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Title - New realities of Portuguese emigration – Portuguese immigrants in Spain¹

(Preliminary version, do not quote)

ABSTRACT:

The growth dynamics of the Portuguese population during centuries has been one of emigration, despite variation in intensity, destination and regional impact of leaving. In the last decades of the 20th century a new reality came into being: that of an influx of foreign migration into Portuguese territory. However, the emigration fluxes to other countries did not disappear. After the mid-nineteen-eighties there was a kind of renovation of this tendency with new forms of mobility and new destinations. Destinations such as Spain witnessed a growth in the number of Portuguese temporary and permanent workers. The main aim is to portray the socio-demographics of the Portuguese community in Spain through interviews to over 500 individuals, within the scope of the Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes [ENI, 2007]. This survey includes a sample of over 15 thousand people among the population born outside Spain, over 16 years of age, who has been living for at least one year in the country or, if not there for a year yet, intends to live habitually there. This group of Portuguese immigrants has not been the object of many surveys. It is therefore important to engage in deeper studies of these communities in order to understand both their social and economical situation when they depart and their migratory strategies. The importance of the study also resides in the fact that these strategies usually cover both the origin and the destination, and the use of familiar, friendship or neighborhood networks. It is our intent to cover mainly those aspects that relate to departure and arrival situations, such as the role of migratory networks in the decision to immigrate, as well as previous migratory experience, in order to clarify the specificities of Portuguese immigrants in Spain in the context of contemporary Portuguese migratory dynamics.

Key words – emigration, immigration, *National Immigrant Survey*, Portugal, Spain.

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The growth dynamics of the Portuguese population has always been secularly marked by emigration though there have been variations concerning intensity, destination and regional impact caused by the exits. Therefore, many authors have approach this phenomenon as well as its demographic and socioeconomic impact in Portuguese society. Such is the case of Joel Serrão, Maria Ioannis Baganha, Jorge Arrosteia, João Peixoto, Jorge Malheiros among others. The late 60's and early 70's were the periods which registered the highest number of exits, mostly to industrialized countries and mainly to France, and this was the beginning of the European migration cycle. However, along side with this tendency the traditional destination countries such as the United States of America, Canada and Brazil continue displaying an important role and the first ones attracted emigrants mainly from Madeira and The Azores.

Though a new reality settled in the last decades of the twentieth century, the foreign immigration, the outward migration didn't disappear. In fact, we are aware that after the middle 80's there was a revival of this phenomenon though its framework changed due to the accession of Portugal to the European Community (1986), allowing new forms of mobility and appearance of new destinations (Baganha, 1993, Peixoto, 1993, 2004, 2007, Marques, 2008, 2009). Moreover, the conservation of the two migratory movements' components is a specificity within the context of other South European countries (Peixoto, 2007, Marques, 2008). Destinations such as Germany, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, Switzerland or Spain register an increasing of the numbers of Portuguese people and become an emigration destination for temporary or permanent workers.

However, there hasn't been a thorough research on the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of today's migrants, especially to less traditional destinations, though some communities have been subject of study - such is the case of Portuguese people in Switzerland, by José Marques (2008). This is a clear contrast with the mass investigation made in Portuguese communities living in France, Canada, the United States and Brazil².

Much information is provided by non-academic texts; more precisely it comes from journalist investigation texts that permit a better knowledge of these characteristics. We are conscious that it is of major importance to study

² Reference only to: Baganha, 1990; Branco, 1986, 1998; Martins, 2006; Teixeira, 2000, 2002

thoroughly these communities in order to better perceive their social and economic conditions upon departure but also their migratory strategies (Peixoto, 2004: 9). These strategies usually cover their origin as well as the destination and use networks of family interests, of friends or neighbors. Thus, it is of extreme importance to study these networks because of the role they can play in the integration of immigrants in host societies (Massey, España, 1987; Massey, Durand, Riosmena, 2006; Phillips, Massey, 2000; Palloni et al. 2001; Massey et al. 2009).

The Portuguese community in Spain has been subject of some studies although it isn't a privileged destination of our emigrants. Lorenzo Trigo (1984, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2001, 2003) has dedicated a great part of his work to the analysis of this community, namely during the second half of the twentieth century. Though, in 1971, Carminda Cavaco (Cavaco, 1971) published an article on temporary workers from the east Algarve in Andalusia, a lot of the knowledge on the geographic localization of Portuguese people in the neighbor country as well as their characteristics and specificities within the context of other communities of European origin is due to the previous mentioned author. Taking into account the already mentioned resurgence of the emigration phenomenon in Portugal and as well as the verified modification in the socio-economic characteristics of the present migrants, especially the ones that go to destinations which didn't perform a great role in the context of Portuguese migration, it is particularly crucial to analyze these "new" migrants.

The outcomes of the recent publication of *National Immigrant Survey (Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes – ENI, 2007)*, allowed an access to a vast set of information about immigrants residing in Spain and it offers a better understanding on the Portuguese community living here, since this country has been gaining a greater importance as a destination country for Portuguese emigrants. This survey allows us to outline a detailed portray of this specific group of emigrants: their socioeconomic situation before exiting their birth country, their migratory itinerary and the present living and working conditions achieved in the country of destination. It is our intent to cover mainly those aspects that relate to the conditions upon departure and arrival, such as the role of migratory networks in the decision to emigrate, as well as previous migratory experience, in order to clarify the specificities of Portuguese emigrants in Spain in the context of contemporary Portuguese migratory dynamics.

Sources

The data hereby presented are taken from the survey on which the *National Immigrant Survey (Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes – ENI-2007)*³ was based and its first results were released in July 2008. The gathered information regards the beginning of the migratory process in their country of birth, immigrants' arrival to Spain and their current situation. The sample covers interviews carried out to 15 465 people who were born abroad the Spanish territory, aged 16 or over, and residing in Spain at least for one year and that intend to establish their dwelling in this country. The questionnaire⁴ is organized into different modules and includes over 1 500 variables, and its contents are: coresident domestic group, sociodemographic characteristics, conditions upon departure, conditions upon arrival, labor market activity, housing, contacts with Spanish civil society and with society of origin, social engagement and legal status. 508 Portuguese people were interviewed in this survey and therefore they form our sample. Official data from the Municipal Register (*Padrón Municipal*) and Statistical Yearbooks published by the Spanish Statistics Institute were also instruments used to carry out this research.

Emigration to Spain: context and dynamics.

Though the first migrations to Spain can be tracked up to several centuries ago, they had a paltry significance. Only during the second half of the twentieth century did Spain achieve an important role as a host country. This fact matches the importance European countries gained in Portuguese migration, especially France, as previously mentioned.

When we compare the rhythms and intensity of the migratory flows towards other destinations with the ones towards Spain (Table 1) we observe that they present a fluctuating behavior - between 7,7% of the total emigration numbers in 1992 and it reached the minimal percentage in 1996, gaining strength again

³ On the elaboration, methodology and preliminary results of this instrument you should take into account the information available on www.ine.es and also Reher, Requena: 2008^a; Vaquero, Montoro: 2008; Reher, Requena: 2008b; Reher, Requena: 2009b.

⁴ The questionnaire is available on www.ine.es.

in the first years of the twenty-first century and in 2003 this percentage reached 8,3%.

Table 1 – Total Emigration by Country of Destination, 1992-2003

| Years | Total | Europe | | | | | America | | Others and ignor. |
|-------------|--------|---------|--------------|--------|-------|-------------|---------|--------|-------------------|
| | | Germany | Spain | France | U.K. | Switzerland | USA | Canada | |
| 1992 | 39322 | 2963 | 3040 | 11586 | 2870 | 8940 | 1881 | 1194 | 6848 |
| 1993 | 33171 | 4309 | 2123 | 5453 | 2555 | 7379 | 861 | 385 | 10106 |
| 1994 | 29104 | 6611 | 1329 | 7395 | 1677 | 5867 | 407 | 906 | 4912 |
| 1995 | 22579 | 6968 | 891 | 5433 | 1812 | 4309 | 166 | - | 3000 |
| 1996 | 29066 | 10230 | 332 | 6902 | 2360 | 5940 | 157 | 164 | 2981 |
| 1997 | 36395 | 9245 | 936 | 11164 | 3727 | 5980 | 861 | 336 | 4146 |
| 1998 | 22196 | 3818 | 1074 | 7447 | 1489 | 3852 | 1741 | 472 | 2303 |
| 1999 | 28080 | 6830 | - | 7200 | 2478 | 6364 | - | 219 | 4989 |
| 2000 | 21333 | 2559 | 1177 | 3040 | 2091 | 5831 | 958 | - | 5677 |
| 2001 | 20589 | 1970 | 1175 | 5673 | 1943 | 3805 | 656 | - | 5367 |
| 2002 | 27358 | 986 | 2928 | 5962 | 1865 | 8278 | 491 | 1042 | 5806 |
| 2003 | 27 008 | 2 398 | 2 247 | 7 399 | 3 893 | 4 785 | 394 | 296 | - |

Source: *Demographic Statistics* (www. ine.pt)

Perhaps due to the proximity between countries or cultural affinities, the confirmation of Spain as a destination country is clearly visible, especially after 2004⁵, when we observe the changes in the Portuguese population residing in this country. In 2009 there were 148 154 people residing in Spain that were born in Portugal, according to the data of this year's Municipal Register (*Padrón Municipal*).

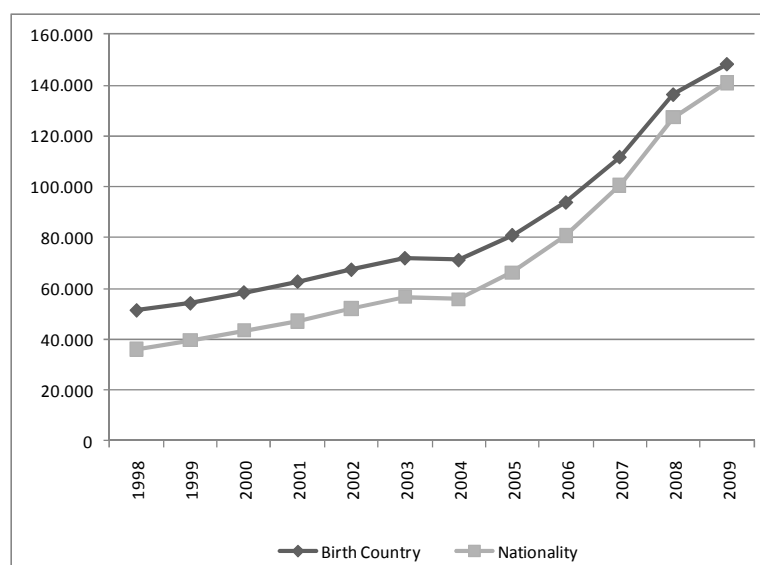
Within the framework of the immigrant population in Spain, Portuguese have achieved an increasing presence since the 50's and it becomes more evident after last centuries' 70's and 80's, though its relative weight has been decreasing concerning total immigration: in 1950 they were 26% of total immigration in Spain with 14 570 people and in 1970, they represented 17, 2% (25 483 Portuguese people), in 1990, 8, 2% (33 268)⁶. In 1998 the number of Portuguese people reached 51 303 (5, 3%) and this number increased during

⁵ The changes in the exiting statistics (since 2003 INE doesn't have official data because the *Survey of Exit Migratory Movements* was no longer carried out) made it harder to quantify the Portuguese emigration by destination countries.

⁶ *Statistical Yearbooks*, INE.

the following years but its relative weight continued to decrease until it reached the lowest percentage in 2005 (1, 6%)⁷. However, between 2007 and 2009 there is a significant increase in the number of Portuguese people as well as in their weight concerning the immigrant population framework (2, 2% in 2007 and 2,5% in 2009)⁸. If in the early 90's Portugal represented the fourth foreign community in Spain (preceded by Morocco, England and Germany), in 2009 it continues to be the European country, within the fifteen "old" Member States, with the highest numbers following behind the German and English communities (Graph 2 and 3). Nevertheless, it's important to refer that these communities present different characteristics from the Portuguese one.

Graph 1 – Portuguese population in Spain

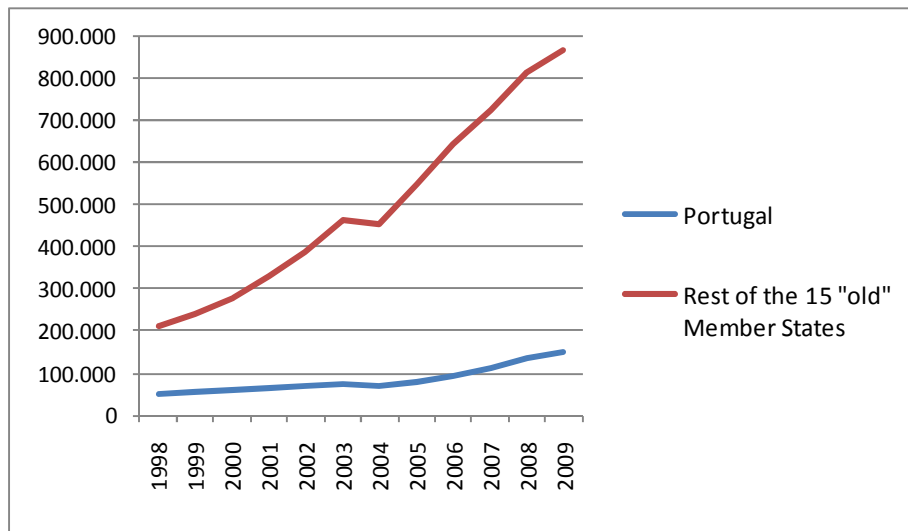


Source: *Padrón Municipal* (www.ine.es)

⁷ *Municipal Register (Padrón Municipal)*, INE.

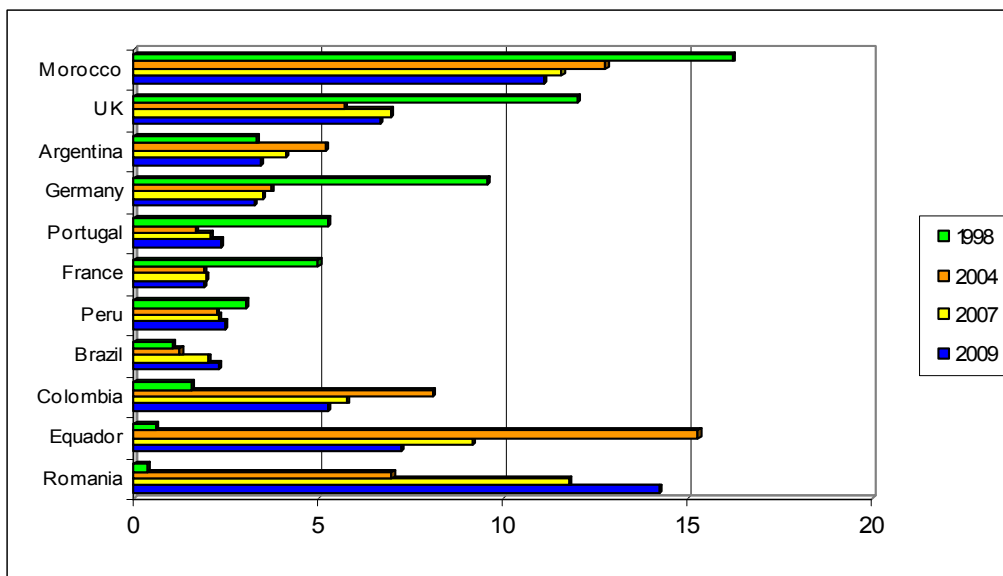
⁸ *Municipal Register (Padrón Municipal)*, INE.

Graph 2 – Number of immigrants born in Portugal and in the rest of the fifteen “old” Member States residing in Spain



Source: Padrón Municipal (www.ine.es)

Graph 3 – Changes of some immigrant groups (%)



Source: Padrón Municipal (www.ine.es)

Data obtained from other sources such as Social Security, Public Service and State Employment Occupational Observatory (Spain) and Employment and Vocational Training Observatory (Portugal)⁹ corroborate the previously statement that since the beginning of the twenty-first century the number of

⁹ Public Service and State Employment Occupational Observatory (Spain) and Employment and Vocational Training Observatory (Portugal), 2009.p.20-25.

Portuguese working people in Spain has regularly been increasing (in 2004 they were 39 403, in 2007, 77 396, presenting a slightly lower number in 2008: 64 483¹⁰).

Let us now observe the main features of Portuguese emigrants in Spain, according to ENI's survey.

Sociodemographic characteristics

When comparing the sociodemographic characteristics of Western Europe immigrants and Portuguese immigrants, López Trigal (1996a, 1997) and now Robert Dumpiérrez had already noticed that the last ones present some particularities that distinguish them from other European communities, namely the fact that they are younger (Table 2), they are labor motivated (2009) and they have low academic qualifications (Table 3), which determine their integration in the labor market.

Table 2- Mean age, % of people with 60 years old and over and sex ratio

| | Mean Age | | % of people > 60 years old | Sex ratio |
|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| | M | F | | |
| Portuguese people | 43,7 | 44,7 | 16,1 | 97,9 |
| Developed Countries | 47,2 | 47,6 | 27,5 | 105,5 |
| Rest of the world | 35,4 | 36,4 | 5,4 | 110,6 |
| Total | 38,0 | 38,9 | 10,1 | 109,2 |

Source: *Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007*

Moreover this is another specific feature outlining it as a particular community, especially when compared to emigrants from other developed countries (Table 3). This reality is not exclusively inherent to the Portuguese community residing in Spain. João Peixoto (2004) had already characterized Portuguese emigration in 2002 as displaying low education levels, which contrasted with the increasing academic qualification of the Portuguese population. The majority of

¹⁰ Public Service and State Employment Occupational Observatory (Spain) and Employment and Vocational Training Observatory (Portugal), 2009.p.20.

Portuguese people residing in Switzerland also had low education levels, though overall education levels have achieved higher numbers than the ones registered in the 70's and 80's (Marques, 2008), the same changes are extended to people residing in Spain.

The emigrants arriving before 1987 are the ones with the lowest academic qualifications: in all age groups predominate people with only primary education (complete or incomplete studies) or they didn't have any kind of education (74,3%), while 22% had a secondary education and only 4,5% had a higher education. The ones arriving between 2002 and 2007, though there were still 47% of them who only had a primary education or some didn't have any kind of education, the number of people with a secondary (43%) or higher (12,5%) education increased. This reveals the deep changes made in Portugal concerning the universalisation of primary and secondary education as well as the increasing of numbers in higher education.

However, we can also observe that depending on the origin region they come from, Portuguese emigrants show different profiles of academic qualifications: the greater part of the ones who only had a primary education or no education at all came from the northern regions of Portugal and the ones who came from Lisbon and Oporto had higher qualifications, displaying 73% of the ones who completed a higher education.

Table 3- Level of education (%)

| | Primary Education or illiterate | Secondary Education | Higher Education | Total |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|------------|
| Portuguese people | 57,8 | 31,4 | 10,6 | 100 |
| Developed | 16,2 | 51,7 | 30,9 | 100 |
| Rest of the world | 27,4 | 53,6 | 18,0 | 100 |
| Total | 25,8 | 52,7 | 20,5 | 100 |
| Gender¹ | | | | |
| Male | 56,6 | 31,5 | 11,6 | 100 |
| Female | 59,0 | 31,3 | 9,7 | 100 |
| Total | 57,8 | 31,4 | 10,6 | 100 |

¹Only regards Portuguese people

Source: *Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007*

Thus the socio-professional structure of Portuguese workers reflects their low academic and professional qualifications, making them an atypical set among other immigrants coming from developed countries and they display simultaneously a profile much closer to groups of immigrants coming from European countries outside the European Union or from non European countries (Table 4). Nonetheless, these characteristics are very close to the ones of Portuguese emigrants in the Swiss Confederation and the ones of the migratory flows in the 60' and 70's.

Table 4- Current social and working conditions (%)

| | Portuguese | Developed Countries | Rest of the world | Total |
|--|-------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------|
| Managers and professionals | 11,3 | 38,0 | 9,4 | 14,0 |
| Entrepreneurs with employees | 4,7 | 6,9 | 2,1 | 2,9 |
| Non-manual employees | 6,9 | 16,9 | 9,8 | 10,9 |
| Entrepreneurs without employees | 9,6 | 10,5 | 7,3 | 7,9 |
| Manual skilled workers | 32,4 | 12,2 | 26,2 | 24,0 |
| Unskilled workers | 35,0 | 15,5 | 45,3 | 40,3 |

Source: *Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007*

The prevalence of young adults, more than a half were between 16 and 34 years old when they arrived to Spain (Table 5), undoubtedly reflects an economically motivated emigration, though they are a community that displays indicators of a successful social integration. Not only 30% of this population refers family reunification as the main reason for their arrival to the neighbor country, but they also strengthen their family life, for 58,9% are married, and as far as household members are concerned there is a prevalence of people who live with their spouses and children (Table 6).

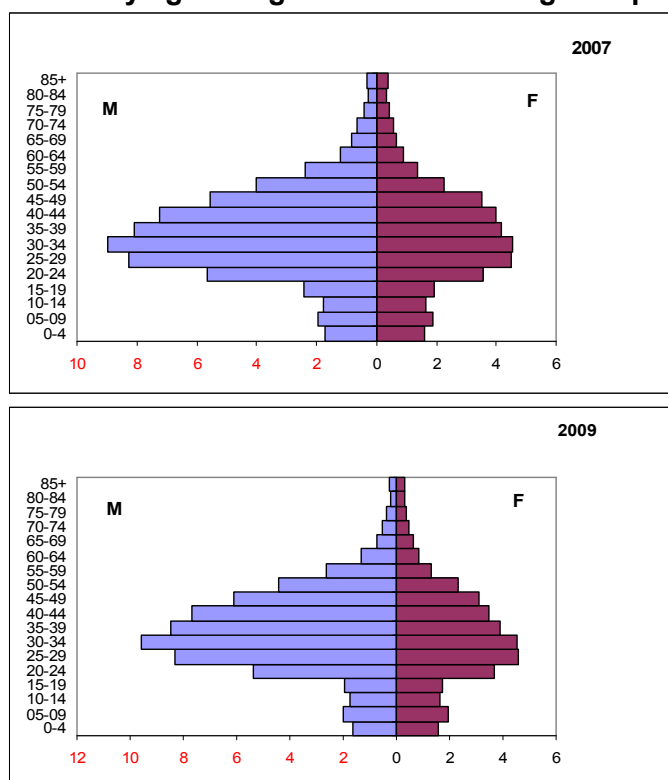
According to the 2007 and 2009 Municipal Register (*Padrón Municipal*) – Graph 4-, while analyzing the structure by age and gender, we can verify that the same age group continues to prevail (between 25-39 years old) and there is a predominance of the male gender, indicating once more the presence of an economically motivated migration.

Table 5- Age of reference person at the time of the arrival in Spain (%)

| | |
|----------------------|--------------|
| Under 16 | 24,2 |
| from 16 to 24 | 36,4 |
| from 25 to 34 | 20,9 |
| from 35 to 44 | 10,4 |
| from 45 to 59 | 4,7 |
| 60 and over | 0,8 |
| Doesn't know | 2,6 |
| Total | 100,0 |

Source: *Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes*, 2007

Graph 4 – Distribution by age and gender of the Portuguese population in Spain



Source: Graphs based on *Padrón Municipal* (www.ine.es)

Table 6- Household structure of the interviewed person (%)

| | Portuguese | Developed Countries | Rest of the world | Total |
|--|------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------|
| Single person household | 8,5 | 12,6 | 3,9 | 5,8 |
| No family nucleus | 8,3 | 3,7 | 12,6 | 10,7 |
| Single parent household | 7,8 | 6,5 | 9,8 | 9,1 |
| Couples with children | 50,2 | 40,6 | 49,5 | 47,7 |
| Couples without children | 21,0 | 35,1 | 15,6 | 19,7 |
| Other couples with or without children | 4,2 | 1,4 | 8,6 | 7,0 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

The percentage of exogamic marriages is also meaningful, mainly with male or female Spaniards (62,2%), indicating the existence of long term residency intentions and the search for better stability and integration in the host society. It's worthy to mention that 41,4% of the Portuguese population in the ENI study own their own house and 32,6% rent one.

However this community regularly visits their birth country: 88,2% states that they maintain contact with family and friends, and this is one of the reasons to keep visiting their home country (76,5%), though some refer that they also go there for holidays (48,6%).

Migrant backgrounds: exit contexts

While reading these data one must take into account the chronology of the arrival flows of Portuguese people. Most of them arrived to Spain prior to 1987 (Table 7), mainly during the 70's and 80's, unlike other groups of immigrants arriving more recently, which somewhat explains the characteristics of the Portuguese community. After 2000 another migratory stage took place, however less intense than the previous one, but also having Spain as a destination. The 80's and early twenty-first centuries' migration flows reflect the mentioned revival of the Portuguese emigration cycle which was marked by the appearance of new destinations, such as Switzerland, but also by the resurgence of the already existing networks, being this the case of Spain,

Germany and other transatlantic destinations (Baganha, 2007). Nonetheless, it is important to refer that these two stages of flows had different institutional backgrounds: before and after the accession of Portugal to the European Community, which meant a greater international mobility of people and enterprises.

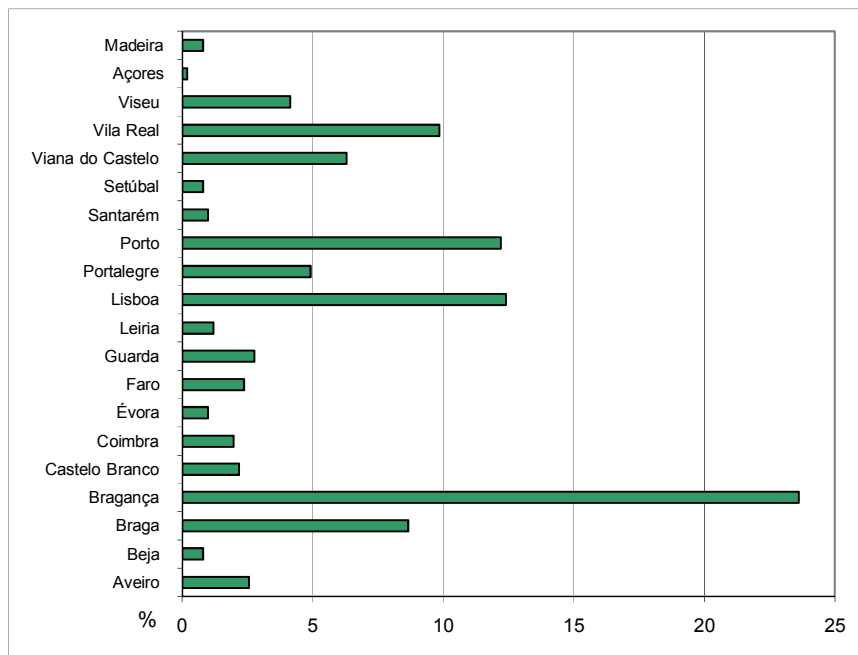
Table 7- Arrival Year (%)

| Arrival Year | Portugal | Developed Countries | Rest of the world |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 2002 a 2007 | 22,0 | 26,7 | 43,6 |
| 1997 to 2001 | 9,3 | 18,4 | 34,9 |
| 1992 to 1996 | 6,7 | 10,0 | 6,3 |
| 1987 to 1991 | 7,3 | 7,9 | 5,2 |
| Prior to 1987 | 52,2 | 36,0 | 8,8 |
| Doesn't know | 2,6 | 1,0 | 1,3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: *Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007*

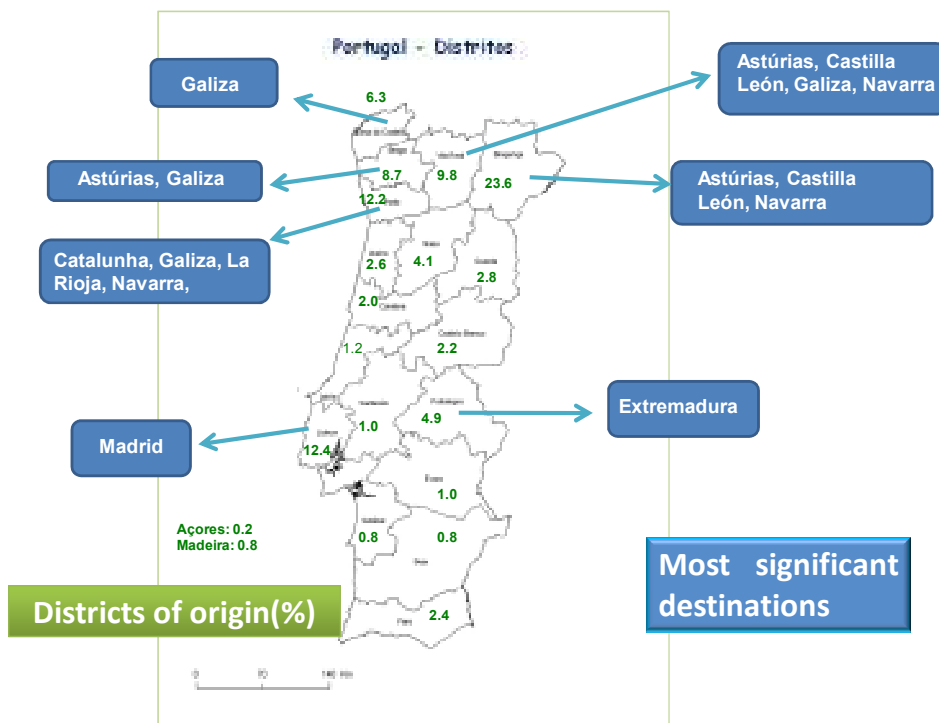
The Portuguese came essentially from the North of Portugal (Graph 5 and Figure 1), district of Bragança, that traditionally has negative migration balances and that in the national Portuguese context displays low levels of economic development and weak industrialization, though Lisbon and Oporto are also origin regions but with a socioeconomic profile completely different from the northern ones. There are though some differences regarding the arrival year in Spain: 55% of the Portuguese people who emigrated to this country before 2001 came from the north of Portugal but the ones arriving between 2002 and 2007 were mainly from Lisbon and Oporto.

Graph 5 – Districts of origin (%)



Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

Figure 1 – Main regions of origin and destinations of Portuguese emigrants



Source: Map organized by the author based on the Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

Moreover, the northern regions but also the central districts are traditionally areas of origin of emigration to Europe. Magalhães Godinho (1977) refers that in 1969, 77% of the Portuguese who went to France came from the regions north of the central cordillera. The continuing evidence of this context may be related to the development models adopted in Portugal, which were unable to mitigate its regional discrepancies.

Being these regions great emigrant sources the question “if there is any migration tradition within Portuguese families residing in Spain” remains.

By analyzing households in a period previous to their emigration, we can observe that 57,2% lived in the same house as at least one of their parents, 48% lived with their siblings, 28% with their spouse or partner and finally 23% with their children. If the majority of the interviewed lived with their closest family members, mainly with parents or siblings, given that 68% didn't have a spouse or partner, it is certain that there were close relatives that had already emigrated (Table 8) to Spain (9,6% had siblings residing in Spain and 2,6% their mother or father) or to other country (12,2% and 3,9% correspondingly). This fact will have a determinant weight as far as the decision to emigrate is concerned as well as the choice of their destination country.

Several studies have indicated that the decision making lies within a specific social context, in which the influence of the closest family members plays a significant role (Massey, España, 1987; Massey, Durand, Riosmena, 2006; Phillips, Massey, 2000). Therefore, the role of social capital is decisive in the development of migratory movements and in establishing migratory networks. When there are community members that have already emigrated, the probability of surging new emigrants increases, since potential disadvantages are somewhat reduced as far as monetary expenses are concerned but also in opportunities and psychological adaptation to the host society (Massey, España, 1987; Palloni et al. 2001; Massey et al. 2009).

Table 8 – Family members residing in Spain or any other country prior to emigration, according to the arrival year of the reference person (%)

| | Prior to 1987 | | 1987-2001 | | 2002-2007 | |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|---------------|
| | Spain | Other country | Spain | Other country | Spain | Other country |
| None | 87,2 | 85,2 | 68,7 | 75 | 85,9 | 67,8 |
| Father | 1,9 | 3,1 | 3,4 | 3,4 | 1,8 | 4,5 |
| Mother | 1,9 | 3,8 | 5,9 | 6,8 | 0,9 | 4,5 |
| Spouse/ Partner | 1,5 | 0,4 | 5,1 | 1,7 | 1,5 | 0,9 |
| Children | 0 | 0 | 0,8 | 2,5 | 4,5 | 0,9 |
| Siblings | 7,5 | 7,5 | 16,1 | 10,6 | 5,4 | 21,4 |

Source: *Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007*

A significant number of Portuguese (66,7%) referred that their decision to travel to Spain was influenced by family members already living in that country, revealing the presence of contact networks in the host society. These networks may perform an important role regarding solidarity and integration in the labor market as well as in the new society, though Portuguese have a less difficult adaptation due to cultural and linguistic proximity.

The different arrival periods¹¹ of Portuguese immigrants and their origin regions also confirm the previous fact. In the three different periods the majority indicated that their decision was bounded to family, though the ones arriving prior to 1987 also referred the influence of “friends/ neighbors” and the ones arriving between 2002 and 2007 have also mentioned the influence of some acquaintance in their choice of destination. By analyzing the origin regions the influence of family members prevails and in the case of people from the central districts the numbers it reaches up to 60% and 80%. Table 8 displays the fact that the existing contact networks were established mainly through siblings who, within the closest relatives, are the ones that, in a higher percentage, went to other countries. On the other hand, the previously mentioned migratory dynamics reflect a gradually increase of emigrated family members from 1987 onward, specifically siblings (Table 8).

¹¹ According to the two main stages of migratory flows to Spain the arrival periods were set in three groups: before 1987, 1987-2001 and 2002-2007.

By introducing a question referring to migratory experience of the closest relatives of the interviewed person, the ENI allows us to better assess the establishment of family networks in the host society. Although we cannot view these migratory trajectories chronologically and sequentially, this limitation is not sufficient to drawback the importance of these data. Otherwise, it would be impossible to know this dimension of the migratory experience according to the origin nucleus of Portuguese who were interviewed.

Table 9 – Countries with the highest rates to where family members of the interviewed person had emigrated to (%)

| Country | Kinship of the emigrated family member | | | | Total |
|----------------------------------|--|------------------|-------------------|---------|-------|
| | Spouse/ partner | Son/ daughter | Father/ Mother | Sibling | |
| Spain | 24,6 | 11,0 | 24,3 | 40,1 | 100 |
| France | 7,1 | 8,9 | 26,8 | 57,1 | 100 |
| Luxemburg | 0,0 | 0,0 | 16,7 | 83,3 | 100 |
| Portugal | 10,5 | 0,0 | 78,9 | 10,5 | 100 |
| United Kingdom | 0,0 | 20,0 | 20,0 | 60,0 | 100 |
| Germany | 0,0 | 0,0 | 36,4 | 63,6 | 100 |
| Switzerland | 9,1 | 0,0 | 27,3 | 63,6 | 100 |
| Brazil | 14,3 | 0,0 | 28,6 | 57,1 | 100 |
| % of the total of family members | 19,1 | 9,1 | 29,1 | 43,0 | 100 |

Source: *Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007*

As we can observe among the countries that had more family members of the interviewed Portuguese by the ENI (Table 9) Spain stands out as the one with closer relatives. Therefore, the importance of social networks in order to explain migratory processes is confirmed, supporting the theory referred by the previously mentioned studies. The country coming in second place, France, shows up as a traditional destination of Portuguese emigration. As far as countries are concerned, as well as in general, these family networks have the siblings (43%) as their basis, though the presence of parents or, in some cases, spouses cannot be neglected. Portugal is the only exception, where parents

have the greatest weight but in this case it can be regarded as a possible return to their country of birth. The fact that there is a pattern regarding migratory experience within the family of the interviewed person, it can be connected with migratory movements economically motivated and therefore they do not stray from the motivation behind Portuguese traditional migratory flows, which are impelled by the search of better life conditions for their own or for their families. The pinpointed reasons for choosing Spain as their destination, apart from family reunification, are “searching for a better job” and “better life quality”. In fact, 54,5% of the interviewed Portuguese by the ENI had a job when they left their birth country and only 9,8% were looking for one. This situation is identical in each exit period and in every origin region of the emigrants.

Migratory Trajectories

Spain was the first country of emigration for great part of the Portuguese. Most of them (84,2%) didn't have previous migratory experiences and they began their trajectory in Portugal and the ones arriving prior to 1987 show the highest percentage rate (91%). Nonetheless, there are 15,6% of people who had previous international migratory experiences before going to Spain: 3,1% stated that they had been in France, one of the main Portuguese emigration destinations in Europe. It is possible that this fact is related to the 1973 oil crisis, when many countries restricted the entry and residence of immigrants within their territory. Spain found itself as the communication passage with the rest of Europe and with less restricting policies concerning the entry of immigrants. Individuals that came directly from their country of birth to Spain, 45,3% went “alone or with an acquaintance”, 40,7% “with family they lived with”, 11% “with part of the family they lived with” and 3,3% with “relatives with whom had no living”. However, depending on the migratory experience and trajectory we find different patterns regarding who goes with the people who emigrate. As we can observe in Table 10, if the trajectory is short, that is they only crossed one country, they did it preferably with family they lived with. But if the trajectory includes two or more previous countries before coming to Spain, it means they are migrants with individual projects.

Table 10 – Whom did the interviewed person travel with? (%)

| Whom did the interviewed person travel with | Nr of countries crossed before arriving to Spain | | | | | More significant countries | | | | |
|---|--|------|------|------|-----|----------------------------|-------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Alone or with acquaintances | 41,9 | 70 | 58,3 | 33,3 | 100 | France | Portugal | Portugal | Andorra | Portugal |
| With family they lived with | 51,9 | 16,7 | 33,3 | 66,7 | 0 | Brazil | France | | Portugal | |
| With part of the family they lived with | 3,2 | 2,3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | Switzerland | Switzerland | | | |
| Relatives they with whom had no living | 3,2 | 0 | 8,3 | 0 | 0 | Belgium | | | | |

Source: *Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007*

There can also be differences within these groups according to the country they crossed. It's the case of the first group: the ones crossing France did it by themselves or with acquaintances, to Brazil, Switzerland and Belgium, half of them and more than a half with the family they lived with. In the second group no differences were registered.

Migratory trajectories: contexts upon arrival

The spatial distribution of the Portuguese community in Spanish territory covers not only borderline localities but also farther ones (Table 11 and 12), namely the Autonomous Communities of Castilla y León and Asturias, where mining activities displayed a major role (Trigal)¹², and the Navarra region. López Trigal refers that in the decade of 1950 the borderline Spanish provinces absorbed great part of Portuguese emigration (Trigal, 1997). This tendency becomes less visible in the following decades, when further destinations appear as option (Figure 1). The most intense flow of emigrants from the district of Portalegre, referred by the ENI, was before 1987 and to borderline localities in Extremadura. The emigrants coming from the districts of Braga, Viana do Castelo and Vila Real went mainly to Galicia and the ones from Bragança went to Asturias, Castilla y León and Navarra (Figure 1). While in the first emigration stage there was a more diversity of departure localities (the most significant were, in descending order, Bragança, Vila Real, Lisboa, Porto, Braga, Viana do

¹² See also TRIGAL, 1994: 73-115

Castelo), between 2002 and 2007 people were essentially from Braga but yet, more came from Lisbon and Oporto.

In the last few years there was a greater dissemination throughout the Spanish territory like suggested by the data from the Municipal Register (*Padrón Municipal*). In 2007 and 2009 (Table 13) Cataluña and Aragón gained more relevance but the traditional destinations kept their attractiveness. Nonetheless, 60% of Portuguese people residing in Spain are located in the Autonomous Communities of Andalucía, Castilla y León, Cataluña, Galicia, Madrid and País Vasco.

Table 11 – Geographical distribution of Portuguese emigrants interviewed by ENI in the Autonomous Communities (%)

| | |
|----------------------|-------|
| Andalucía | 3,1 |
| Aragón | 3,1 |
| Asturias | 9,6 |
| Islas Baleares | 1,8 |
| Canarias | 1,4 |
| Cantabria | 1,4 |
| Castilla y León | 11,8 |
| Castilla La Mancha | 1,2 |
| Cataluña | 4,3 |
| Comunidad Valenciana | 2,4 |
| Extremadura | 9,4 |
| Galicia | 16,9 |
| Madrid | 6,9 |
| Murcia | 1,8 |
| Navarra | 15,4 |
| País Vasco | 5,1 |
| La Rioja | 4,3 |
| Total | 100,0 |

Source: *Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007*

Table 12 – Autonomous Communities where Portuguese immigrants reside according to their origin regions (%)¹³

| Autonomous Communities | Portuguese origin regions | | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| | North | Lisbon and Oporto | Centre | South, Azores and Madeira |
| Andalucía | 1,6 | 2,4 | 2,5 | 11,8 |
| Aragón | 3,3 | 1,6 | 6,3 | 0,0 |
| Asturias | 13,8 | 8,0 | 6, | 0,0 |
| Islas Baleares | 1,2 | 3,2 | 1,3 | 2,0 |
| Canarias | 1,2 | 2,4 | 0,0 | 2, |
| Cantabria | 1,2 | 0,8 | 1,3 | 3,9 |
| Castilla y León | 17,1 | 9,6 | 5,0 | 2,0 |
| Castilla La Mancha | 0,8 | 2,4 | 1,3 | 0,0 |
| Cataluña | 2,8 | 11,2 | 1,3 | 0,0 |
| Comunidad Valenciana | 0,8 | 3,2% | 5,0 | 3,9 |
| Extremadura | 0,0 | 4,0 | 17,5 | 54,9 |
| Galicia | 24,0 | 12,8 | 10,0 | 3,9 |
| Madrid | 4,1 | 13,6 | 3,8% | 9,8 |
| Murcia | 0,0 | 3,2 | 3,8 | 2,0 |
| Navarra | 22,4 | 9,6 | 12,5 | 2,0 |
| País Vasco | 2,8 | 5,6 | 15,0 | 0,0 |
| La Rioja | 2,8 | 6,4 | 7,5 | 2,0 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100, |

Source: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007

On the other hand, there are communities where Portuguese have some representativeness concerning the residing immigration group in this region (Table 13), such is the case of Galicia, where they represented 19% in 2007 and 21% in 2009, and the case of Extremadura where they represented 12% and 14,4% in the same years. It is also significant the presence of Portuguese immigrants in Castilla y León, La Rioja and at a national level there is a concentration in Galicia, Cataluña and Madrid (about 15% of Portuguese are in Galicia and 12% in the other two communities).

¹³ The districts were assembled in four major groups: North (Braga, Bragança, Viana do Castelo and Vila Real), Centre (Aveiro, Viseu, Guarda, Castelo Branco, Coimbra, Leiria, Santarém), Lisbon and Oporto, South, Azores and Madeira (Beja, Évora, Faro, Setúbal, Portalegre, Azores and Madeira).

Table 13 – Presence of Portuguese people in the Autonomous Communities, according to the Municipal Register (*Padrón Municipal*), 2007 and 2009 (%)

| Autonomous Communities | % of Portuguese in Spain | | % of the total of foreigners in each Autonomous Community | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|------------|---|------------|
| | 2007 | 2009 | 2007 | 2009 |
| Andalucía | 8,0 | 8,2 | 1,5 | 1,9 |
| Aragón | 3,0 | 3,8 | 2,5 | 3,5 |
| Asturias | 2,5 | 2,4 | 7,7 | 8,2 |
| Baleares | 1,8 | 1,9 | 0,9 | 1,2 |
| Canarias | 4,6 | 4,6 | 1,9 | 2,3 |
| Cantabria | 1,0 | 1,3 | 3,9 | 5,7 |
| Castilla Y León | 10,8 | 11,3 | 9,0 | 10,3 |
| Castilla-La Mancha | 2,2 | 2,4 | 1,4 | 1,6 |
| Cataluña | 12,1 | 12,5 | 1,3 | 1,6 |
| Ceuta | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,7 | 0,9 |
| Comunidad Valenciana | 5,4 | 5,2 | 0,7 | 0,9 |
| Extremadura | 3,5 | 3,7 | 12,0 | 14,7 |
| Galicia | 15,5 | 14,5 | 19,1 | 21,4 |
| La Rioja | 3,5 | 3,3 | 9,5 | 10,5 |
| Madrid | 12,5 | 11,9 | 1,5 | 1,7 |
| Melilla | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,3 | 0,6 |
| Murcia | 2,1 | 2,1 | 1,0 | 1,3 |
| Navarra | 4,1 | 4,2 | 7,4 | 9,0 |
| Pais Vasco | 7,4 | 6,7 | 7,5 | 8,0 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 2,2 | 2,5 |

Source: Table based on *Padrón Municipal* (www.ine.es)

As far as the labor market is concerned and weighing the education level and origin regions, we can stress right away some main features of the distribution of Portuguese workers within the Spanish occupational structure.

They are mainly a group of manual workers, skilled and unskilled, working in the rural or construction sector, though there is a significant presence in the service area.

The greater percentage of immigrants who were employed in the agricultural sector in Portugal was from the North, where this sector gathered a high percentage of the active population. But regarding construction we cannot establish a specific region, for the people employed in this area came from every region of the country, mainly from the north and centre of Portugal and less from the Azores or Madeira.

Their labor trajectory (Table 14) shows that in general they maintained their type of occupations, though their significance varies since their departure to their current situation. The agricultural sector has lost some preponderance but

there are more Portuguese people in the construction sector, as foremen or as fieldworkers and they are disseminated throughout the Spanish regions.

Table 14- Occupation's activity Sector (%)

| | Occupation in Portugal | First occupation in Spain | Current occupation in Spain |
|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Services | 32 | 44,3 | 46,5 |
| Construction | 20,6 | 18,7 | 30,5 |
| Trade | 6,5 | 4,4 | 5,6 |
| Agriculture | 22,8 | 16,9 | 5,6 |
| Industry | 17,5 | 15,5 | 11,5 |
| Doesn't know | 0,6 | 0,3 | 0,4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: *Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes, 2007*

The increasing in the percentage concerning occupations in the service area can be translated in better economical-professional condition, revealing a more elitist migration formed by managers and professionals linked to multinational enterprises located mainly in Madrid and Cataluña. Therefore it is natural that these two regions gather 36% of Portuguese immigrants with higher education. In truth, managerial occupations such as intellectual and scientific ones have been gaining weight, though it represents a smaller dimension when compared to other immigrant groups from other European countries (French or English immigrants). Nonetheless, Portuguese show a higher percentage in services linked to food service activities, health care assistance and domestic services. While people connected to domestic services reside mainly in Madrid, Extremadura, Galicia and Navarra, the ones working in food service activities reside in Galicia, Extremadura and Navarra.

The concentration in certain activities is also influenced by gender and this fact is also registered in other immigrants' groups (Hosnedlová, Stanek, 2010). The construction sector is dominated by male persons in the society of birth as well as in the host society, while in services (food services, health care assistance and domestic service) there is a prevalence of the female gender. Occupations requiring a higher qualification register a greater balance between genders.

Conclusion

Although the Portuguese community in Spain is not unknown, because of its specificities and trajectory, it can benefit from a deeper knowledge namely concerning family structure, past and current labor conditions and migratory trajectory (conditions upon departure and arrival, contacts in the origin country), since this kind of information is not part of the general official statistics but which the ENI tried to mitigate.

In Spain the Portuguese represent an atypical set when compared to other immigrants coming from Western Europe though they share many characteristics of other Portuguese emigrated communities. In a synthetic analysis of these emigrants' profile we can state that they arrived before 1987, they are in average 43/44 years old, they live with their spouses and children, in their own house or in a rented one, they generally have low academic qualifications what determine their professional category. They are a community that can be seen as well integrated if we consider the command of the Spanish language as an integration indicator (84% refer that they speak well/ very well Spanish and, though in less number, they also speak the autonomous community's language where they live).

The arrival period, the origin and destination regions and academic qualification allow us to identify some features that differentiate the group of the Portuguese sample interviewed by ENI. If the northern and centre regions of Portugal were the main origin places of Portuguese who travelled to Spain then this became more striking with earliest emigrants. The most recent migratory flows (after 2002) suggest some modification in the emigrant's profile: there are more people coming from urban areas (Lisbon and Oporto), they have higher academic qualifications and they establish their residence preferably in Cataluña and Madrid (though this community was already a traditional destination of the Portuguese arriving in the 80's) but some traditional destination regions of the Portuguese community kept their relevance. These aspects indicate a gradual modification in the emigrant/immigrant's profile because though they have identical motivations, all points to a positive change in their economical-professional condition.

The existence of contacts in the destination country shows the presence of social networks that may have had influence in choosing Spain as a destination. As some studies have suggested (Massey, España, 1987; Massey, Durand,

Riosmena, 2006; Phillips, Massey, 2000; Palloni et al. 2001) the existence of family and friends with migratory experience seems to increase the probabilities of emigration to a certain region. As we have observed the Portuguese emigrated in Spain have family members with an international migratory experience and mainly their trajectory was to this country (64,7% of their family members are residing there) but also to other countries. In truth by verifying that the decision to emigrate to the neighbor country was influenced by family or someone within their personal circle of friends or acquaintances who had previously emigrated, confirms that this was a determinant factor when they decided to emigrate and simultaneously supports the studies mentioned.

According to the already analyzed data another question rises and it concerns the future plans of their migratory option. This question is asked to every individual that drew a migratory project, namely the possibility of a long term stay in the destination place or the return. 90% of the surveyed Portuguese community stated that in the next five years they have plans to continue in Spain, the ones arriving prior to 1987 (98,5%) as well as the ones who arrived recently to this country (74,1%). Finally we can affirm that a long term migration prevails because they have future plans to accomplish in this country and if we bear in mind all the former social and family characteristics mentioned.

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