ethnic minorities are concerned, two types of programs are worthy of mention. The first comprises programs designed to include all those excluded from social benefits, employment, health care, the educational system, housing, etc. Given that a significant number of the immigrants living in Portugal qualify to be included, they benefit from several programs designed to eradicate social exclusion in all its forms. Besides these programs, there are specific actions and programs targeting immigrants and ethnic communities, which are designed to respond to the specific needs of this population. The most relevant examples of public programs and actions for social integration will be mentioned, with reference to social and employment policies (in the case of Portugal, these two areas are dealt with by the same ministry) and educational policies.

A. SOCIAL AND LABOR INCLUSION OF IMMIGRANTS AND ETHNIC MINORITIES.

Under the national policy for the eradication of social exclusion and poverty, several specific programs have been implemented. All these programs come under the Ministry of Labor and Social Solidarity and are implemented with two main principles in mind: the creation of institutional networks and the utilization of a multi-disciplinarily approach. This means that the programs are designed to be developed by several institutions, namely central and local authorities, NGOs, and other private partners, and include joint actions to eradicate the main causes of social exclusion such as problems involving the minimum income, employment, housing, health, and social educa-

tion. In the following paragraphs, mention will be made to the programs that are of particular relevance to immigrants and ethnic minorities.

1. Guaranteed Minimum Income

The Minimum Income (Law 19-A/96) was instituted in 1996 as a multi-level instrument designed to combat exclusion and poverty. In addition to the monetary benefit itself, it includes an insertion program that can only be implemented with the agreement of the beneficiaries. The insertion programs, in place since 1996, focus primarily on six areas of intervention:

- a.* Social actions, namely parenting support, nurseries, support for the elderly, leisure time activities, etc.;
- b.* Health initiatives, namely vaccination, birth control and programs for persons with problems of drug and alcohol abuse;
- c.* Educational initiatives for children and adults;
- d.* Employment services that provide users with access to the labor market, professional counseling, and self-employment support;
- e.* Housing support services to allow participants to purchase housing accommodations or improve their current living conditions;
- f.* Opportunities for professional qualification.

³⁴ The Ministry only has data broken down for people coming from the PALOP who correspond to 1.5 – 1.6 percent of their total resident population.

The percentage of individuals from Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa enrolled in the minimum income system corresponds roughly to their ratio in the total resident population³⁴. Until June 1999, and since January 1997 when this program started, 304,022 requests were made to receive the minimum income, of which 54 percent were approved and 31

percent rejected (the remainder is still being evaluated). If we isolate, from these totals, the numbers corresponding to requests coming from persons of African origin, we see that 1.5 percent of the requests approved and 2 percent of the requests rejected were filed by individuals coming from a Portuguese-speaking African country. When looking at the number of families that, in June 1999, were still receiving this benefit and those who had already left the minimum income system, we see that 1.6 percent and 1 percent, respectively, were from an African country.

Number of Requests to Sign Up for the Minimum Income Program

	Total	PALOP	
		Total	In Percentage
Approved	164 592	2 535	1.5
Non-approved	95 945	1 962	2.0
Finished	29 974	310	1.0
In progress	134 618	2 225	1.6

Source: Social Development Institute, Ministry of Labor and Solidarity.

The main reasons for non-approval were, for the African population, having incomes above the threshold (63 percent), not providing the required documents (23.2 percent) and not having a valid residence permit (10.7 percent). In the total population, those who had incomes above the limit came to 85.7 percent. Among the non-approvals, those who did not have a valid residence permit came to 1.6 percent and those not able to provide necessary documentation, 8.6 percent.

When looking at the cases that led to being taken off the program, 58.3 percent of the cases were due to a change in the household income, 8.3 percent of the cases involved non-fulfillment of insertion actions planned, and 6.1 percent were caused by suspension of the holder's residence permit.

The minimum income is attributed to the household, which means that all the members of the family benefit from the program and that different types of insertion actions may be designated for each member of the family. If we consider the number of individuals who, in June of 1999, were included in the program, we have a total of 405,777, of which 5,463 or 1.3 percent were from an African country. Within this last group, 36.2 percent were from Angola and 33 percent from Cape Verde. If we bear in mind that, among the African population residing in Portugal the share of individuals from Cape Verde is much higher than that of Angola, we see that the Angola group displays a clear tendency toward greater social exclusion.

The numbers of persons receiving minimum income among the African population is quite similar to that of the total population: within the African population we have 14 percent of women living alone and 6.5 percent of men living alone, and among the total population, we have 14.4 percent of women living alone and 9.7 percent of men living alone (Ministry of Employment and Social Security, unpublished data).

The make-up of families benefiting from minimum income, however, is different when we compare the total population and the African population. While the total population shows 36.8 percent of nuclear families with children and 21 percent of single mothers with children, the African population shows 48 percent of single mothers with children and 20.8 percent of nuclear families with children (Ministry of Employment and Social Security, unpublished data). Since this is the very first time that this source has been the object of academic evaluation, we can only raise several exploratory hypotheses for the huge discrepancy observed:

1. Three factors inter or not inter-related must be of crucial relevance in explaining the discrepancies observed: cultural norms, the marriage market and social support networks.

2. The fact that PALOP nuclear families seem to be less prone to fall below the poverty line than Portuguese nuclear families, may also be linked to easier access to some segments of the labor market by PALOP breadwinners. We would also tend to advance the hypothesis that the higher tendency shown by PALOP single mothers to fall below the poverty line may be due to less support from immediate family, other relatives, and neighbors.

Looking at the sex and age of the individuals receiving the minimum income, we see that 32 percent are men and 68 percent are women; 43.9 percent are 18 years old or under, 25.8 percent are between 25 and 44 years of age. The individuals least represented are those aged between 19 and 24 (7.1 percent) and those aged 65 years or older (5.9 percent). Within the African population, 64.1 percent are women and 35.8 percent are men; 36.7 percent of this population is 18 years old or under and 34.5 percent is between 25 and 44 years of age. Those individuals who are least represented in the total population are those aged between 19 and 24 (8.7 percent) and those aged 65 or more (6.1 percent) (Ministry of Employment and Social Security, unpublished data).

With regard to the types of insertion programs attended by the individuals while in the minimum income system, we only have data concerning the total population. So in June 1999, 126,482 insertion actions had taken place, 31.9 percent of which dealt with the social action area, 21.6 percent with health, 19.5 percent with education, 12.7 percent with employment, 10.8 percent with housing and 3.5 percent with professional qualification. No real evaluation of the impact of these actions is available (Ministry of Employment and Social Security, unpublished data).

2. Northern and Southern Commissioners for the Eradication of Poverty³⁵

³⁵ It manages the National Program for the Eradication of Poverty, which is chiefly supported by governmental funding.

This institution was created in 1990 (*Council of Ministers Resolution* no.8/90) to support and implement projects designed to promote the inclusion of socially excluded groups, namely children and young people at risk and ethnic minorities. In 1999, about 20 projects specifically geared toward immigrant communities were approved for financial backing.³⁶ Intervention under these projects has been centered on urban qualification, parental education and development of family competence, economic inclusion through professional qualification, and support of self-employment, support of self-organization and group self-sufficiency.

³⁶ There are no statistics on the number of immigrants covered under these projects. Our Key-informants estimate that 4,000

immigrants are targeted by the 4 projects approved for Lisbon.

3. The Integrar Program³⁷

This program was launched to promote the social and economic inclusion of groups that are socially excluded or at risk of being excluded³⁸. It has five specific sub-programs. As far as immigrants and ethnic minorities goes, it is important to mention sub-program four, conceived to promote labor inclusion as a way of becoming integrated into society, namely through professional qualification/orientation initiatives. Its target population are groups with specific needs, namely long-term unemployed individuals, drug addicts, ex-convicts, and members of ethnic minorities.

³⁷ *Integrar* means *Integrate*. Program financed by European Funds.

³⁸ Documents of the Alto Comissário para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas (High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities), Informação n.º 12 e 24 of August 1997 and August 1998, respectively.

Sub-program four subsidizes two types of projects presented and implemented by local authorities/private associations and NGOs: projects designed to promote professional qualification through subsidized courses; and projects to facilitate, in general terms, social and labor inclusion, namely information/orientation initiatives and projects to promote self-employment.

In 1998, individuals from ethnic minorities represented the most significant share of persons who had benefit from subsi-

dized courses for professional qualification – 1,685 individuals or 31.1 percent – followed by young people at risk of social exclusion, a group which we may assume includes second generation immigrants. In 1998, individuals from ethnic minorities represented the third beneficiary group in the second type of projects – 1,120 individuals or 12.8 percent. However, the number has been growing faster in the last two years.

4. Social Employment Market

In 1996, recognizing the growing number of individuals excluded from the labor market, particularly those identified with socially vulnerable groups such as ethnic minorities, young people or long-term unemployed, the government launched a program known as the “Social Employment Market” (*Council of Ministers Resolution* no. 104/96 from July 1996 and *Government Order* 348-A/98 from June 1998). This integration policy utilizes several action instruments such as “insertion businesses”, which gives individuals the opportunity to work, for a maximum of two years, in small, private businesses, while their wages are paid out of program funds. There is no data concerning the number of individuals from ethnic minorities covered by the Social Employment Market.

5. Specific Measures for Promoting the Labor Integration of Third Country Nationals

5.1. Labor Policies

Decree 60/97 approved an agreement between the Portuguese and Cape Verde Governments aimed at facilitating the access of citizens from Cape Verde, with no residence in Portugal, to the Portuguese labor market. It also establishes mechanisms for the recruitment of Cape Verdean workers.

In January 1999, the Portuguese Institute of Employment and Professional Training (IEFP) established an agreement with the High-Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities for cooperation in joint actions concerning professional qualification, access to the labor market, and the social inclusion of immigrants and ethnic minorities.

5.2. Educational Policies

In 1991, the government created the Coordinating Secretariat for Multicultural Education Programs.³⁹ This governmental body was empowered to coordinate and promote, within the educational system, programs designed to encourage tolerance and respect for different people, ethnic groups, and cultures.

One of the most important projects implemented and coordinated by the Secretariat was the “Inter-Cultural Education Program”, launched in 1993⁴⁰. Within this program, a number of schools were selected. The schools chosen, which had a great number of students from ethnic minorities, were selected to be the recipients of information and training on issues of intercultural education. The aim was to ease the inclusion of these students into the Portuguese educational system.

The launching of this program marked the beginning of a new educational policy, aimed at promoting awareness of problems of inter-cultural relations and multicultural education. Within the Multicultural Secretariat, five areas of action have been developed in the last few years: knowledge and diagnosis of the multicultural characteristics to be found in Portuguese schools, research and intervention in schools that are characterized as being multicultural, elaboration of specific teaching manuals and books, training and education with an inter-cultural outlook, inter-cultural relations and citizenship.

³⁹ Directly under the dependency of the Ministry of Education.

⁴⁰ See Despacho (Government Order) 170/ME/93.

Within those five areas, several projects were implemented, always in partnership with schools, immigrants' associations, and other NGOs and municipal authorities. As examples, there are programs sponsoring the activities of immigrant associations in the areas of inter-cultural education and information, projects of inter-cultural education in the kindergarten system as well as projects to improve the language skills of children of foreign parentage in order to combat learning difficulties.

This policy is still in its early stages. Willingness to develop the inter-cultural dimension within the educational system exists but, according to our key-informants, this dimension has not yet become a basic and important feature of the educational system. In other words, it is still in the target project phase and is not yet governed by an institutionalized general policy. For instance, key-informants have stressed the absence of support measures such as special classes for helping children of foreign parentage to learn the Portuguese language. This kind of institutionalized measure is, in their informed opinion, necessary, as the use of the language of origin by children of foreign parentage is common and widespread in the schools where they are placed.

As public educational policies are taking shape, a private teachers' association is also working specifically on inter-cultural education. This NGO promotes programs and actions aimed at fostering understanding of different cultures. The organization has established a training center for teachers dealing with children from ethnic minorities⁴¹.

4.3. Non-Governmental Organizations

There is an extensive list of Portuguese non-governmental organizations working in the area of immigration. The most significant share of these organizations are located within the more

⁴¹ For instance, between November and December of 1999 a specialized course will be given on how to teach the Portuguese language to children of Cape Verdean parentage.

problematic areas and neighborhoods where the percentage of immigrants is particularly high. These organizations concentrate on the specific problems felt by those communities. There are other NGOs that work on a national scale and function as pressure groups, promoting immigrant rights and combating racism and discrimination.

The activities of the local non-governmental organizations may be divided into a few key-areas, according to the group those associations target. Some deal primarily with the problems of youth and their activities focus mainly on helping young people overcome school failure and social exclusion through cultural activities, sports, and professional qualification courses. Some have day and night shelters for impoverished and homeless persons. Other associations chiefly promote professional and educational qualification courses for adults and function, in some cases, as employment centers. In general, all these NGOs have as their main goal to promote the integration of immigrants into Portuguese society. For this reason, they are taken in by the public integration projects mentioned above and receive backing from project funds.

At the national level, we may identify three different types of NGOs. The first group works on immigrants' rights in general and focuses on specific types of rights. An example of this is the *Obra Católica das Migrações* (a Catholic charity institution) that deals primarily with social rights of immigrants. Trade unions, which target immigrants' labor rights are another example. The second type of NGO includes those organizations that deal with the rights of the main immigrant communities living in Portugal. Examples are the Cape Verde Association, the Guinea Association, and the *Casa do Brasil*. The third type of organization aims to promote equality and combat discrimination against certain groups of individuals and these groups often include members of the immigrant population. Examples are the SOS racism and 'Olho Vivo'.

Before the last government drive to legalize the status of illegal immigrants, a number of NGOs formed a group called the Coordinating Secretariat of Associations for Legalization. The aim was to join forces to ensure that the legalization process was successful, while pressuring the Government to promote immigrants' rights. The involvement of the immigrants' associations which disseminated information, helped applicants to fill out forms, as well as their presence at the reception points, contributed largely to the success of the 1996 legalization process. The Coordinating Secretariat still plays a very important role in immigration policy, namely in the enactment of legal reforms. The initiatives of the Secretariat were very important in the adoption of the new Law on entry and residence – 244/98 – and other legal instruments recently published.

To end this section on a positive note, a special reference will be made to the work of the *Associação Cultural e Juvenil BATOTO YETU – Portugal*. Batoto Yetu is a non-profit organization that was established in New York City's Harlem District in 1990. Since the organization was founded, Batoto Yetu and its dance group have worked with hundreds of young people between the ages of 7 and 17. It came to Portugal six years later, sponsored by the Luso-American Development Foundation. Batoto Yetu's cultural program is geared toward disadvantaged children and adolescents of African descent. It was developed with the idea that through the beauty of dance, songs and legends, and involvement in them, the participants could be in contact with their roots and at the same time develop self-esteem, perseverance, and discipline. One of the basic requirements for being a member of the "Batoto Yetu family" is that the participant maintain a good academic record. Because of this, many children have achieved a level of both artistic skill and personal success that might not have been possible without their participation in the project.

The reason the work of this Association has been singled out by the researchers is that, in our opinion, it is a paradigm of the type of effective initiatives that can be called “best practices”. In other words, it is a program designed both to preserve and promote public recognition of the group’s African cultural identity. At the same time, it positively reinforces that same African identity by bringing it into the performing arts mainstream, thus developing the self-confidence and self-esteem of the group’s members and highlighting them and their African culture as positive elements of an emerging, multicultural society.

5. TRENDS TOWARDS AN ETHNIC CLASS FORMATION

5.1. Residential Segregation and Living Conditions

As mentioned earlier in this report, a large majority of immigrant communities (in particular those from PALOP) are concentrated in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, with a higher incidence in the outskirts of the city of Lisbon (Baganha, 1998). The general tendency is a concentration of “islands” in run-down parts of Lisbon and/or adjacent districts like Loures, Oeiras, Amadora, Almada and Seixal.

The living conditions in these areas of spatial concentration of immigrants are frequently extremely poor, not only on account of housing conditions, but also on account of the lack of social infra-structures, of public amenities, and difficulty in access to public transportation that is frequently associated with illegal construction. In 1991 at the national level, 6.4 percent of the resident foreign population inhabited shanties or non-classic dwellings (Table 17). The percentage of immigrants living in these conditions was particularly high for those from the PALOP (16 percent), although there was great variation among the several nationalities involved. Thus, while 22 percent of the immigrants from Cape Verde lived in this type of dwelling, only 6 percent from Angola did. Immigrants from Brazil and Europe register a percentage of persons living in non-classic lodgings (0.2 percent) well below the national average of 0.6 percent. In the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon where, as it was said, the majority of immigrants reside, the percentage of immigrants from the PALOP living in shanties or non-clas-

sic dwellings increases considerably (Table 18). Those most affected continue to be the immigrants from the PALOP (20 percent), especially those from Guinea (27 percent), Cape Verde (23 percent) and São Tome (23 percent). The European and Brazilian immigrants maintain a percentage well below the national average of 1.3 percent.

In sum, when compared to the rest of the resident population, immigrants from the PALOP represent an overwhelmingly larger number of those inhabiting shanties or non-classic dwellings. Furthermore, the distribution by type of dwelling and nationality reflects the same pattern that was identified for the labor market. In fact, Brazilians and Europeans show an upper privileged position with regard to housing, followed by the Portuguese, who in turn are followed by the citizens from the PALOP. In other words, as in the labor market, the housing market reflects a bias towards the top in favor of Europeans and Brazilians and an even greater bias towards the bottom against the citizens from the PALOP.

The equipment of classic dwellings is another indicator available on housing conditions. In 1991, almost 14 percent of the resident foreigners in Portugal lived in dwellings without or with only partial basic amenities (toilet, running water, bathroom and electricity) (Table 19). Again, the percentage was far higher for the immigrants from the PALOP (22 percent), and especially for Cape Verdeans (31 percent), and far lower for immigrants from Brazil (7 percent) and Europe (11 percent) than the national average of 19 percent. This reinforces the picture of a biased placement in the social structure that the PALOP population holds at the bottom and that the Brazilians and Europeans hold at the top.

Percentage of Population Inhabiting Shanties or Non-classic Dwellings, 1991 – selected nationalities

Nationality	Percentage	
	Portugal	Lisbon and Setubal Districts
Cape Verde	22.3	24.3
Angola	5.5	9.6
Mozambique	2.1	3.1
S. Tome	20.8	23.2
Guinea	24.2	27.1
Brazil	0.2	0.4
Europe	0.2	0.6
Total Foreigners	6.3	12.4
Total Population	0.6	1.3

Source: Table 17 and 18

The information resulting from a survey on urban ethnic minorities (Costa et al., 1991) conducted in 1990 (Table 21) reveals a similar picture of housing conditions. Regardless of the *de facto* poor housing conditions, 66.5 percent of the respondents to this survey declared they liked the place where they lived. Perhaps even more revealing is the fact that in a survey conducted in 1986 on the Cape Verdean community, 54 percent of the respondents living in run-down quarters declared that their current dwellings were better than the lodgings they inhabited in their native countries (França, 1992: 148).

In other words, using these sundry indicators, we may say that a very sizable part of the population from the PALOP, immigrants or Portuguese, seems to have extremely low expectations when it comes to housing conditions. This is partly because their current lodgings are seen as being better than their previous homes, and partly because the housing market of the region where they are concentrated overtly discriminates against all low-income segments of the population, regardless of place of birth. The reasons for this situation lie in distortions arising

from decades of rent control and a social housing policy that has not yet been able to have full impact on the decayed housing conditions of a very sizable part of the poor population inhabiting the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

5.2. Deviant Behavior and Criminality

Several surveys on criminality have consistently pointed out that the Portuguese associate crime essentially with drugs, unemployment and poverty. Furthermore, in public opinion surveys and their respective analyses and comments that, we may assume, reflect and have the highest impact on the formation of public opinion, no direct connection was made between crime, drugs and immigrants. In fact, and contrary to what seems to be a major trend in other European countries, there is no evidence of the existence in Portugal of a social image of immigrants as potential delinquents or as potential drug dealers. In Portuguese public opinion, immigrants come to Portugal from the PALOP, contracted by immigrants or nationals from their own countries, to work without contracts and without rights in the major public works that are under construction.

However, some recent studies have shown that foreigners tend to be over-represented in crime statistics. The research conducted in 1996 on immigrants' insertion in the informal economy (Baganha, 1996) concluded that although the growth rate of the foreign population accused of being involved in criminal activities and in jail is growing more slowly than the corresponding rate for the Portuguese population, the foreign population is still over-represented in all the categories related to legal proceedings, considering their weight in the resident population.

Analyzing the numbers of foreigners among the resident population and in legal proceedings related to criminal activi-

ties, and looking at the annual average growth rates of the foreign population (See Table 23), we can conclude that:

- a.* Foreigners tend to be in jail more than the Portuguese;
- b.* Foreigners tend to be accused and convicted more than the Portuguese;
- c.* Foreigners tend to be over-represented in the accused, convicted and prison population.

According to another research study, conducted specifically on the involvement of foreigners in criminal activities (Seabra, 1999), the number of immigrants and descendants of immigrants in the Portuguese prison system is constantly growing. This study concludes that in 1998, foreigners represented about 11 percent of the total population in the prison system, a value too high for the percentage they represent in the population residing in Portuguese territory. Of this 11 percent, more than 60 percent were from an African country (PALOP).

In sum, foreigners show a higher probability of being accused, convicted and sentenced to jail than the Portuguese population. Two hypotheses may be put forward to explain these tendencies. The first attributes the results obtained so far to the type of crimes committed by foreigners and the respective control and legal punishment. The second attributes the results to institutional discrimination (police and judicial system) against foreigners.

If we look at the involvement of foreigners by type of crime, we see that the first four main crimes of the accused population are common to both the domestic population and foreign population, although the ranking is different (Table 24). Marked divergence occurs in the relative weights of activities related to illicit drugs, where the involvement of foreigners is double the total score. This involvement is severely punished by the jus-

tice system and may correspond, according to the Portuguese Penal Code, to three types of crime, from the most severely punished to the least severely punished by law: 1. Trafficking; 2. Trafficking and consumption; 3. Consumption.

Analyzing the involvement of the Portuguese and the foreign population in legal proceedings related to drugs by type of crime (summarized in table 25 for the period 1983-1995), we may conclude that foreigners tend to be much more involved in the crime of trafficking than in the other two types, whereas the domestic population tends to be much more involved in consumption or in trafficking and consumption. For the year 1997, we see that foreigners are over-represented in the crime of trafficking and that, within this group, Africans are predominant.

Involvement of Foreigners in Drug-Related Crimes, 1997

1997	Total	Consumption %	Trafficking and consumption %	Trafficking %
Total	4 292	52.1	4.2	43.6
Foreigners	542	36.3	2.2	61.4
African	192	20.8	2.1	77.1

Source: Statistical information summaries, in Seabra (1999:14)

In sum, it seems that foreigners tend to be more involved in the most severely punished crimes related to drugs, may explain their over-representation in the accused, convicted, and prison population. However, since drug trafficking is an organized international business and we cannot determine whether the foreigners involved were immigrants or transient individuals, we need to further our research to confirm our hypothesis.

The other hypothesis points to institutional discrimination against foreigners and it is based on the assumption that if

Justice is blind, there should be no difference between the rate of convictions, by type of crime, when comparing the foreign population to the Portuguese population (Table 26). The comparison of these two indicators shows, however, that the rates of conviction are always lower for Portuguese, which lends some support to the hypothesis of institutional discrimination against foreigners, at least by the judiciary.

In sum, although we cannot fully analyze the growing criminal involvement of foreigners, we are of the opinion that the over-representation of foreigners in the accused, convicted, and imprisoned population may be linked to these two hypotheses. On the one hand, there is a growing social awareness of drug problems and the control and punishment of related crimes is increasingly tighter. Police efforts to eradicate and control drug dealing are especially concentrated in certain run-down areas where most of the African immigrant population in Portugal lives, rendering this population more vulnerable to arrest. In the Portuguese judiciary system, crimes related to drugs are severely punished and the percentage of non-conviction and non-application of prison sentences is extremely low. Given that the probability of being convicted is higher for foreigners than for the Portuguese, one might predict that institutional discrimination also goes hand in hand with the major type of crimes committed by foreigners.

5.3. Violence Against Immigrants

The Portuguese show low levels of acceptance of “others” in their private lives. However in their public lives they tend to adopt forms of conduct and to express values that they consider to be socially correct. According to recent studies

⁴² Several studies published in Vala (1999). See also Pais (1998).

on racism, Portugal may constitute an example of a society that is formally anti-racist but in which racist attitudes persist.⁴² This paradox is explained through the different concepts of racism that stem from the position one assumes towards the anti-racist social norm that has progressively developed in Western societies since the Second-World War and which condemns expressions of traditional racism (Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995). A concept of prejudice or flagrant racism is shown as different from subtle racism. While the first rejects the anti-racist social norm and openly expresses traditional racism, the second accepts that norm but is an expression of new forms of racism, forms that are not condemned by the anti-racist norm. That is to say, those who are subtly racist accept the anti-racist norm as a way of being socially correct and not being punished for their actions in public life. However, they do not, and cannot, internalize a norm that is not congruent with their values and belief system. So, the authors conceive the non-racist as one who internalizes the norm as part of a value system based on equality, and who rejects all forms of racism, including those that are socially accepted.

The studies mentioned before, point to the conclusion that, in Portugal, as in the rest of Europe, the anti-racist social norm exists only for flagrant racism not for subtle racism. This conclusion is consistent with some of the findings of the 1996 report on immigrants' insertion in Portuguese society. In point five, on the values and attitudes of the Portuguese towards immigrants, it is clear that the Portuguese show low levels of acceptance of "others" in their private lives but in public life they tend to adopt forms of conduct and to express values that they consider to be socially correct.⁴³ Rather than racist, a sizable share of the Portuguese population seems to be discriminatory.

⁴³ This study was mainly supported by the results of a European Survey on Values (1990) and several national surveys conducted on this issue over the past few years.

We could say that, in Portugal, not only is racism not an assumed attitude, but also militant racism is extremely rare.⁴⁴ ‘Skinhead’ groups have never had any social support or numerical relevance compared with similar groups in other European countries. However, we may list a number of violent racist incidents involving groups of skinheads, directed mainly towards the black population, that have occurred in the last ten years. In 1995, for instance, five persons were killed and fifty others were injured in 30 racist incidents. The most serious case, known as the “Bairro Alto” incident, occurred in June of 1995, when a group of skinheads caused eleven injuries and the death of a Cape Verde citizen aged 25.

⁴⁴ Public opinion and public authorities have firmly and widely condemned all racist incidents occurred in the last decade.

So, regardless of their reduced numerical significance, skinheads are a clear sign that militant racism does exist in Portugal. However, in the last few years, these groups have been much less active, possibly as a result of the Public Prosecutor’s proposing the charge of genocide for the skinheads involved in the incident mentioned above.

5.4. Exclusion from Social and Political Rights

According to the High-Commissioner for Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities, “the overwhelming majority of those who live in poverty are, in our context, immigrants and members of ethnic minorities. Fighting poverty implies, thus, that everybody is entitled to benefit from the social policies designed to eradicate poverty and build social citizenship for all” (public speech, 1997). Numerically speaking, the High-Commissioner’s statement is not totally accurate (see table 22) but his prescription for fighting poverty is beyond dispute.

As it has already been mentioned, economic and social rights are linked to residence status and to the mode of economic

incorporation, which means that the level of social exclusion is a result of the level of illegal residence and economic informality within the immigrant community. Being illegal and working in an unregulated labor market influences other factors like access to council housing, health, education, mechanisms of social protection, in other words, full access to social citizenship.

When the 1996 drive to legalize immigrants was launched, one of its main objectives was to halt the negative effects of illegality. Although no evaluation of the legalization drive has been made, it seems indisputable that it allowed the bonding and settling of a sizable immigrant community. Especially important among those were persons from Portuguese-speaking African countries whom the government, local authorities, trade unions, NGOs, and society as a whole are trying to integrate both socially and economically.

Although having legal residence constitutes a necessary condition, it is not sufficient to insure access to full citizenship. In fact, all the programs, projects, and institutions mentioned as actors in an inclusion policy targeting immigrants and ethnic minorities were set up to respond to the widespread social exclusion which some of these groups were, and still are, experiencing. The problems faced by immigrants in Portugal are varied. Perhaps the most decisive are those related to housing and employment for the older generations and/or unsuccessful schooling or integration difficulties for the younger generations.

Insufficient and poor living conditions in run-down areas play an important role in immigrant integration problems, as they are easily identified with the idea of exclusion and marginal living. The very fact that the majority of immigrants live in areas associated with high crime rates may, as asserted by members of several NGOs, influence other aspects of their lives

such as access to the labor market and types of work where they can be employed. The national re-housing program was planned as part of the solution to this problem (Baganha, 1998a, 1998b).

On the other hand, unemployment and precarious working conditions are rendering immigrants particularly vulnerable to social exclusion. A recent survey on active immigrants in Portugal revealed that 47 percent of the men and 21 percent of the women worked without any type of contract and that the percentage of males working without contracts in the construction and building sector attained the astonishing rate of 74 percent (Baganha, Ferrão, and Malheiros et al., 1998). The high level of non-contractual work and the absence of social contributions, either to the tax department or to social security, explain the low percentage of non-nationals registered in the social security system.

According to the Employment Survey for 1992 to 1995, immigrants from the PALOP are consistently and substantially more excluded from social security than the rest of the immigrants.⁴⁵ The same source also indicates that the share of the female immigrant population, particularly from the PALOP, with permanent contracts and registered with the social security authorities is much larger than the corresponding male share. In 1995, for example, the proportion of male immigrants from the PALOP with permanent contracts was 56 percent, while the corresponding figure for females was 70 percent and the proportion registered in social security was 70 percent for males against 94 percent for females (INE, Inquérito ao Emprego, 1992-1995). However, it must again be mentioned that the Employment Survey contains measurement errors on the attributes of the foreign population that are extremely high.

The unpublished data of the Social Security System points to a much lower inclusion in the system than the one estima-

⁴⁵ Although data contained on the Employment Survey for 1992 to 1995 presents an extremely poor coverage of the population of interest, and very low reliability of the estimators for almost all of the categories considered, it can still provide us with some important indicators.

ted by the Employment Survey. For 1995 the rate of registration observed for foreigners in the Social Security System was 38.6 percent.

Foreigners Registered in the Portuguese Social Security System

	1995
Foreigners registered in Social Security System	32 566
Active Foreigners	84 383
Registration rate	38.6

Source: Social Security System (unpublished data)

In previous studies, the situation of exclusion from social citizenship of a sizable number of immigrants was attributed to the following:

1. Immigrants, mainly of rural origin, in the prime years of their active lives tend to attribute very little or no value to the possible benefits that having legal residence status and belonging to the formal labor market may entitle them;
2. Since their economic incorporation in the labor market essentially takes place in the informal economy, it prevents them from entering the social security system;
3. A sizable share is in the country illegally which automatically excludes them from several relevant social rights;
4. The widespread future costs implied by the present situation do not generate sufficient societal pressure for the government to change the status quo, which has clear short-term benefits to the economy (Baganha, 1998a, 1998b).

The new evidence specifically collected for the present report lends further support to the above-mentioned conclusions.

5.4.1. *Political Participation*

There is not much information available on the participation of foreigners in Portuguese local elections, since no relevant studies have been done on this issue. Furthermore, information on participation numbers in Portuguese local elections by nationality is denied to the public under the Personal Data Secrecy Act.

However, there is some data on the numbers of foreigners who registered to vote, which is summarized in this next table.

Foreigners registered to vote in local elections

Country	Norway	Cape Verde	Argentina	Brazil	Peru	Uruguay	Israel	E.U.	Total
1997	9	9 572	30	732	8	13	2	3 158	1 524
1998	14	11 645	40	1 132	12	14	2	4 089	16 948

Source: STAP – Ministry of the Interior

With regard to the right to be elected, the Department of Foreigners and Borders registered 16 requests by foreigners who intended to be local candidates in the 1997 elections.⁴⁶

Thus, if we examine the numbers of foreigners from third countries living in Portugal (Table 1), only an extremely low percentage of those entitled to political rights did, in fact, exercise their political citizenship. One reason may be that Law 50/96 conditioned the entitlement of political rights to the principle of reciprocity, thus excluding some important immigrant communities such as those coming from Angola. It is our conviction, however, that the main reason resides in the fact that immigrants from Cape Verde and Brazil could only vote if they had been legally residing in Portugal for two years, and run for office if legally residing in the country for at least four years. When we consider that the last and most important legalization process occurred only in 1996, and that the local elections

⁴⁶ This number refers only to those without dual citizenship.

were in 1997, we may assume that a sizable share of foreigners with legal residence in Portugal was not entitled to vote, since they had only been legally residing in the country for a year.

Other Forms of Political Participation

An institutional framework has been in the making for these past few years, in order to insure that immigrants and ethnic minorities participate in Portuguese society, both at the national and local levels.

At the Municipal level, 1993 marked the creation of the Municipal Council for Immigrants in Lisbon. This Council is headed by a member of the City Council and includes representatives of several immigrants' associations, members of the City Council itself, and two persons chosen by the former group. Its objectives are to support projects designed to respond to the specific needs of immigrant communities living in Lisbon. More recently, the City Council of Amadora, where a very significant part of the immigrant community lives, decided to institutionalize a similar structure.

At the national level, there is the Office of the High Commissioner for Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities and the recently-created Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (see non-discrimination legal framework). The Office of the High Commissioner is a Government body established to promote consultation and dialogue with all the associations representing immigrants' rights and all public authorities involved in this area. The High Commissioner heads the Commission for Equality for Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities which includes both representatives from the government and legislative assembly and representatives of immigrants' associations, anti-racist associations, human rights associations, and trade unions.

5.4.2. *Immigrants and Naturalization*

The total number of naturalization cases observed between 1994 and 1997 (Table 28) never came to more than 0.8 percent of the resident foreign population for the given year. Clearly, Brazilians show a much higher tendency to become Portuguese than any other foreign group⁴⁷. Even so, the highest percentage of Brazilians that acquired Portuguese nationality was 1.5 percent in 1997.

The rate of naturalization observed is extremely low when compared to the rate of naturalization observed in other countries. In fact, the rate of naturalizations observed for Portugal (1994-1997) is only lower than that of Luxembourg, according to a survey for the years 1988-1995 that included 16 OECD countries (Sopemi Report 1996, OECD, 1997: 60). Furthermore at this rate, it would take between 20 to 50 years for one third of the present members of a given foreign group to become Portuguese. This can also be considered extremely slow if we take into account the rate of naturalization observed for non-European immigrants who arrived after the mid-1980s in countries like France (Tribalat, 1995).

5.4.3. *Inter-Marriages Between Portuguese and Foreign Nationals*

Between 1990 and 1994 the number of marriages among Portuguese nationals decreased substantially while the number of marriages of Portuguese nationals to foreign nationals increased steadily and substantially (Table 29)⁴⁸. Unfortunately, Portuguese official statistics only classify persons according to their nationality, which means that the increase observed in the volume of marriages of Portuguese nationals to nationals from a PALOP country may either be the result of an increase in inter-ethnic marriages or an increase in intra-ethnic marriages, since

⁴⁷ Even more so after Brazilian law was changed, in 1994, to allow for dual citizenship (Marques et. al., 1999).

⁴⁸ Here we consider as inter-ethnic marriage only marriages between Portuguese nationals and foreigners. Marriages between foreigners of other nationalities have been left out.

all PALOP communities include a substantial number of Portuguese nationals.

Between 1995-1996, marriages of Portuguese nationals to foreigners followed the same downward trend that was noted for marriages overall. However, in 1997, both groups (marriages among Portuguese nationals and marriages of Portuguese nationals to foreign nationals) registered a slight increase.

⁴⁹ Information about the nationality of individuals who get married stops in 1994.

From 1990-1994⁴⁹ Portuguese nationals married in the first place with other European citizens (it must be recalled that not all of these marriages were between a Portuguese and an immigrant, in fact, many of these marriages were between a Portuguese emigrant and a national of the country of immigration, very frequently of Portuguese ancestry). In second place they married citizens from the PALOP, while citizens from Brazil came third.

Only future in-depth studies will be able to determine if mixed marriages involving Portuguese and PALOP citizens can be categorized as an “inter-ethnic” marriages. If they can, then the available evidence may be considered a positive indicator of a tendency toward integration of the immigrant population.

5.4.4. *Cultural Diversity*

Cape Verdean, Brazilian, and other ethnic restaurants, discos, art galleries, and other ethnic businesses now dot the city of Lisbon. Some of these businesses are in ethnic neighborhoods, while others are in the high income residential and commercial areas of the capital.

The evidence points to these cultural transferences as being welcome and easily accepted by the Portuguese. There are visible signs that the city is becoming increasingly diversified culturally. These external signs go hand in hand with other less visible indicators that point in the same direction. In fact, a comparison of the expressed religious beliefs of the resident

population, both domestic and foreign, in 1981 and 1991, (Table 29) allows us to draw two preliminary generalizations based on the numerically small fringe of people who do not belong to the Catholic faith. According to the figures, the number of Muslims has more than doubled, while the number of those who profess the Christian Orthodox faith has more than quadrupled. These figures may point to an increase in cultural diversity at least when measured by the evolution of the indicator of self-ascribed religious belief.

As was said in the introduction to this report, adaptation to new developments requires time, but as far as can be gleaned from the scanty evidence available, the Portuguese seem to be adapting well to the loss of their long-standing tradition of cultural homogeneity.

6. RECOMMENDATION FOR BEST PRACTICES

In terms of human capital and access to social amenities, the Portuguese clearly fall in between two foreign groups. Above them is a group essentially made up of other Europeans and Brazilians, and below them is a group made up overwhelmingly of citizens from the PALOP. No matter what indicator we choose to look at, the socio-economic ranking of these three groups is clear: Europeans and Brazilians followed by the Portuguese, who in turn are followed by the citizens of the PALOP. Furthermore, the magnitude of the differences between the three groups is the cornerstone of the hypothesis that both foreign groups are segregated from Portuguese mainstream society, albeit by extremely different types of segregation.

⁵⁰ Human capital differences, although probably the most powerful determinant, are, however, not the only factor concurring to the observed differences. As the works of Peixoto (1999) indicate, a sizable number of the members of this group are directly linked to international strategies of international and transnational corporations, who offer very special and rewarding employment packages to their employees and families to move to Portugal for a given period.

The gap between the first and the second group (Europeans and Brazilians / Portuguese) may be attributed to differences in human capital between the two groups which are well-expressed by the differences observed in the professional status and occupational structure of these two groups⁵⁰. This differentiation, when associated with higher incomes, private social and cultural infra-structures (such as private international schools, hospitals, medical doctors, clubs, associations, newspapers, and closed residential condominiums) has promoted the auto-segregation of a significant number of members of the first group from direct interaction with mainstream Portuguese society.

Some of the differentiation between the second and the third group (Portuguese / citizens from the PALOP) may also be attributed to differences in human capital. However, other factors must be at play as well, since the majority of the indicators reveal that, on average, the latter group exhibits a consistently higher propensity to be in disadvantageous social and economic positions than the Portuguese population, even when populations observed in both groups show no major differences in

human capital. The existence of systematic inequalities between the Portuguese and the citizens from the PALOP cannot be simplistically taken as firm evidence of discrimination on the part of Portuguese society towards citizens from the PALOP because of their African ancestry. Rather, it can and should be considered a clear symptom of undesired social segregation.

The process of social segregation of immigrant communities usually arises from multiple causes, where factors like human capital, social capital, cultural norms and values, labour market positioning and opportunities, access to public social amenities (for example, public transportation) and the social security system interact within different social contexts of either predominant acceptance or rejection of the “other”. The respective weight of each one of these factors in determining the observed outcome varies considerably, and along with it, the ranking of the explanatory variables in specialized literature available on the topic⁵¹.

Unfortunately, the indicators available for Portugal are too scant and rudimentary to enable one to rank the numerous factors that evidence shows play an important role in the current social segregation of various immigrant and ethnic minority groups. They are sufficient, however, to enable us to recommend a number of “best practices” that stand out in the descriptive survey presented earlier in this report.

First Recommendation

It is undeniable that the launching, from the 1990's onwards, of a great number of public programs and governmental actions specifically aimed at curbing some of the primary obstacles to integration of immigrant and ethnic minorities, be they directed towards the labor market, the educational system, or guarantee of a minimum income, testify to a great political will

⁵¹ For a very recent example of what is being said see, for example, Portes and MacLeod, 1999.

to rescue the numerous resident minority groups in disadvantaged conditions from social exclusion. The fact is that no evaluation reports on the impact of these multiple policy programs are available that would allow for even an preliminary assessment of their efficacy. Therefore, the most that can be said is that one of the necessary conditions for eradicating social exclusion does exist – the political will to do so. Whether the various policy programs that are in place are sufficient and suitable or not, is yet to be determined.

Our first recommendation would, therefore, be that at least some of these programs be evaluated before others are launched. If, in human terms, it is indisputable that the budget of the “Intercultural Education” program was put to good use when it was spent feeding young students, it is equally indisputable that the project seemed to have been designed without prior knowledge of the target population and that its main objectives were completely distorted afterwards.

In a country with the highest proportion of poor people of the EU (25 percent), a country with the lowest qualified active population (two-thirds with no or only primary schooling), and one with a recently formed and weak welfare state, public resources will always be scarce compared with the magnitude of the existing social problems and the continual rise in expectations of the population. In this context, careful and expert policy planning and rigorous, professional, and efficient policy evaluation would be the first obvious recommendation to be made.

Second recommendation

We have seen that local and national NGOs play a significant role as partners in the development of immigration policies, whether as pressure groups or by taking responsibility for implementing social inclusion projects, in many cases mana-

ging legal and social counseling services directed at the specific needs of the immigrant population. However, NGOs and other foundations working in the field of immigration and ethnic minorities depend overwhelmingly on government financial support for infra-structures and human resources, which may eventually limit the choice of programs to be implemented⁵². Recently, several studies have pointed out the negative impact that such financial dependency on governmental funding may entail, particularly in terms of distortion of objectives and goals that are to be effectively pursued⁵³.

Based on this evidence, our second recommendation would be that the Portuguese Third Sector try to find ways to be more linked to civil society and to multiple sources of financial support in order to be able to follow its own objectives more autonomously.

Third Recommendation

As the record shows, it seems reasonable to assume that the Portuguese are receptive to cultural transference. In this case, any positive action aimed at diversifying the Portuguese cultural landscape, bringing specific cultural aspects of ethnic minority groups to the Portuguese mainstream, as is the aim of Batoto Yetu-Portugal, is to be enthusiastically recommended. We believe this type of program is a prime example of what can be construed as “best practice”. These types of programs and actions can aid in the evolution of a multicultural society, a society in which the cultural identities of numerous ethnic minorities make up part of a mainstream set of cultural identities that any citizen, Portuguese or not, living in Portugal, can choose from, and ascribe to him or herself.

⁵² For instance, the Coordinating Secretariat of Associations for Legalization receives annual funding from the Government.

⁵³ Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais (forthcoming).

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Part B

Statistical Appendix

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

Note: In Portugal, statistical data on flows only began to be published in 1995. For this reason, the available information was not used in this report. Moreover, given the statistical constraints already mentioned, the analysis carried out was based on stocks of foreign population.

Table 1 Immigrants in Portugal by Continent of Origin, 1980-1997

Year	Total Immigrants	Africa	North America	South America	Asia	Europe	Other
1980	58 091	27 748	4 821	6 403	1 153	17 706	260
1981	62 692	27 948	6 018	8 123	1 394	18 931	278
1982	68 153	28 903	6 855	10 481	1 663	19 924	327
1983	79 015	32 481	8 520	13 351	2 219	22 053	391
1984	89 625	37 128	9 887	15 394	2 860	23 896	460
1985	79 594	34 978	7 987	11 567	2 564	22 060	438
1986	86 982	37 829	9 047	12 629	2 958	24 040	479
1987	89 778	38 838	8 623	13 009	3 124	25 676	508
1988	94 453	40 253	8 338	14 645	3 413	27 280	524
1989	101 011	42 789	8 737	15 938	3 741	29 247	559
1990	107 767	45 255	8 993	17 376	4 154	31 410	579
1991	113 978	47 998	9 236	18 666	4 458	33 011	609
1992**	122 348	52 037	9 430	19 960	4 769	34 732	621
1993	136 932	55 786	10 513	21 924	5 520	37 154	696
1994*	157 073	72 630	10 739	24 815	6 322	41 819	748
1995	168 316	79 231	10 853	25 867	6 730	44 867	768
1996	172 912	81 176	10 783	25 733	7 140	47 315	765
1997	175 263	81 717	10 573	25 274	7 192	49 747	760

Source: 1980-1995: Estatísticas Demográficas and SEF cit. in Baganha, 1996/1996, 1997: Estatísticas Demográficas, 1996, 1997.

* The statistics for 1994 include the special legalization (1992/93).

** The values for 1992 and 1993 vary from table to table in the statistics.

Over 95% of the foreign residents from Africa are from the former Portuguese colonies; for Europe over 90% are from an EEC country.

Table 2 Immigrants in Portugal by Selected Nationality, 1997

Nationality	Absolute numbers	% of total population
Angola	16 296	0.17
Cape Verde	39 789	0.42
Guinea	12 785	0.13
S. Tome	4 304	0.04
Mozambique	4 426	0.05
Brazil	19 990	0.21
Europe	49 747	0.53
Total Immigrants	175 263	1.87
Total Population*	9 382 200	100.00

Source: Estatísticas Demográficas, 1997.

* Estimation of total population by INE.

Table 3 Regional Distribution by Selected Nationalities,
Yearly average 1990-1997

Nationality	Absolute numbers			In Percentage		
	Lisbon	Setubal	Total in Portugal	Lisbon	Setubal	Total in Portugal
Angola	7 157	1 301	10 921	66	12	100
Cape Verde	22 943	6 951	34 554	66	20	100
Guinea	5 647	565	8 692	65	7	100
Mozambique	2 784	649	3 912	71	17	100
S. Tome	2 413	532	3 254	74	16	100
Brazil	6 708	569	16 571	40	3	100
Europe	19 281	1 923	42 606	45	5	100
Total	77 401	1 435	143 656	54	10	100

Sources: 1990-1995 – SEF cit. in Baganha, 1996; 1996, 1997 – Estatísticas Demográficas, 1996, 1997.

Note: The values for 1992 by district are different from the values in all the other tables in the statistics

Table 4 Immigrants by Age Groups and Selected Nationalities,
Yearly average 1990-1992

Nationality	Age groups			Total
	0-14	15-64	65 or +	
Angola	306	5 273	262	5 882
Cape Verde	240	28 774	786	29 889
Guinea	113	4 689	52	4 855
Mozambique	124	3 085	161	3 370
S. Tomé	37	2 135	73	2 245
Brazil	1 082	11 366	265	12 713
Europe	493	28 615	5 588	34 696
Total Immigrants	4 775	100 525	9 119	114 419

Source: 1990-1992 – SEF cit. in Baganha, 1996.

Note: For 1992 totals on the table by district are different.

Table 5 Yearly Average Inactivity Rates by Selected Nationalities,
1990-1997 (percentages)

Country of Citizenship	Inactivity Rate
Angola	59
S. Tome	56
Mozambique	54
Brazil	51
Europe	45
Cape Verde	43
Guinea	39
Average Foreigners	49
Average Nationals (1992-1997)	51

Sources: 1990-1995 – SEF cit. in Baganha, 1996; 1996, 1997 – Estatísticas Demográficas, 1996, 1997.

Table 6 Yearly Average Inactivity Rates by Selected Nationalities, 1990-1997

Inactive	Foreigners (1990-1997)	Nationals (1992-1997)
Domestic	44.4%	13.6%
Student	44.6%	36.3%
Retired	7.6%	36.0%
Others	3.4%	14.1%

Sources: 1990-1995 – SEF and INE cit. in Baganha, 1996; 1996, 1997 – Estatísticas Demográficas and Inquérito ao Emprego, 1996, 1997.

Table 7 Immigrants by Sex and Selected Nationalities,
Yearly average 1992-1997

Nationality	Total	Male	Female
Angola	13 719	8 048	5 671
Cape Verde	37 154	22 634	14 520
Guinea	10 870	8 070	2 800
Mozambique	4 193	2 371	1 823
S. Tome	3 784	1 949	1 835
Brazil	18 527	10 092	8 435
Europe	43 689	23 519	20 169
Total*	159 015	92 691	66 324

Sources: 1992-1995 – SEF cit. in Baganha, 1996; 1996, 1997 – Estatísticas Demográficas, 1996, 1997.

* For 1992, totals on the table by district are different.

Table 8 Active Immigrants Since 1990 in Portugal (selected nationalities)

Year	Total Immigrants	Angola	Cape Verde	Guinea	Mozambique	S. Tomé	Brazil	Europe
1990	51 781	1 562	16 581	1 785	1 571	786	4 729	16 692
1991	54 939	1 665	16 943	2 347	1 609	825	5 362	17 516
1992	59 236	1 897	17 721	3 108	1 660	992	6 362	18 859
1993	63 085	2 281	18 053	3 545	1 692	1 171	7 156	20 335
1994	77 599	6 590	20 574	6 036	1 831	1 739	8 864	22 169
1995	84 383	7 990	21 849	7 023	1 899	1 906	9 618	23 782
1996	76 132	8 213	22 153	7 206	1 901	1 945	9 712	25 002
1997	87 893	8 179	22 073	7 230	1 905	1 946	9 671	26 273
Yearly average								
1990-1997	69 381	4 797	19 493	4 785	1 759	1 414	7 684	21 329

Sources: 1990-1995 – SEF cit. in Baganha, 1996; 1996, 1997 – Estatísticas Demográficas, 1996, 1997.

Table 9 Officially Registered Unemployment of Foreigners Since 1994 in Portugal (mainland) (absolute figures and percentage of registered unemployed to the respective active group)

Nationality	1995		1996		1997	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Angola	633	7.9	743	9.0	959	11.7
Cape Verde	999	4.6	1 079	4.9	1 122	5.1
Guinea	525	7.5	573	8.0	637	8.8
Mozambique	136	7.2	133	7.0	167	8.8
S. Tomé	200	10.5	210	10.8	252	12.9
Brazil	326	3.4	325	3.3	373	3.9
Europe	752	3.2	759	3.0	919	3.5
<i>Total Immigrants</i>	<i>3 831</i>	<i>4.5</i>	<i>4 098</i>	<i>5.4</i>	<i>4 615</i>	<i>5.3</i>
Total Population	439 562	9.6	448 022	9.8	405 964	8.7

Source: Instituto de Emprego e Formação Profissional, 1999.

Table 10 Active Immigrants by Occupational Status,
Yearly average 1990-1997

Nationality	Employer and self-employed	Wage earner	Unknown / other	Total
Angola	328	4 468	3	4 798
Cape Verde	228	19 260	6	19 493
Guinea	284	4 497	4	4 785
Mozambique	270	1 488	0	1 759
S. Tome	134	1 278	2	1 414
Brazil	2 379	5 293	8	7 680
Europe	9 116	12 191	22	21 329
Total	15 934	54 700	82	70 716

Sources: 1990-1995 – SEF cit. in Baganha, 1996; 1996, 1997 – Estatísticas Demográficas, 1996, 1997.

Table 11 Active Immigrants by Occupations, Yearly average 1990-1997
– selected nationalities

Nationality	Occupation codes							Active Total	Inactive Total
	0/1	2	3	4	5	6	7/8/9		
Angola	475	15	154	159	593	33	3 387	4 815	5 844
Cape Verde	295	14	641	122	1 157	109	17 155	19 493	14 474
Guinea	367	13	112	88	295	78	3 834	4 785	3 103
Mozambique	238	58	149	434	102	4	775	1 759	2 065
S. Tome	175	5	87	43	243	7	854	1 414	1 804
Brazil	3 543	353	603	838	418	67	1 857	7 679	8 070
Europe*	9 406	3 337	1 129	2 740	1 165	400	4 559	22 736	18 338
Total	17 260	4 401	3 071	5 689	4 542	992	34 761	70 716	65 613

Sources: 1990-1995 – SEF cit. in Baganha, 1996; 1996, 1997 – Estatísticas Demográficas, 1996, 1997.

Note: In 1991 there were 143 actives for Angola and 3 for Cape Verde whose occupations were unknown. They are included in 7/8/9. In 1993 there is one active with occupation unknown in the grand total included in 7/8/9.

* average for Europe is only for the period 1992-1997. Occupational codes: 0/1 Professional, scientific and technical occupations; 2 Executive and managerial occupations; 3 Clerical workers; 4 Sales workers and vendors; 5 Safety, protection, personal and domestic workers; 6 Farmers, fishermen, hunters and similar; 7/8/9 Miners, industrial workers, workers in transport occupations and similar (includes workers in building and construction).

Table 12 Students Enrolled by National Origin of the Parents and School Level, 1997

Nationality	Compulsory primary school (1st to 9th grade)	Secondary school (10th to 12 grade)	Total
Angola	11 541	2 582	14 150
Cape Verde	11 470	921	12 410
Guinea	2 762	388	3 156
Mozambique	3 031	1 339	4 377
S. Tome	1 834	299	2 136
Brazil	2 492	1 043	3 542
European Union	7 092	2 892	10 026
Ex-emigrants	19 044	5 850	25 101
Total foreign students	48 939	11 791	60 868
All students	1 006 506	282 111	1 299 305

Source: Entreculturas Data base, 1997.

Table 13 Success Rates by National Origin of the Parents, Portugal 1997 (in percentage of the enrolled of respective nationality)

Nationality	Compulsory primary school	Secondary school	Total
Angola	84.8	55.1	81.1
Cape Verde	76.7	62.0	76.3
Guinea	83.2	52.1	80.5
Mozambique	86.5	65.4	82.1
S. Tome	81.6	68.8	80.8
Brazil	89.8	61.5	84.4
European Union	86.5	66.3	82.3
Ex-emigrants	90.4	60.7	85.9
All students	87.6	65.8	83.4

Source: Entreculturas Data base, 1997.

Figure 1 Success Rates of Children of Foreign Parentage at Compulsory Primary School by National Origin of the Parents, Portugal 1997 (in percentage of the enrolled of respective nationality).

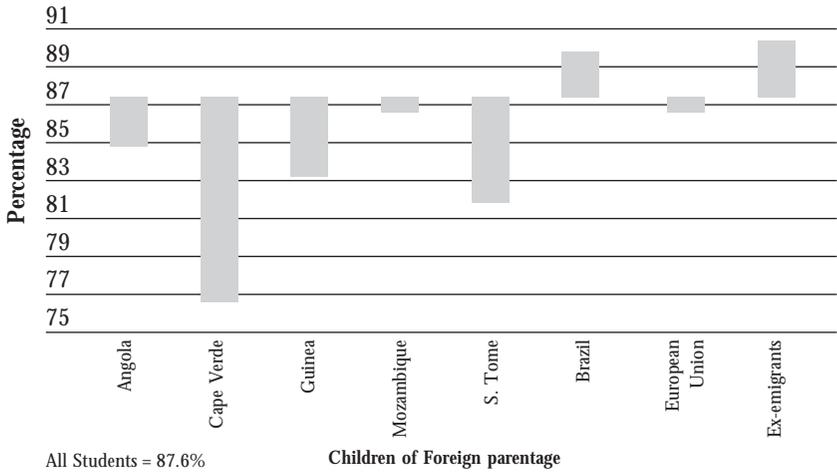


Figure 2 Success rates of Children of Foreign Parentage at Secondary School by National Origin of the Parents, Portugal 1997 (in percentage of the enrolled of respective nationality).

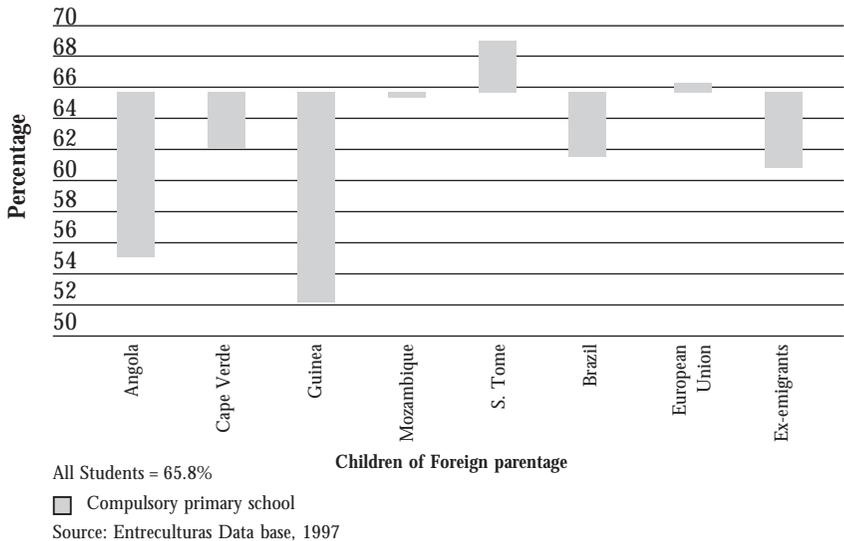


Table 14 School Leavers* by National Origin of the Parents, Portugal 1996
(in percentage of the enrolled of respective nationality)**

Nationality	Compulsory primary school	Secondary school	Total
Angola	0.0	27.3	7.2
Cape Verde	7.7	9.5	8.2
Guinea	- 6.9	23.4	- 1.1
Mozambique	- 6.6	24.3	5.7
S. Tome	4.0	12.0	6.2
Brazil	- 2.0	7.7	2.7
European Union	- 14.4	9.2	- 4.8
Ex-emigrants	2.7	10.3	8.0
All students	4.3	15.9	6.9

Source: Entreculturas Data base, 1997.

* Students that concluded one academic year but didn't enroll in the following year.

** A negative sign means an increase in the number of enrollments during the school year.

Table 15 School Waivers* by National Origin of the Parents, Portugal 1997
(in percentage of the enrolled of respective nationality)

Nationality	Compulsory primary school	Secondary school	Total
Angola	9.0	30.6	12.9
Cape Verde	8.1	27.9	9.5
Guinea	6.7	20.1	8.4
Mozambique	14.3	34.5	20.5
S. Tome	10.6	39.8	14.7
Brazil	9.3	33.0	16.3
European Union	11.3	35.7	18.3
Ex-emigrants	16.5	31.2	20.0
All students	1.0	10.6	3.1

Source: Entreculturas Data base, 1997.

* Students that abandoned the academic year.

Table 16 Beneficiaries of Guaranteed Minimum Income up to June 1999
(absolute figures and percentage of respective immigrant group*)

Nationality	N	%
Angola	1 980	1.2
Cape Verde	1 804	4.5
Guinea	691	5.4
Mozambique	372	8.4
S. Tome	616	14.0
Total PALOP	5 463	7.0
Total Population	405 777	4.3

Source: Ministry of Labor and Solidarity, 1999.

* Percentages were calculated based on the resident population for 1998.

Table 17 Resident Population According to Dwelling Type, 1991
– selected nationalities – Portugal

Nationality	Classic Dwelling	Shanty or non-classic dwelling	Other*	Total
Cape Verde	11 384	3 499	831	15 714
Angola	8 085	514	451	9 368
Mozambique	2 983	67	136	3 186
S. Tome	1 499	417	91	2 007
Guinea	2 237	766	159	3 162
Brazil	13 311	22	175	13 508
Europe	36 375	88	1 011	37 474
Total Population	9 705 836	58 161	77 275	9 866 449

Source: INE, Censo 1991, unpublished data.

* Include collective dwelling.

Table 18 Resident Population According to Dwelling Type, 1991
– selected nationalities – Lisbon and Setúbal Districts

Nationality	Classic Dwelling	Shanty or non-classic dwelling	Other*	Total
Cape Verde	9 974	3 438	721	14 133
Angola	4 454	496	218	5 168
Mozambique	2 021	67	79	2 169
S. Tome	1 294	415	79	1 788
Guinea	1 910	750	103	2 763
Brazil	4 398	16	53	4 467
Europe	10 706	62	379	11 147
Total Population	3 215 708	43 416	37 044	3 296 168

Source: INE, Censo 1991, unpublished data.

* Include collective dwellings.

Table 19 Resident Population in Family Dwellings According to the Degree of Basic Amenities (toilets, running water, indoor bathroom and electricity), 1991 – selected nationalities – Portugal

Nationality	Total Population	Complete amenities	Incomplete amenities	Without amenities
Cape Verde	11 384	7 896	3 184	304
Angola	8 388	7 128	1 143	117
Mozambique	2 983	2 696	266	21
S. Tome	1 499	1 092	328	79
Guinea	2 237	1 863	302	72
Brazil	13 311	12 393	889	29
Europe	36 375	32 298	3 831	246
Total Population	9 800 601	7 831 707	1 867 882	101 012

Source: INE, Censo 1991, unpublished data.

Table 20 Resident Population in Family Dwellings According to the Degree of Basic Amenities (toilets, running water, indoor bathroom and electricity), 1991 – selected nationalities – Lisbon and Setúbal Districts

Nationality	Total Population	Complete amenities	Incomplete amenities	Without amenities
Cape Verde	9 974	7 021	2 705	248
Angola	4 454	3 982	410	62
Mozambique	2 021	1 880	134	7
S. Tome	1 294	932	288	74
Guinea	1 910	1 554	284	72
Brazil	4 398	4 300	97	1
Europe	10 706	10 316	350	40
Total Population	3 272 868	2 956 463	297 151	19 254

Source: INE, Censo 1991, unpublished data.

Table 21 Housing Conditions by Community, 1990 (Percentages)

Nationality	Without water	Without electricity	Without bath	Without sanitation
Cape Verde	33.2	15.0	41.6	9.5
Angola	33.6	17.3	36.1	9.3
Mozambique	23.2	5.9	29.0	5.8
S. Tome	46.4	26.0	47.4	13.4
Guinea	22.0	11.1	18.1	7.9
India	34.8	19.7	38.6	5.3
Gypsy	68.8	44.6	75.9	60.7
Total	35.4	18.4	39.8	14.0

Source: Costa, et al., 1991:99.

Table 22 Urban Poor by Nationality (Percentages)

Nationality	Percentage	Percentage Foreigners
Portuguese	85.0	
Foreigner	15.0	100.0
Cape Verde	9.3	62.0
Angola	3.0	20.0
S. Tome	1.0	7.0
Mozambique	0.45	3.0
India	0.45	3.0
Others	0.8	5.0

Source: Silva et al., 1989. in Almeida et al., 1994:159.

Table 23 Foreigners in the Resident Population and in Legal Proceedings Related to Criminal Activities

Year	Resident Population		
	Total	Foreigner	% of Foreigner
1989	9 919 700	101 011	1.02
1990	9 872 900	107 767	1.09
1991	9 860 300	113 978	1.16
1992	9 864 600	122 348	1.24
1993	9 887 600	131 593	1.33

Accused			Convicted			Imprisoned		
Total	Foreigner	% of Total	Total	Foreigner	% of Total	Total	Foreigner	% of Total
52 701	1 087	2.06				8 543	746	8.73
55 674	991	1.78				9 051	753	8.32
75 857	1 268	1.67	65 539	1 288	1.97	8 047	644	8.00
82 973	1 241	1.50	31 165	666	2.14	9 610	786	8.18
74 326	1 353	1.82	37 442	795	2.12	11 252	919	8.17

Source: Sumários de Informação Estatística, Ministérios da Justiça, 1987-1995. In Cruz, 1996. Estatísticas dos Serviços Prisionais, Ministério da Justiça, 1995.

Table 24 Main Crimes of the Accused Population – in percentage

Types of Crime	Total	Foreigners
Checks with insufficient funds	36.6	14.6
Against property	20.9	21.4
Assault and battery	12.9	10.4
Drug-related	4.5	9.0
Against public authority	4.2	4.1

Source: Sumários de Informação Estatística, Ministérios da Justiça, 1987-1995. In Cruz, 1996.

Table 25 Accusations Related to Illegal Drugs by Type of Crime

	Total		Trafficking		Trafficking and consumption		Consumption	
		%		%		%		%
Total	31 009	100.0	9 309	100.0	5 742	100.0	15 958	100.0
Portuguese	24 442	78.8	6 194	66.5	4 799	83.6	13 449	84.3
Foreigners	2 593	8.4	1 496	16.1	439	7.6	658	4.1
Unknown	3 974	12.8	1 619	17.4	504	8.8	1 851	11.6

Source: Sumários de Informação Estatística, Ministérios da Justiça, 1987-1995. In Cruz, 1996.

Table 26 Convicted Population in Drug-Related Cases by Type of Crime – in percentage

Nationality	Trafficking	Trafficking / Consumption	Consumption
Total Convicted	51.3	11.3	38.4
Portuguese	50.5	10.9	37.6
Foreigners	58.4	7.3	35.9
Unknown	39.4	34.9	63.0

Source: Sumários de Informação Estatística, Ministérios da Justiça, 1987-1995. In Cruz, 1996.

Table 27 Foreigners Registered in the Portuguese Social Security System in percentage

Year	PALOP	Other Foreigners
1992	82	90
1993	81	87
1994	81	85
1995	82	86

Source: Employment Survey (unpublished data).

Table 28 Total Naturalizations by Selected Former Nationalities, 1994-1997 *

Former Nationality	1994	1995	1996	1997	Total 1994-1997
Angola	55	76	57	56	244
Cape Verde	129	169	80	93	471
Guinea	44	43	27	16	130
Mozambique	29	30	19	26	104
S. Tome	21	18	10	12	61
Brazil	176	235	241	296	914
Europe	46	69	63	65	243
Total	971	1 413	1 154	1 364	4 902

Source: Estatísticas Demográficas, 1994-1997.

* Pires, 1999, presents the same naturalization values. However, a more recent work (Marques, et. al., 1999), presents different results. The inclusion of the figures for Macau, a Chinese territory under Portuguese administration, may account for the discrepancy observed in the work of Marques et. al. 1999.

Table 29 Total Intermarriages with Portuguese Nationals by Selected Nationalities, 1990-1997

Year	Nationality							Total inter-marriages	Total marriages
	Angola	Cape Verde	Guinea	Mozambique	S. Tome	Brazil	Europe		
1990	57	77	29	42	10	227	437	1 209	71 654
1991	61	103	34	35	10	262	430	1 290	71 808
1992	64	126	66	58	9	263	491	1 539	69 887
1993	79	165	89	49	29	309	453	1 574	68 176
1994	107	168	55	54	23	323	487	1 617	66 003
1995*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 467	65 776
1996	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 226	63 672
1997	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 262	65 770
Total 1990-94	368	639	273	238	81	1 253	2 298	9 922	—
Percentage	3.7	6.4	2.8	2.4	0.8	12.6	23.2	100.0	—

Source: Estatísticas Demográficas, 1990-1997.

* The information on marriage by nationalities stops at 1995.

Table 30 Principal Religions in Portugal, 1981 and 1991*

Religion	1981		1991	
	N	%	N	%
Catholic	6 352 705	94.50	6 527 595	94.60
Christian Orthodox	2 564	0.04	11 322	0.20
Protestant	39 122	0.60	36 974	0.50
Other Christian	59 985	0.90	79 554	1.20
Jewish	5 493	0.08	3 523	0.10
Muslim	4 335	0.06	9 159	0.10
Other non-Christian	3 899	0.06	9 476	0.10
Not Professing a Religion	253 786	3.80	225 582	3.30
Total respondents	6 721 889	100.00	6 903 185	100.00

Source: INE, Recenseamento Geral da População, 1981 and 1991.

* Refers only to persons 12 years of age or older.

Table 31 Legalization of 1992 and 1996

Nationality	1992	1996
Total	39 166	35 082
From the PALOP	28 345 (72%)	23 403 (67%)
Angola	12 525	9 258
Cape Verde	6 778	6 872
Guinea Bissau	6 877	5 308
Mozambique	757	416
S. Tomé e Príncipe	1 408	1 549
From Brazil	5 346	2 330
From China	1 352	1 608
From Senegal	1 397	
From Pakistan		1 745

Source: 1992, SEF Document; 1996, Público, 19, Dec, 1996.

List of key-informants

- Técnica superior do Instituto de Desenvolvimento Social do Ministério da Solidariedade e Trabalho.
- Assessora do Comissariado (Sul) da Luta contra a Pobreza
- Técnica superior do Programa Integrar do Ministério do Trabalho e Solidariedade.
- Assessor do Secretário de Estado do Emprego.
- Secretariado Entre-Culturas do Ministério da Educação.
- Assessora do Alto-Comissário para as Minorias Étnicas e Imigrantes.
- Associação Inter-Culturas.
- Obra Católica das Migrações.
- Técnica de Serviço Social voluntária na Obra Católica das Migrações e membro da Comissão Nacional para a Regularização Extraordinária em representação do Alto-Comissário Para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas.

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