



Re-thinking Approaches to Labour Migration

Potentials and Gaps in Four EU Member States' Migration Infrastructures

Case Study Portugal



ABOUT

This case study is part of a series of publications mapping legal pathways for labour migration and mobility to EU countries commissioned by ICMPD's Migration Partnership Facility (MPF) in the context of their efforts supporting the enabling environment for labour migration to the EU.

It summarises existing legal labour migration pathways and their use in Portugal. It provides suggestions for adaptations in order to better serve the needs of the Portuguese labour market and to explore potentials for migration and mobility pilots in the context of the EU Talent Partnership Framework.

Shorter digests of each case study are available, along with an overarching policy brief which analyses the findings from all case studies.

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AUTHORS

ECDPM: Niklas Mayer

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<https://ecdpm.org/>

For any queries, please contact: info@ecdpm.org

Coordinated by

Migration Partnership Facility: Diana Stefanescu

The Migration Partnership Facility (MPF) is an EU-funded initiative supporting the external dimension of EU migration policy. The MPF aims to strengthen dialogue and cooperation on migration and mobility between Member States and priority partner countries outside the EU. The project is implemented by the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD).

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For any queries, please contact: MPF@icmpd.org

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ACRONYMS

ACM	High Commission for Migration
ACT	Authority for Work Conditions
APICCAPS	Employer's federation of the shoe and leatherware sector
BE	Left Bloc
CAP	Portuguese Agricultural Confederation
CCP	Employer's federation of the commerce and services sector
CDS-PP	Christian Democrat People's Party
CEDEFOP	European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training
CGPT	General Confederation of Portuguese Workers
CICDR	Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination
CIP	Local Support Center for the Integration of Immigrants
CLAIM	Confederation of Portuguese Industry
CNAIM	National Support Center for the Integration of Immigrants
COVID-19	Coronavirus disease 2019
CPCI	Portuguese Construction and Real Estate Confederation
CPLP	Community of Portuguese-language countries (Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Equatorial Guinea, Mozambique, Portugal, Timor-Leste, Sao Tome and Principe and Guinea-Bissau)
CTP	Portuguese Tourism Confederation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DGACCP	Directorate-General for Consular Affairs and Portuguese Communities
DGERT	Directorate-General for Employment and Labour Relations
DGES	Directorate-General for Higher Education
ECDPM	European Centre for Development Policy Management
EMN	European Migration Network
EU	European Union
EURES	European employment services
FDI	Foreign direct investment
GDP/PIB	Gross domestic product
GIP	Gabinetes de Inserção Profissional (eng. Job Integration Office)
IAPMEI	Agency for Competitiveness and Innovation
ICMPD	International Centre for Migration Policy Development
IEFP	National Institute of Employment and Professional Training
ILO	International Labour Organization
INE	National Statistics Institute
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRN	Institute of Registries and Notaries
IT	Information technology
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
LDC	Least Developed Country

MAI	Ministry of Interior
MCTES	Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education
ME	Ministry of Education
MJ	Ministry of Justice
MNE	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MTSSS	Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ODA	Official Development Aid
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCP	Portuguese Communist Party
PCM	Presidency of the Council of Ministers
PEV	Green Party
PPD/PSD	Social Democratic Party
PPM	People's Monarchist Party
PS	Socialist Party
PSD	Social Democratic Party (Right-Wing)
SEF	Portuguese Immigration and Borders Service
STEAM	Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts and Mathematics
UGT	Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT, General Union of Workers)
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
US	United States
USD	United States Dollars
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council

1. INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

1.1 GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

Portugal is a parliamentary republic and member of the United Nations (UN) since 1955, as well as of the European Union (EU) since 1986. Furthermore, Portugal is a founding member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In 2002, the Euro became the legal currency of Portugal. The 25th of April 1974 marks an important day for Portuguese politics, as the dictatorships of Salazar (1933-1968) and Caetano (1968-1974) were ended by a military coup and enabled the Portuguese to return to democracy. The ousting of Caetano is commonly known as the 'Carnation Revolution' and paved the way for important developments. Following the Carnation Revolution, Portuguese colonies in Africa gained independence in 1975. In 1976, Portugal adopted its new constitution, establishing the country as a parliamentary republic, based on the principles of democracy and the rule of law (Britannica n.d.).

During the last two legislative terms, the Portuguese government was led by Prime Minister António Costa (Socialist Party) in a minority government. On the 30th January 2022, early elections took place in Portugal because the minority government was not able to receive the necessary support for the 2022 budget proposal in the Portuguese Parliament in October 2021. All 230 seats of the Portuguese Parliament, including the positions of ministers and that of the Prime Minister were subject to the election. There is universal suffrage for Portuguese citizens over 18 years.

The Assembleia da República (Portuguese Parliament) with 230 deputies, serving in four year mandates, is the unicameral assembly and legislative body. The mandate for the Prime Minister is also four. The Prime Minister is appointed by the President of the Republic, after having heard the political parties represented in the Parliament and respecting the election results. The ministers and members of the government are appointed by the President after having been proposed by the Prime Minister. The President is formally the highest position in the country. Every five years, Portuguese citizens vote for the President directly. Since 2016, Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa is the President of the Portuguese Republic. The President is the supreme commander of the military and has the power to dissolve the Parliament (Britannica n.d.).

The main political parties are: Social Democratic Party (PSD); Socialist Party (PS); Central Social Democratic Popular Party (CDS-PP); CHEGA! (far-right populist party); Portuguese Communist Party (PCP); Left Bloc (BE); and Green Party (PEV).

The PS party won the parliamentary elections, which took place on Sunday 30th January 2022, by an absolute majority winning 117 out of 230 seats in the National Assembly. The centre-right PSD received 71 seats and the populist right-wing CHEGA! Party with 12 seats is the third-largest party

in the Portuguese National Assembly, for the first time in Portuguese history. Compared to the last legislative term, CHEGA! increased their seats from 1 to 12. PPD/PSD lost 8 seats, down from 79 in 2019 to 71 seats in 2022. The PS now has 117 seats compared to 108 seats in 2019 – and can now rule with an absolute majority, avoiding certain problems that came with having a minority government in the last legislative term. During the last legislation, the PS did not manage to have their budget proposal approved in October 2021 which triggered the early elections in January 2022. Experts estimate that this increase in votes is caused by a desire of Portuguese citizens to have more political stability in this important time of post-COVID-19 pandemic recuperation (informant 1; informant 2). This will be more likely to be achieved by the PS having absolute majority.

The last government, Prime Minister António Costa's second term in office, consisted of 19 Ministers. Out of the 19 ministers, there were 8 independent experts in office, as well as 11 ministers affiliated with the PS (see Annex 1).¹ Each minister is supported by several state secretaries. At the time of writing, the composition of the new government had not yet been confirmed. In the days after the election, Prime Minister Costa announced that the number of ministers and state secretaries will be reduced to simplify the ministerial structure (Espírito Santo 2022). The re-elected Prime Minister will announce the ministers of his new government at the end of March 2022 (Expresso 2022). Given the absolute majority of the PS, it is expected that many of the ministers from the last government will remain in their current position. It remains to be seen whether independent ministers, who were installed by António Costa due to his second term being a minority government, will keep their positions or if they will be replaced by PS politicians.

The PS published **12 priorities for Portugal** in January 2022, three weeks before the elections. These twelve political priorities for the next few years are:

1. Converge between 2021 and 2026. Grow each year on average 0.5% above the EU27 average and 1% above the euro area average;
2. Keep public accounts sound. Reduce the public debt to GDP ratio below 110% by 2026, at the latest;
3. Change the recruitment regime, introducing enhanced stability factors in the access to the teaching career;
4. Continue the work to review and generalise the model of family health units, ensuring that they cover 80% of the population in the next legislature;
5. Guarantee home visits by primary health care workers to residents in elderly homes;
6. Increase, until 2026, the weight of renewable energies in electricity production to 80%, anticipating the established goal by four years;
7. Establish free daycare centres by 2024;
8. Approve the legislative amendments for the Decent Work Agenda in the Parliament until July;

1 The last Portuguese government consisted of 19 Ministers and the Prime Minister. The ministers were: 1) Minister of State; Economy and Digital Transition; 2) Minister of State and Foreign Affairs; 3) Minister of State and the Presidency; 4) Minister of State and Finance; 5) Minister of National Defence; 6) Minister of Internal Administration; 7) Minister of Justice; 8) Minister of State Modernisation and Public Administration; 9) Minister of Planning; 10) Minister of Culture; 11) Minister of Science, Technology and Higher Education; 12) Minister of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security; 13) Minister of Health; 14) Minister of the Environment and Climate Action; 15) Minister of Infrastructure and Housing; 16) Minister of Territorial Cohesion; 17) Minister of Agriculture; 18) Minister of the Sea; and 19) Minister of Education.

9. Discuss new ways of balancing working time, including the discussion of applicability of the four-day week in different sectors;
10. Increase the share of wages in GDP by 3% by 2026 to reach the EU average - increase average income per worker by 20% between 2022 and 2026;
11. Support, until 2026, thirty thousand young people in professional courses in emerging areas and in training in STEAM areas (science, technology, engineering, arts and mathematics);
12. Increase the number of exporting national companies by 25% compared to 2017, to reach an export volume equivalent to 53% of GDP in 2030 (Partido Socialista 2022).

Likewise, the **'Strategy Portugal 2030'**, published in 2020 by the government of Prime Minister Costa is a good indicator of the political direction the PS is heading. The four main objectives and pillars of the strategy are:

- Thematic Agenda 1 - People first: better demographic balance, greater inclusion, less inequality.
- Thematic Agenda 2 - Digitalisation, innovation and skills as drivers for development.
- Thematic Agenda 3 - Climate transition and resource sustainability.
- Thematic Agenda 4 - A country that is competitive externally and cohesive internally (Portuguese Ministry of Planning 2020).

Regarding immigration, the Strategy Portugal 2030 acknowledges the importance of immigration for the labour market and social security in the ageing Portuguese society. This strategy aims to increase immigration, disincentivise emigration, ensure demographic sustainability and provide the required workforce to the labour market.

Portuguese governments, since the re-democratisation, were led alternately by PS and PPD/PSD (see Table 1). PS, being left-wing, has a much more favourable stance towards immigration, as well as towards naturalisation of immigrants. Contrarily, the centre-right PPD/PSD tends to have stricter immigration rules, promote harder procedures for immigrants to receive permanent residences and citizenships (informant 13). The absolute majority obtained in the national elections 2022 can be seen as a confirmation of the PS party policies, as well as of the cabinet, ministries and key positions in public institutions and agencies, occupied by politicians of the PS political party (see Annex 1).

Table 1: Portuguese governments since the re-democratisation

Years	Political party leading the Government
1976-1978	PS
1978	PS in a coalition with PSD
1978-1980	Independent government, PM and ministers
1980-1983	PSD in a coalition with CDS and PPM
1983-1985	PS in a coalition with PSD
1985-1987	PSD terminated by motion of censure
1987-1991	PSD absolute majority
1991-1995	PSD
1995-1999	PS minority government
1999-2002	PS absolute majority (exact 50% of deputies)
2002-2005	PSD in coalition with CDS
2005-2009	PS absolute majority
2009-2011	PS minority government, early elections due to financial crisis
2011-2015	PSD absolute majority
Oct 2015 – Nov 2015	PSD for only one month because the Parliament rejected the Government Programme of PSD
2015-2019	PS minority government
2019-2022	PS minority government
2022-	PS absolute majority

Source: Portuguese Government n.d.

1.2 POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS - MIGRATION

Historical Formation of Migration Patterns to Portugal

Until the mid-1970s, immigration to Portugal was very low, with only 30,000 immigrants living in Portugal. The majority of these were from neighbouring Spain (Baganha et al. 2009). Immigration increased with the independence of the Portuguese colonies: Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe and Angola in the 1970s and 1980s, when hundreds of thousands of migrants returned from these countries to Portugal - including Portuguese - as well as African (especially Cape Verdean, Angolan and Mozambican) citizens (informant 11). In the course of African independence, half a million Portuguese nationals returned to Portugal from the former colonies. By 1985, there were already approximately 80,000 immigrants living legally in Portugal, with 44% being from a Portuguese-speaking African country (Baganha et al. 2009).

In the 1980s, there was a huge migration movement from Brazil to Portugal, making Brazilians the largest foreign community in Portugal (informant 2; Góis and Carlos Marques 2018). In the late 1990s, fluxes of labour migrants from Eastern Europe, especially Ukraine, Moldova and Romania complemented the immigration situation in Portugal. While integration was still relatively easy in the 1970s and 1980s, this changed in the 1990s with the influx of Eastern Europeans, above all Ukrainians (informant 2, informant 11). By 1999, there were 191,000 immigrants in Portugal, with 76% of them coming from former Portuguese colonies, thus having the same mother tongue (Baganha et al. 2009). In the early 2000s, there were two different types of immigrant groups in Portugal. While immigrants from Portuguese-speaking African countries came to the peripheries of Lisbon, Brazilians and Eastern Europeans spread throughout the whole country and were not concentrated in the capital (informant 2).

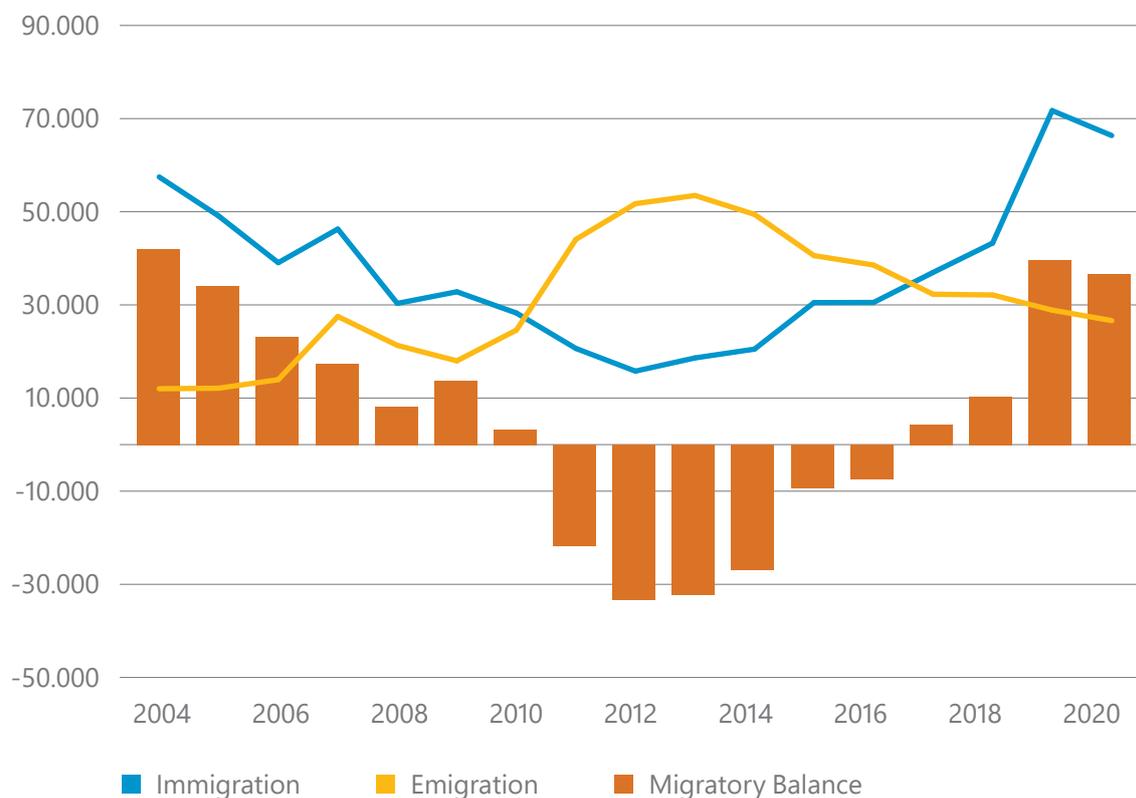
In 2001, there was an operation of legalising irregular immigrants in Portugal. Consequently, in that year the population of foreign residents legally living in Portugal skyrocketed to 350,000 immigrants. Almost 150,000 immigrants were legalised, 56% of them Eastern Europeans (and 36% of all Ukrainians) (Baganha et al. 2009).

While the integration of immigrants from Portuguese-speaking African countries like Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique was relatively easy, Eastern European immigrants had to be supported in a different way. In this context, language courses, recognition of qualifications, as well as insertion into the job market became important topics in the political discourse. These new challenges for integration resulted in several institutional changes, which will be discussed in Section 3. Immigration by Asian workers, especially from Nepal, India, China, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Philippines, to come and look for work in the low-skilled sector of agriculture is a recent trend, and one which saw significant growth during the 2010s (informant 2).

In the 1960s, emigration was massive (with around 100,000 emigrants per year) due to economic crises and political reasons of the dictatorship (informant 3; Góis and Carlos Marques 2018; PORDATA 2022). Triggered by the economic crisis, which hit Portugal in 2008/2009, hundreds of thousands of mostly young and well-educated Portuguese citizens emigrated from Portugal to other EU member

states and to North America in the years following the crisis. In that same decade (2010s), more than 50,000 emigrants per year left Portugal (informant 3, Figure 1). The emigration of skilled Portuguese nationals during the last decade intensified the ageing of the Portuguese population. Consequently, the net migration was negative between 2011 and 2016 (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Portuguese Emigration and Immigration, 2004 - 2020



Source: Reis de Oliveira 2021a

The Attitude of the Current Portuguese Government Towards Labour Migration

While the previous government (Prime Minister Pedro Passos Coelho, PSD) prioritised an increased control of migration influx, the Socialist Party, who has been ruling since 2015, promotes immigration. Furthermore, Portuguese society is, compared to other European countries, much less critical towards immigration. Historically, Portugal has been a country of great emigration. Only in the late 1990s, early 2000s, as well as since 2017, the net migration numbers were positive, with immigration exceeding emigration (see Figure 1).

The current Portuguese government ascribes an important role for immigration. In 2021, the Portuguese President Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa highlighted that, "We must open our eyes to a reality: we need immigrants economically, and we will need more immigrants, some more qualified, others less qualified, [...many are willing to do] jobs that the Portuguese don't accept to do, even when

they are unemployed” (TSF Radio Noticias 2021). On another occasion, Rebelo de Sousa claimed that immigrants contribute more to the Portuguese welfare system than Portuguese citizens (RTP Noticias 2022).

The political programme of António Costa for the elections in January 2022, has a chapter titled ‘Attraction of regulated immigration, with rights, with dignity and in security’ (Partido Socialista 2021). Furthermore, it states that the immigration to Portugal, ‘must be reinforced by information on rights and duties, and on the integration processes and legalisation of migratory flows, as well as integration responses that start by learning the Portuguese language and extend to civic and political participation’ (Partido Socialista 2021).

In the context of migration policy specifically, the PS party published the **‘National Plan for the Implementation of the UN Pact on Migration’**, which was approved by Parliament in August 2019. The plan includes 97 deliverables, many of them related to immigration and labour migration, towards which the newly elected PS party will push (informant 10, informant 12). There are meetings on the Portuguese ministerial level every three months to follow up on the progress made implementing the Pact on Migration. Most relevant for the scope of the study are the following objectives of the National Plan for Implementation of the UN Pact on Migration:

1. Engage in multilateral cooperation on migration, through the UN, through the EU and in collaboration with the African Union.
2. Extend the collaboration with the community of Portuguese language countries (CPLP) and operationalise the recently signed mobility agreement.
3. Conclude bilateral agreements with origin countries of immigrants to Portugal, with the objective to promote legal migration and the access to social security of immigrants.
4. Create conditions for Portuguese emigrants to return, for example, through job fairs and programmes to attract emigrant students to study in Portugal.
5. Simplify the recognition of foreign certificates and qualifications.
6. Guarantee the access of every immigrant (both documented and undocumented) to the CLAIM and CNAIM centres, also offering the service of video calls.
7. Extending the network ‘GIP-imigrante’, a network of organisms aimed at including immigrants into the job market.
8. Promote initiatives for recruiting workforce abroad in order to combat illegal migrant actors and intermediators (National Plan for the Implementation of the UN Pact on Migration 2019).

Table 2: Content regarding immigration of the main Portuguese political parties' agendas for the national elections 2022

Political Party	Goal
PS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Create a digital platform in order to make visa and regularisation processes easier and faster. ■ Conclude bilateral mobility agreements with third countries. ■ Enable a new entry pathway for labour migrants: a temporary short-term visa to search for a job in Portugal. ■ Extend and facilitate Portuguese language courses for immigrants (access when the regularisation process is not yet concluded).
PSD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Revert the closure of Immigration and Borders Service (SEF). ■ Revise the immigration law, introduce a points system as well as a green card like they have in the US. ■ Improve the data on access of immigrants to social security.
BE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Create a programme to integrate and regularise immigrants working in the agricultural sector. ■ A new Immigration Law, open to the world, in rupture with the guidelines of 'fortress Europe'. ■ Creation of a funding line to support organisations of migrants and people in situations of refuge.
CHEGA!	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Revert the closure of SEF. ■ Focus on stopping emigration instead of replacing Portuguese with non-Portuguese citizens through immigration. ■ Labour shortage in certain Portuguese economic sectors should be approached by making work more dignified for Portuguese workers, improving wages and working conditions.
CDS-PP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Revert the closure of SEF.
PCP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ No mention of migration.

Source: Created by the author on the basis of the political agendas of the parties and JRS 2022

Analysing the stance of **the main political parties on immigration**, several things become obvious. Firstly, there is a clear distinction between left-wing parties (PS, BE), who favour and facilitate immigration, and right-wing parties (PSD, CHEGA!, CDS-PP), who are reluctant to have a policy of open borders. Secondly, the closure of the immigration police SEF² is an illustrative indicator of parties who favour stricter border control (PSD, CHEGA!, CDS-PP), even though this might limit the rights of immigrants (Fortinho 2020).

2 PS decided the closure of SEF in 2021. Along with several corruption cases, the death of the Ukrainian citizen Ihor Homenyuk, who landed in Lisbon to work in Portugal but passed away during an interrogation at the airport by three SEF policemen, shed a negative light on SEF. On several other occasions, the SEF has been accused of power abuse and violence (informant 13).

It is still yet to be seen to what extent the PS will realise and follow up on its agenda on immigration. Firstly, the temporary short-term visa to search for a job in Portugal has already been part of previous political agendas but has never materialised. Whether the government will, in the current legislative term, introduce this new entry pathway for labour migrants will have to be monitored.

Secondly, some of the 12 priority points of the PS party, such as, “creation of a digital platform in order to make visa and regularisation processes easier and faster” and the conclusion of, “bilateral mobility agreements with third countries” are too vague and not further specified. The Portuguese government recently delivered on mobility agreements with Morocco, India and CPLP. It is unknown if there are other mobility agreements planned and with which countries exactly, as will be further discussed in Section 5.6.

The Government has started to establish an online platform to digitise the visa application process. The efficiency and operationality of this platform, however, remains to be seen (informant 12).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the Portuguese Government has delivered on simplifying the access to language courses for immigrants. The offered hours and schedules have been extended, which makes it easier for immigrants to attend next to other professional and family-related responsibilities (informant 12).

1.3 MIGRATION POLICIES AND LEGISLATION AND OTHER RELEVANT POLICIES (E.G. EMPLOYMENT, TRADE, AND DEVELOPMENT)

The primary Portuguese legislation in the context of entry to Portugal is the Aliens Act, also known as Act 23/2007 of 4th July, amended in 8 occasions, on the conditions and procedures on the entry, stay, exit and removal of foreign citizens from Portuguese territory, as well as the long-term resident status (Legislation Online n.d.). The following discussion focuses on foreigners from third countries outside the EU. In the context of EU citizens, the Act 37/2006 regulates the “right of European Union citizens and respective family members to move and reside freely” in Portugal (Legislation Online n.d.).

Major amendments were brought by the laws 102/2017 and 59/2017 to the aliens act (law on foreigners). With these amendments, the StartUp Visa has been introduced, some parts of visa application processes digitalised and simplifications for students of higher education, seasonal workers and highly-qualified workers have been made. Especially citizens from CPLP countries who wish to study in Portugal benefit from simplified visa application procedures (SEF n.d.-c). The two visa types: ‘short-stay visa for seasonal work for a period of 90 days or less’ and the ‘temporary stay visa for seasonal work for a period exceeding 90 days’ were nuanced and modified in 2017, transposing the EU Directive 36/2014. The aim was to establish fair and transparent rules for the admission and stay of seasonal workers, providing them with incentives and protections to avoid overstaying (Rodrigues and Rodrigues 2017). The two aforementioned visas for seasonal work will be further discussed in Section 5.1.

Table 3 provides a non-exhaustive list of important immigration and integration policies. It is an attempt to gather the most relevant pillars and characteristics of the Portuguese migration legislation. Concrete information on legal entry pathways, as well as on their use and efficiency to address labour shortages will follow in Section 5.1.

Table 3: The main laws of Portuguese migration legislation

Law	Subject	Amendments
Law on foreigners (Portuguese Aliens Act - Act 23/2007 of 4th July).	Conditions and procedures on the entry, stay, exit and removal of foreign citizens from Portuguese territory, as well as the long-term resident status.	8 amendments: Decree-Law 14/2021 Law 28/2019 Law 26/2018 Law 102/2017 Law 59/2017 Law 63/2015 Law 56/2015 Law 29/2012
Asylum law (Law n° 15/98, and Law 27/2008).	Lays down the juridical-legal regime for asylum and refugees.	Amendment: Law N° 26/2014
Strategical documents guiding integration and immigration law	<p>GCM no. 141/2019 approves the National Implementation Plan of the Global Compact for Migration.</p> <p>Resolution 12-B/2015 approves the Strategic Plan for Migration 2015-2020.</p> <p>Resolution 74/2010 approves the Second Plan for Integration of Immigrants (2010-2013).</p> <p>Resolution 63-A/2007 approves the First Plan for Integration of Immigrants.</p>	
Citizenship law (Law No. 37/81).	Regulates who is entitled to acquire Portuguese nationality by marriage, by residence in Portugal and by Portuguese descent.	9 amendments: Organic Law 2/2020 Organic Law 2/2018 Organic Law 9/2015 Organic Law 8/2015 Organic Law 1/2013 Organic Law 2/2006 Organic Law 1/2004 Organic Law 194/2003 Organic Law 25/1994

Anti-discrimination law	"Establishes the legal framework for the prevention, prohibition and combating of discrimination on the basis of race and ethnic origin, skin colour, citizenship, ancestry and territory of origin" (EC n.d.).	Amendment: Law no. 94/2017
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Laws on Public Authorities and Immigration and Integration Structures	Law Ordinance No. 203/2016 and Decree-Law No. 31/2014 to establish the High Commission for Migration (ACM) as the responsible institution for the integration of migrants and refugees. Decree-Law No. 252/2000 and Decree-Law 290-A/2001 to establish the responsibilities and structural organization of SEF.	Law No. 73/2021 approves the closure of SEF.
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Source: Prepared by the author on the basis of EC n.d.

The amendment to the **Asylum Law** is the transpose of the EU's Directives 2004/83/EC of 29th April 2004 and 2005/85/EC (EC 2014). The Portuguese law on asylum is therefore mainly guided by EU legislation. The relevant laws listed in the table above outline that "*any individual is entitled to apply for refugee status. Specific procedures are then followed for determining whether or not the individual meets the necessary criteria for the granting of this status*" (UNHCR 2019).

The amendments to the **Citizenship Law** established the *jus solis*, facilitating access to nationality and citizenship to those born in Portuguese territory (EC n.d.). Interestingly, after Sweden, Portugal has the second highest naturalisation rate in the EU (5,2%) (EC n.d.). As to the citizenship law and its various amendments, Portuguese citizenship can be obtained in two different forms: by origin and by acquisition. Due to the focus of this study on immigration of labour migrants from third countries, citizenship by origin will not be explored. As to citizenship by acquisition, the aforementioned Portuguese law establishes that citizenship can be obtained in the following cases: minors or incapable children of the father or mother who acquire Portuguese nationality; a foreigner married for more than three years to a Portuguese national may acquire Portuguese nationality by declaration made during the course of the marriage; a foreigner who, at the date of the declaration, has been living in a de facto union for more than three years with a Portuguese national may acquire Portuguese nationality, after an action for recognition of this situation to be filed in civil court; adopted by a Portuguese national; and foreign citizens who wish to become Portuguese citizens by continuous residence in Portuguese territory (Nacionalidade Portuguesa n.d.). As to the latter, foreign citizens can be naturalised if they "are of legal age or emancipated under Portuguese law; have resided in Portuguese territory for at least 5 years; know the Portuguese language; have not been convicted of a crime with a sentence of three years or more, according to Portuguese law" (Nacionalidade Portuguesa n.d.).

The last row of Table 3 lists the main legislation that defines the **public authorities and Immigration and Integration structures**. Under Ordinance Law No. 203/2016, ACM is established under the supervision of the Council of Ministers and coordinates and supervises the National Migrant Support Centers (CNAIM); the Local Migrant Support Centers (CLAIM); the Observatory for Migration Research Center (OM); and the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination

(CICDR) (EC n.d.). Law No. 73/2021 will approve the closure of SEF by the end of June 2022, due to the reasons outlined in the previous section.

Next to the key laws, the Government adopted important strategic documents that guide the Portuguese immigration and integration system through resolutions listed in Table 3 under '**Strategic Documents Guiding Integration and Immigration Law**'. The most recent ones are the Strategic Plan for Migration 2015-2020 and the National Implementation Plan of the UN Global Pact on Migration. Both plans have been transposed into a resolution by the Council of Ministers. The former plan has already been discussed in Section 1.2. The latter (National Strategic Plan for Migration 2015-2020), was introduced by the Portuguese Government by Prime Minister Pedro Passos Coelho (Social Democratic Party, Prime Minister between 2011 and 2015) in order to guide the High Commission for Migration (ACM). The document mentioned five policy priorities:

(i) the transversal fight against the demographic deficit and the balance of migration; (ii) the consolidation of the integration and empowerment of immigrant communities living in Portugal, continuing Portugal's personalist tradition; (iii) the inclusion of new nationals, due to the acquisition of nationality or the descent of immigrants; (iv) the response to international mobility, through the internationalization of the Portuguese economy, from the perspective of attracting migrants and valuing migration and talent as incentives to economic growth; (v) the monitoring of Portuguese emigration, by strengthening ties and reinforcing the conditions for the return and reintegration of national citizens who have emigrated (High Commission for Migration 2015).

Interesting for immigrants in Portugal is that due to the **COVID-19 pandemic** and related closure of the SEF offices, residence permits or visas that expired after 13th March 2020 will now automatically have an extended expiration date and will be valid until 31st March 2022 (Sousa Rebelo and Cruz Silva 2022).

2. KEY LABOUR MIGRATION-RELATED STATISTICS

2.1 DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

As of 1st January 2021, Portugal had a population of 10,298,252 (Eurostat n.d.-a). Life expectancy at birth was 82,47 years in the same year (MacroTrends 2022). According to UN projections, the average Portuguese life expectancy will exceed 90 years in the mid-2080s (MacroTrends 2022). The average population density is 111.6 inhabitants/km², with numbers above 1000 inhabitants/km² in the greater Lisbon and Porto areas, and other rural areas, such as Alentejo, having a population density of under 50 inhabitants/km² (Eurydice 2021).

Table 4: Forecasted demographic development in Portugal, 2018 - 2080

Age Group	2018	2080	2080 (without migration)
0-14	1.4 million	1.0 million	0.79 million
15-64	6.6 million	4.2 million	3.5 million
65 and older	2.24 million	3.0 million	/
Total	10.28 million	8.2 million	6.9 million

Source: created by the author on the basis of INE 2020

By 2050, Portugal is expected to have more dependent than actively working citizens. In the same year, there might be a share of more than 30% of the population being 65 years or older (Agencia Lusa 2020). Currently, the median age in Portugal is 45.8 years old (the third oldest in the EU; EUROSTAT, 2022) but might likely reach 52 years by 2050 (Agencia Lusa 2020). This will make Portugal the fourth oldest nation in the world in the year 2050 (Borges 2015). According to a study of the Portuguese National Statistics Office INE, up until 2080 the Portuguese population will decrease from currently 10.3 million to 8.2 million. Without migration movements, this decrease would even be more drastic, with Portuguese society being reduced to 6.9 million without the positive net migration expected (INE 2020). The total number of youth (between 0 and 14 years old) will decrease from currently 1.4 million to 1.0 million in 2080. Without migration, this age group would likely be reduced to 0.79 million in 2080. The resident population of more than 65 years of age will increase from 2.24 million to 3.03 million in 2080. The population in active age (15 to 64 years of age) will decrease from currently 6.6 million to 4.2 million in 2080 (4.97 million in 2054). Without the beneficial impact of migration, the population in active age would be reduced to 3.46 million by 2080 (INE 2020).

The fertility rates in all regions of the country are well below 2 (reproduction), ranging from 1.14 in Madeira to 1.75 in Algarve. Even though net migration flows have been slightly positive since 2017, meaning that there is more immigration than emigration, the low fertility rate results in a decrease of population over time.

Furthermore, there is a clear rural-urban movement, meaning that Portugal is facing rural exodus in several regions. In general, there are more women (5,439,503) than men (4,858,749) in Portugal (INE 2020). Lisbon (2,869,033), the Northern region (3,566,374) with the city Porto, and the Central region (2,229,331) with the former Portuguese capital Coimbra are the most populated regions in Portugal (see figures below).

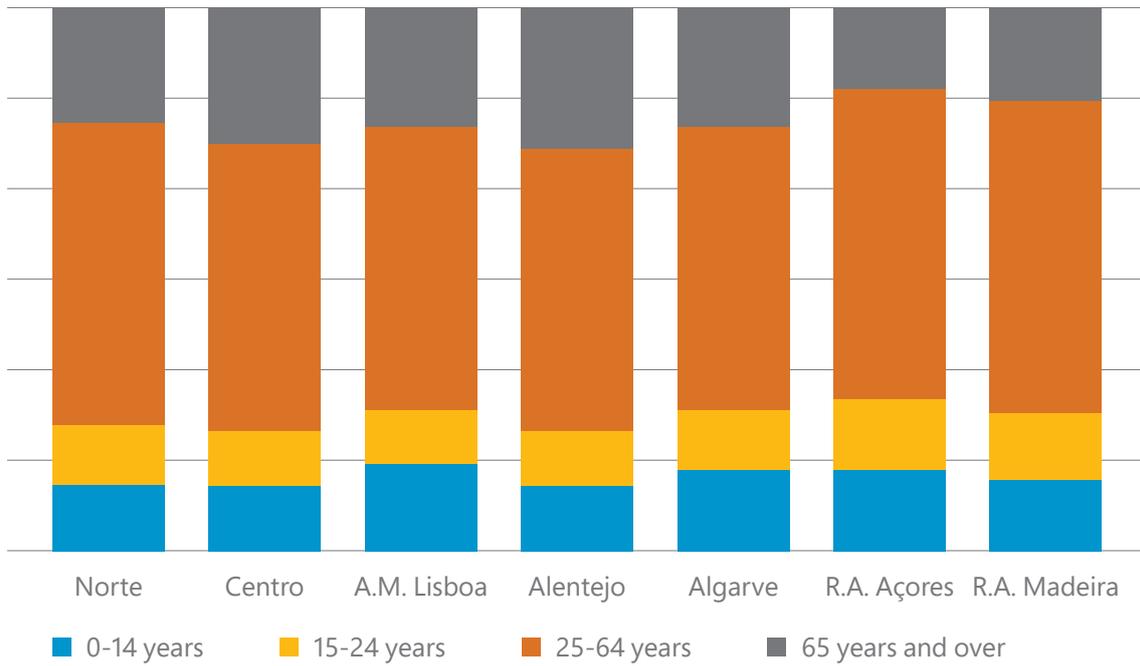
The regions Alentejo and the Central region are the oldest regions in Portugal with more than 25% of the population being 65 years or older. At the same time, in these two regions only 22% are under 25 years old. The 'working age' population (which roughly corresponds to the light blue category of the age group from 25 to 64 years old in Figure 2) only makes up slightly over 50% of the population. The youngest regions are the autonomous island regions Azores and Madeira, with only 15% and 17% respectively of population over 64 years old and the highest percentage of population between 25 and 64 years old (57%) (INE 2022a).

Figure 2: Resident population by sex (left), age (right) and region, December 2020

Resident population on 31/12/2020 according to sex by region

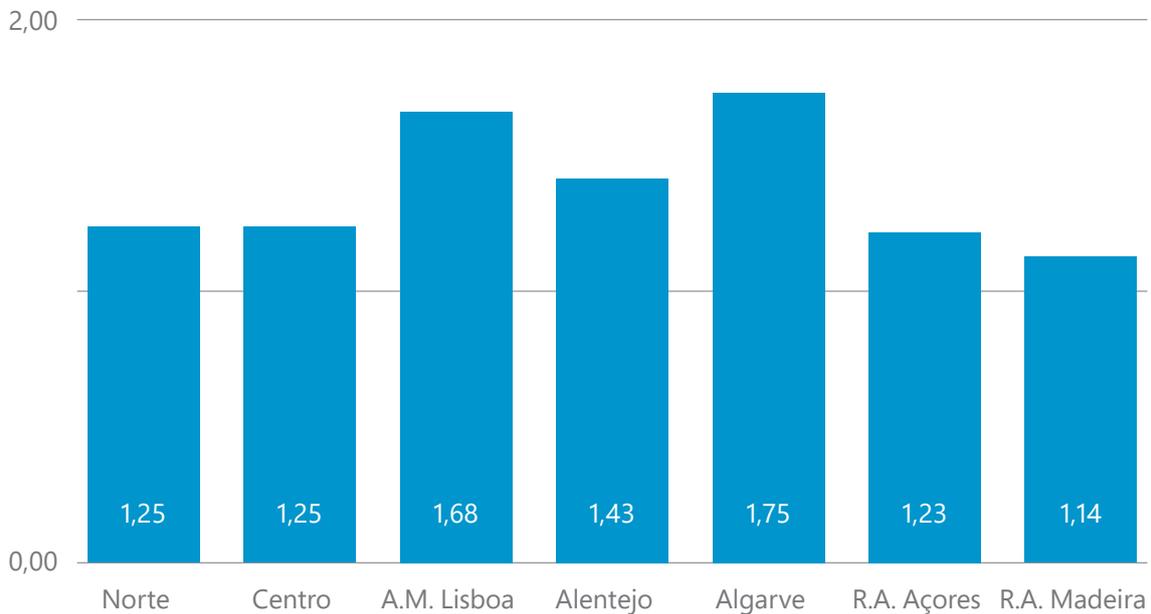
	Total	Males	Females
Portugal	10,298,252	4,858,749	5,439,503
Norte	3,566,374	1,682,772	1,883,602
Centro	2,229,331	1,055,473	1,173,858
A.M. Lisboa	2,869,033	1,341,981	1,527,052
Alentejo	699,420	335,432	363,988
Algarve	437,970	207,517	230,453
R.A. Açores	242,201	117,050	125,151
R.A. Madeira	253,923	118,524	135,399

Percent distribution of resident population according to age groups on 31/12/2020, by region



Source: INE 2022a

Figure 3: Total fertility rate by region, 2020

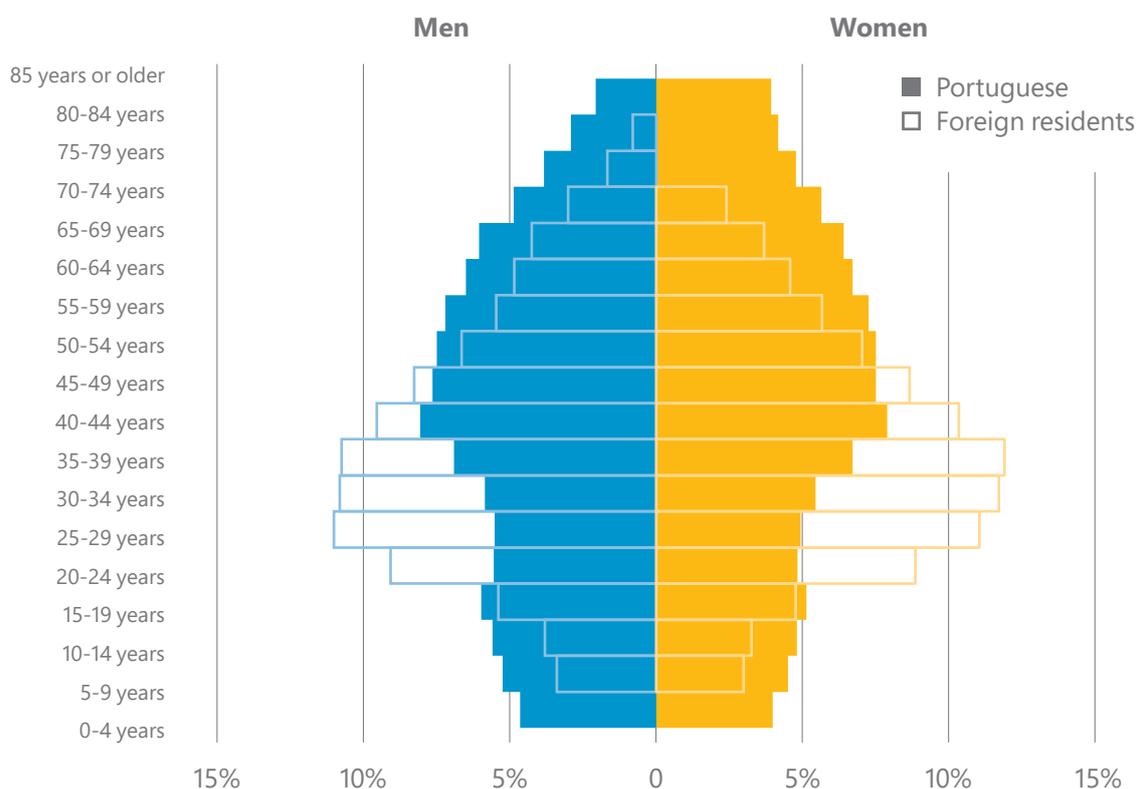


Source: INE 2022a

Figure 4 shows the demographic pyramid of the Portuguese population compared with the demographic pyramid of foreign residents in Portugal. In the case of Portuguese society, we can observe the classical inverted demographic pyramid, which is typical to an ageing population. The pyramid is thicker at the top, highlighting that the largest share of Portuguese citizens is between 40 and

69 years old. Contrarily, foreigners living in Portugal have the biggest share of their stock being between 20 and 49 years old, thus in their active years, indicating that most are labour immigrants coming for work. Among the foreign residents in Portugal, 50.8% are male and 49.2% are female (see Annex 3).

Figure 4: Demographic pyramids of Portuguese society and of foreign residents, 2017



Source: Reis de Oliveira and Gomes 2019

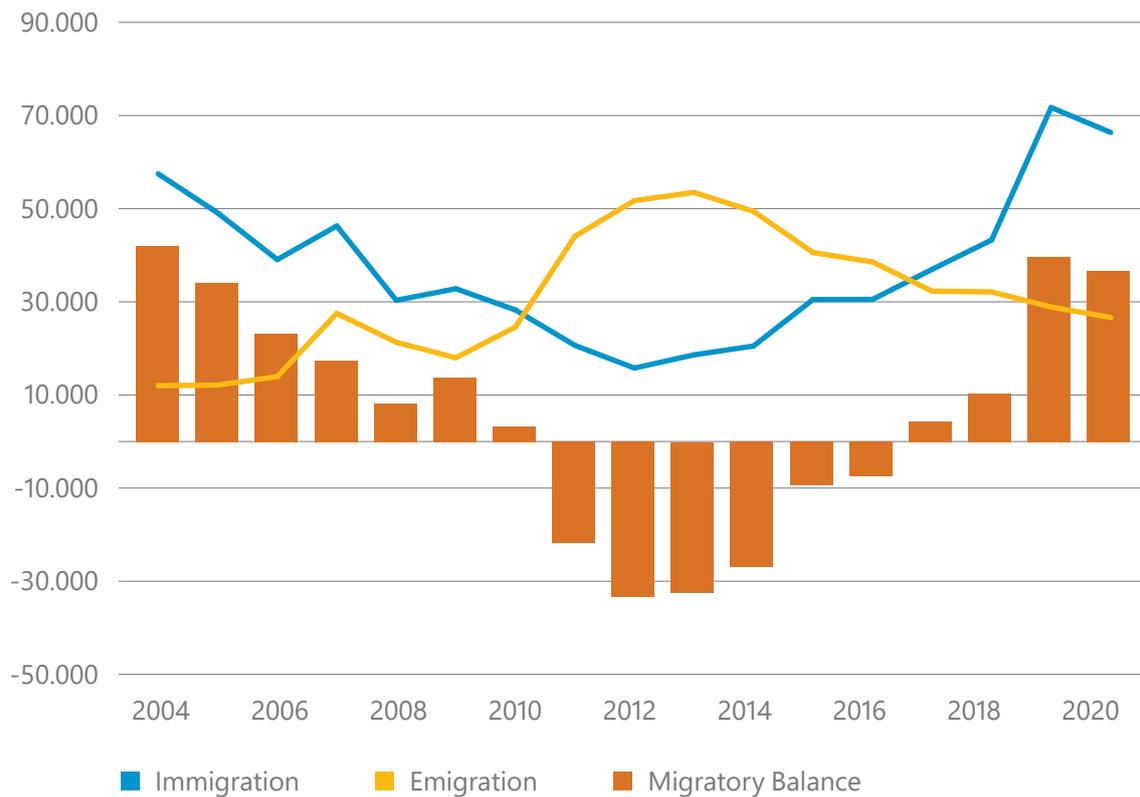
2.2 CURRENT MIGRATION FLOWS

Legal Migration Flows

Portuguese net migration was positive between the years 2004 and 2010, then negative for six years between 2011 and 2016, and positive again from 2017 onwards, as shown in Figure 5. The negative migration balance between 2011 and 2016 can be explained with the economic and financial crisis in Portugal, and in the Eurozone in general. As a result of the crisis, emigration to other EU member states, as well as to North America skyrocketed, causing a considerable depletion in Portugal, since it was mostly the young educated population who left.

Immigration to Portugal develops counter-cyclical to the unemployment rate. When the unemployment rate goes down, immigration increases - when the unemployment rate goes up, immigration decreases (informant 12; Figure 5; Reis de Oliveira 2021a). Figure 5 includes all legal channels of migration to or from Portugal – asylum seekers are not included in this figure (numbers regarding asylum seekers and refugees in Portugal will be discussed in the ‘Asylum’ section later in this subsection).

Figure 5: Immigration and emigration in Portugal, 2004 - 2020



Source: Reis de Oliveira 2021a

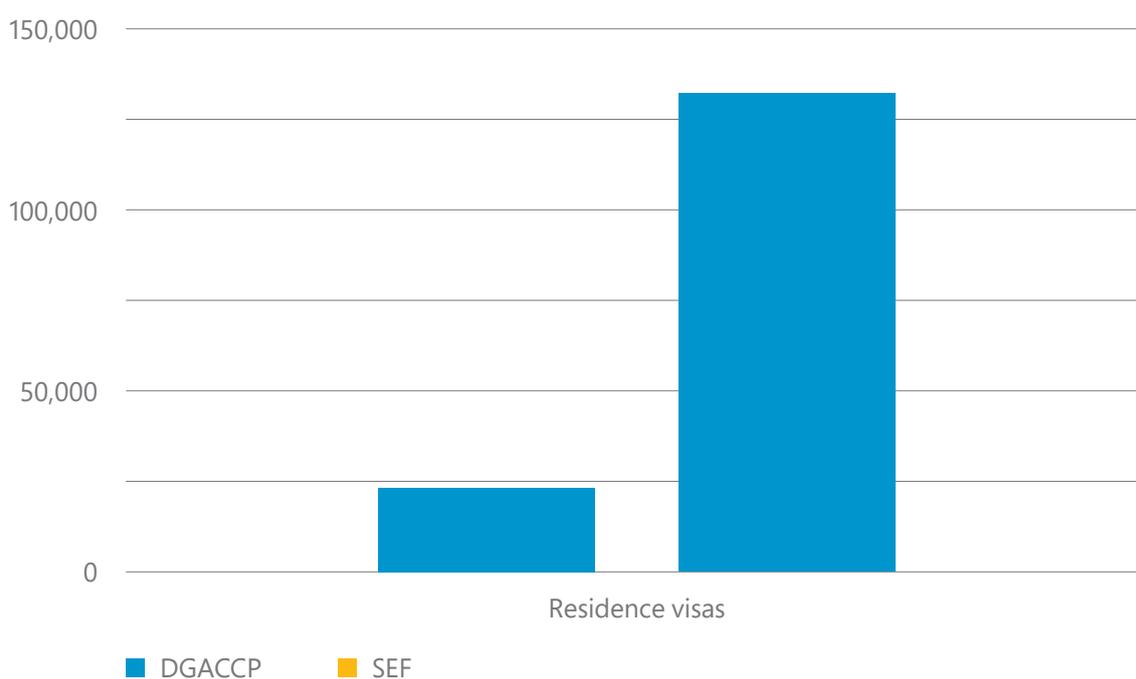
Immigration picked up again in 2015. In this context, there is an increase of +19.4% (from 6,655 residence visas granted in the Portuguese consular network to 7,948 visas) from 2014 to 2015, and even of +30.2% between years 2015 and 2016 (from 2016 to 2017, the increase in issued visas was +50.9%) (Reis de Oliveira and Gomes 2019). The net migration balance is positive since 2017, being 41,274 in 2020, which is the sixth position among EU countries (Reis de Oliveira 2021a).

When analysing Tables 5, 6 and 7, it is important to understand the different roles SEF and Directorate-General for Consular Affairs and Portuguese Communities (DGACCP) play in different migration pathways. SEF is the Portuguese immigration and border police, which is the main actor for the entry pathway according to Article 88, No. 2 (and Article 89) – entering Portugal as a tourist and obtaining the residence authorisation to undertake professional activity under an employment contract after having secured a job contract in the country. This is the main entry pathway to Portugal: 29,993 residence authorisations were issued in 2019. The second most important entry pathway is the residence visa for **study purposes** (10,580 in 2019), third is for **family reunification** (5,565 in

2019)³, and fourth the entry of retired nationals from third countries (3,168 visas for retired and for religious reasons; see Table 5).

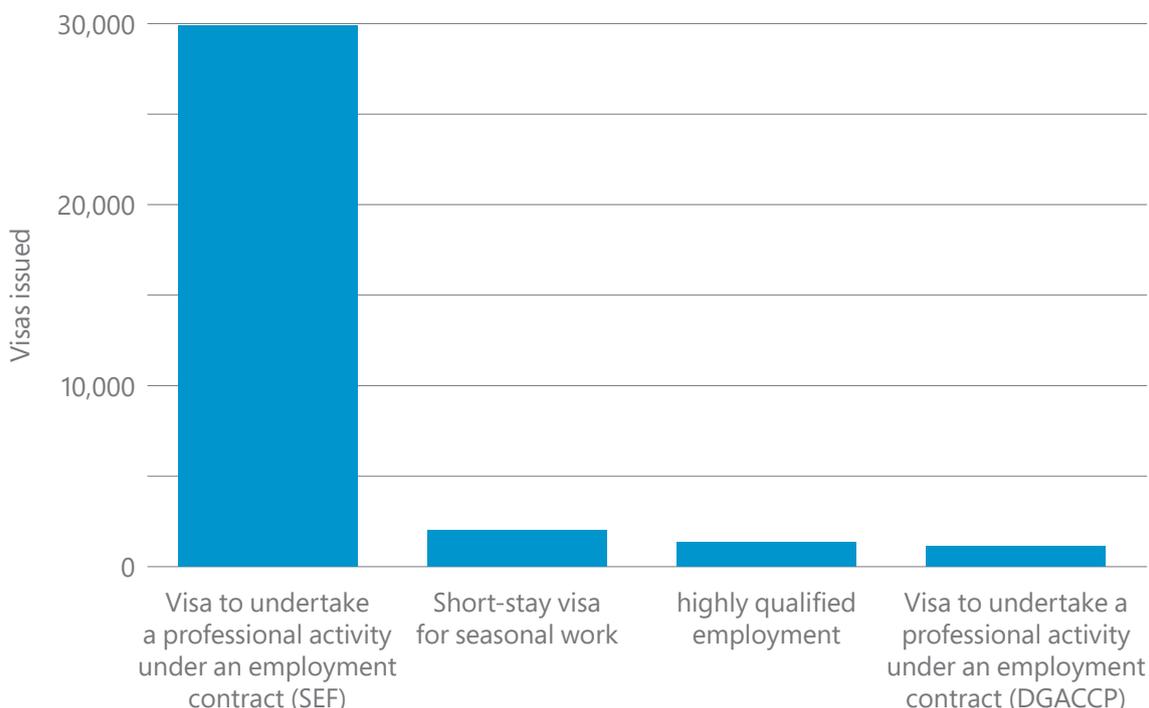
DGACCP is the Portuguese Embassy and Consular network worldwide. This actor issues residence visas in the country of origin of the immigrant (this will be further explained in Sections 3.1 and 5.1). As can be seen in Table 5, 22,703 residence visas were issued by DGACCP in 2019. In the same year, SEF granted 129,155 residence authorisations to immigrants in Portugal. Comparing the two numbers from the same year, it becomes obvious that SEF plays a more important role than DGACCP when it comes to equipping immigrants with the corresponding paperwork. When taking a closer look only at the first lines of Tables 5 and 7, which correspond to residence visas/authorisations to undertake a professional activity under an employment contract, there were 29,993 authorisations issued by SEF versus 1,159 work visas issued by DGACCP abroad in 2019. This is an important indicator for the entry pathway of entering as a tourist and then regularising the documentation through SEF after having secured (a promise of) a work contract in Portugal being the dominant pathway for labour immigrants from third countries. Compared with this large number (29,993) of labour migrants using the aforementioned dominant entry pathway, other visa types, such as the **short-stay visa for seasonal work** (2,035 in 2019), the one for **highly qualified employment** (1,379) or the residence **visa to undertake professional activity under an employment contract** (1,159), are by far less relevant when it comes to the entry of labour migrants to Portugal.

Figure 6: Residence visas issued by DGACCP and SEF in 2019



³ In the analysis of Tables 5 to 7, the focus is on 2019 as the year of comparison. This is because the 2020 numbers are influenced by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Figure 7: Types of residence visas issued in 2019



Several trends emerge with regards to the type of residence permits issued and thus the reasons for granted entry to Portugal. First, the growth in residence permits issued is particularly associated with an increase in the granting of residence **visas to foreign retirees** (doubling from 2015 to 2016 and from 2016 to 2017). Second, residence permits for **self-employed and investors** has more than doubled between 2016 and 2017 accounting for a 59.1% growth from 2017 to 2018. The third category that has seen an increase is that of **highly skilled workers** (increasing from 387 visas in 2011 to 832 in 2018). Lastly, the number of issued **student visas** grew (from 6,765 visas at the beginning of the decade to 10,580 issued visas in 2019) (Reis de Oliveira and Gomes 2019; Reis de Oliveira 2021a).

As to the profiles of foreign arrivals, there is an important change since 2008. Alongside the already mentioned increase in some flows - such as students, researchers and highly qualified, independent workers, investors and retirees – there is a decrease in others – mainly entries for the purpose of taking a job under an employment contract (Reis de Oliveira and Gomes 2019). Roughly until 2005, the main reasons for entry or request for entry into the country was related to the residence visa to undertake professional activity under an employment contract, issued by DGACCP (Reis de Oliveira and Gomes 2019). In 2020, there was a reduction in issued visas and residence authorisations due to the COVID-19 pandemic (see Table 5).

This observed decrease of labour immigrants with a (DGACCP-issued) residence visa to undertake professional activity under an employment contract since 2008 is related to two main factors. First, due to the situation of the Portuguese economy, from 2009 on there has been a decrease of job opportunities in the economic sectors where labour immigrants tended to insert themselves. The decrease of visas issued is likely also caused by a change in existing entry pathways, as new pathways

had been created.⁴ If SEF ceases to exist in mid-2022, this migration pathway (of entering Portugal as a tourist) will continue to exist unless the Portuguese Parliament revokes or modifies articles 88 and 89. This is seen as unlikely as there is a certain consensus that art. 88 (and also 89) are an important valve for migratory management (Informant 5).

Table 5: Residence visas Issued by Portuguese embassies abroad (DGACCP) by reason for entry, 2017 – 2020

Residence Visa Type	2017	2018	2019	2020
Residence visa to undertake professional activity under an employment contract	967	985	1,159	619
Residence visa for independents and immigrant entrepreneurs	684	1,088	850	515
Residence visa for highly qualified professional activity under an employment contract	1,242	832	1,379	811
Residence visa to study (secondary education; bachelors; masters; PhD; post-doc; mobility programme/exchange programme), professional internship or volunteering	7,097	10,258	10,580	8,697
Residence visa for family reunification	3,045	3,445	5,565	3,497
Residence visa for retired people, visa for religious reasons, and people with high capital	2,558	3,667	3,168	2,076
Total	15,608	20,375	22,703	16,215

Source: Reis de Oliveira and Gomes 2019; Reis de Oliveira 2021a

Table 6: Main nationalities who obtained visas and authorisations for residence in Portugal, 2016 - 2020

Nationality	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Brazil	7,059	11,574	28,210	48,796	42,245
Italy	3,106	5,267	6,989	7,865	4,479

4 There has been an important change in the Portuguese law in 2007, which abolished the systems of quotas by economic sector and introduced important flexibilities in the entry pathways. Article 88, No. 2 from 2007 established the possibility of entering Portugal as a tourist and obtaining the residence permit for a job under an employment contract (Portuguese: Visto de Residência para exercício de atividade profissional subordinada) after having secured (the promise of) a job contract. Importantly, these labour immigrants who are using this entry pathway do not appear in table 5 because they did not receive the residence permit by the Portuguese Embassy and Consular Network abroad but by SEF in Portugal. Immigrants using this entry pathway correspond to the first line of Table 7.

France	3,475	4,662	5,306	4,930	4,072
UK	3,066	3,832	5,079	8,353	13,154
Nepal	1,348	1,746	4,211	5,010	3,880
India	1,024	1,801	4,094	6,267	7,172
Spain	2,214	2,738	2,899	3,246	2,837
Angola	1,479	1,831	2,877	4,478	4,829
Cape Verde	1,991	2,060	2,565	4,380	4,224
Total	46,921	61,413	93,154	129,155	118,124

Source: Reis de Oliveira and Gomes 2019; Reis de Oliveira 2021a

Table 7: Residence authorisations Issued by SEF in Portugal, by reason, 2016-2020

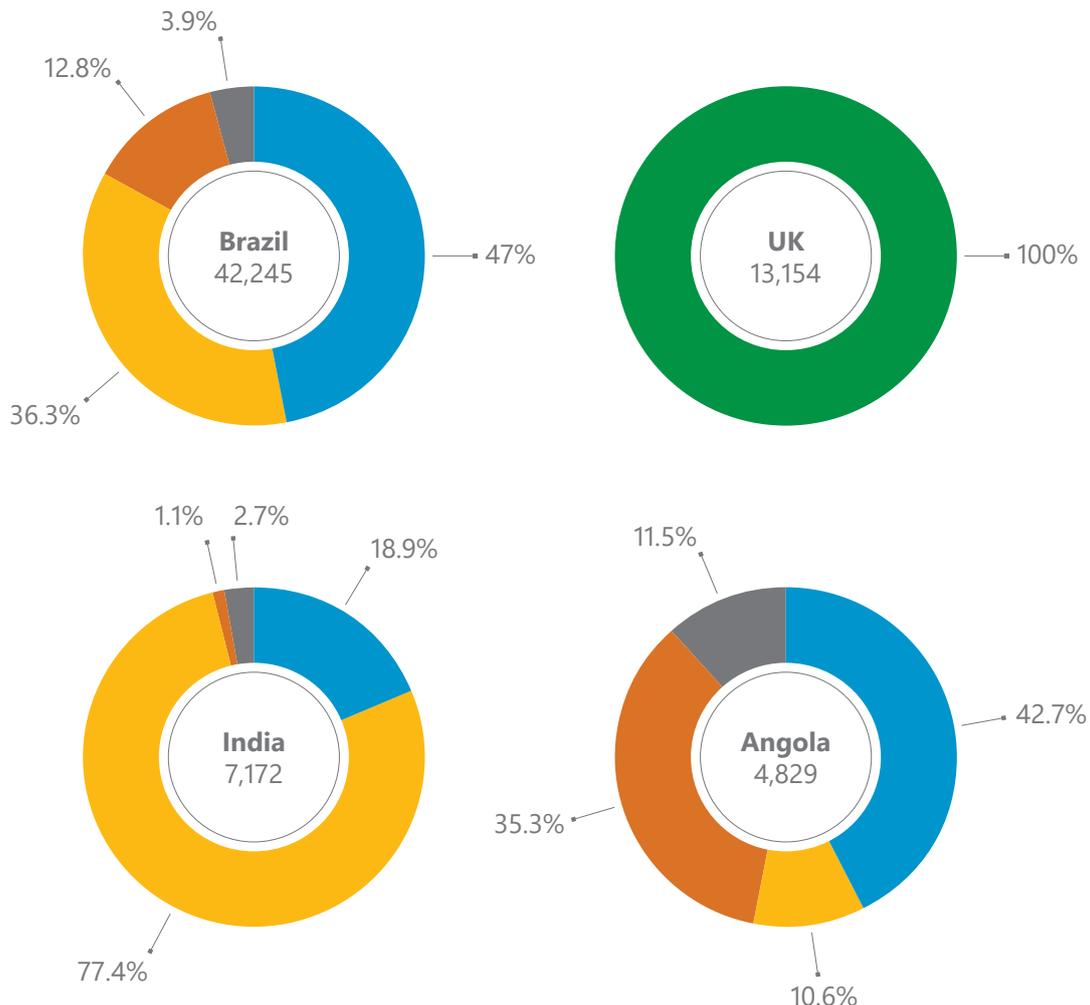
Residence authorisation type	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Residence authorisation to undertake professional activity under an employment contract	3,005	4,169	16,424	29,993	28,976
Residence authorisation for independents and immigrant entrepreneurs	184	377	719	900	883
Residence authorisation for highly qualified professional activity under an employment contract	766	838	833	1,278	811
Residence authorisation to study (secondary education; bachelor's; master's; PhD; post-doc; mobility programme / exchange programme), professional internship or volunteering	3,483	3,958	8,527	13,628	12,402
Residence authorisation for family reunification	3,770	5,225	12,716	21,734	20,796
Total	46,921	61,413	93,154	129,155	118,124

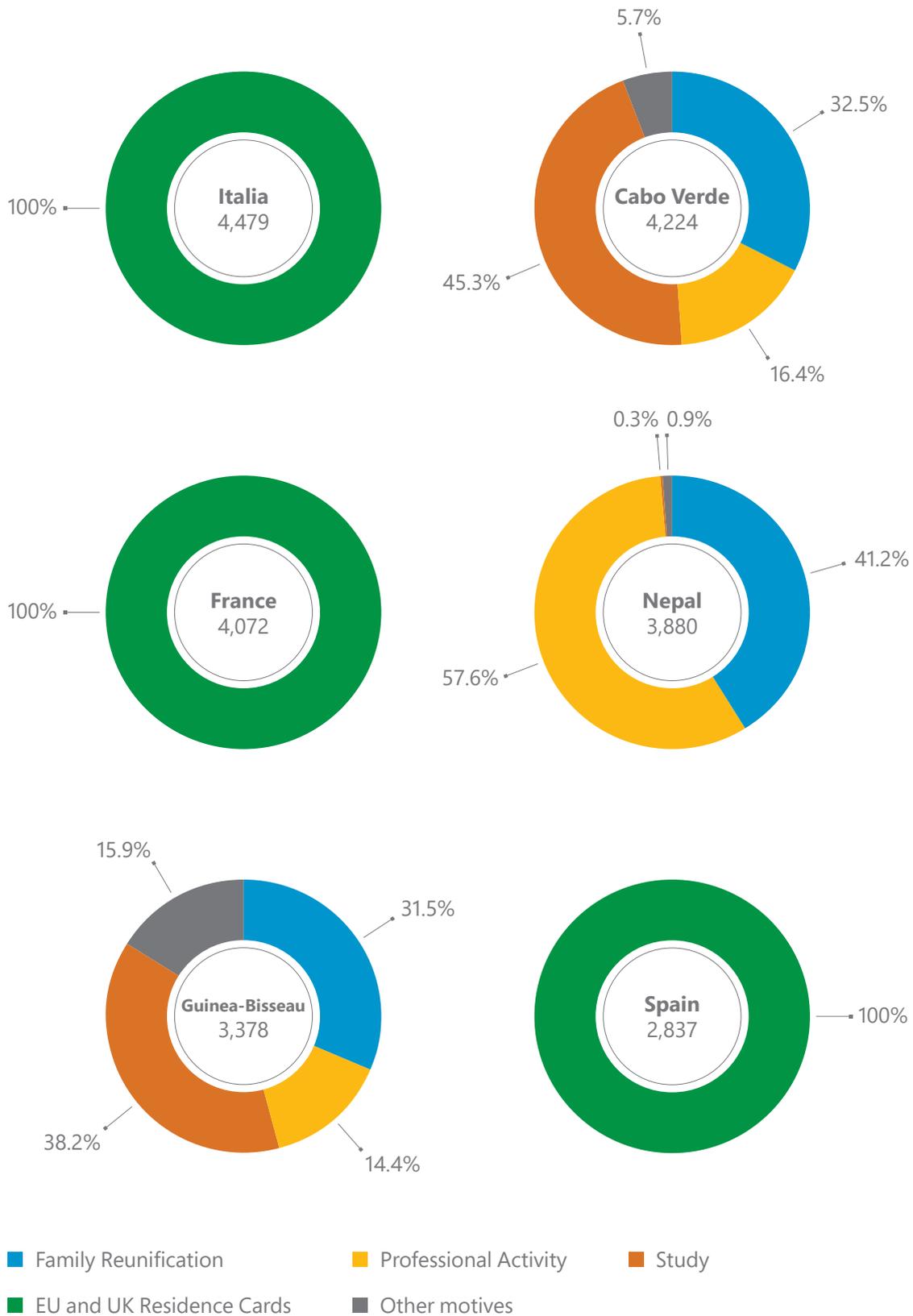
Source: Reis de Oliveira and Gomes 2019; Reis de Oliveira 2021a

As to the **countries of origin**, Brazil is by far the most important nationality of immigrants who secured residence authorisations in Portugal between 2016 and 2020 (48,796 residence authorisations in 2019). The other relevant third countries in this regard are Nepal (5,010 residence authorisations in 2019), India (6,267), Angola (4,478), Cape Verde (4,380), and Guinea-Bissau (3,457; see Table 6). Figure 8 shows the grounds on which residence permits have been issued to immigrants in 2020, disaggregated by nationality. While the nationals from the European states France, Spain, UK and Italy received residence permits because of mobility agreements between the states (EU common market in the case of France, Spain and Italy; Brexit Agreement in the case of the UK), the situation is more diverse when it comes to the third countries. In the case of African immigration to Portugal, residence permits for study purposes were one of the main reasons: 35.3% in the case of Angola, 45.3% for Cape Verde and 38.2% for Guinea-Bissau. Family reunification was more often the cause for a residence permit in the case of Angola (42.7%), while it ranked in second place after study purposes in the cases of Cape Verde (32.5%) and Guinea-Bissau (31.5%).

Professional activity was the main reason for Indian (77.4%) and Nepalese citizens (57.6%), while in the case of Brazil family reunification (47.0%) ranked first place, followed by professional activity (36.3%) and study purposes (12.8%).

Figure 8: Reasons for obtaining residence permits for the main immigration nations to Portugal 2020



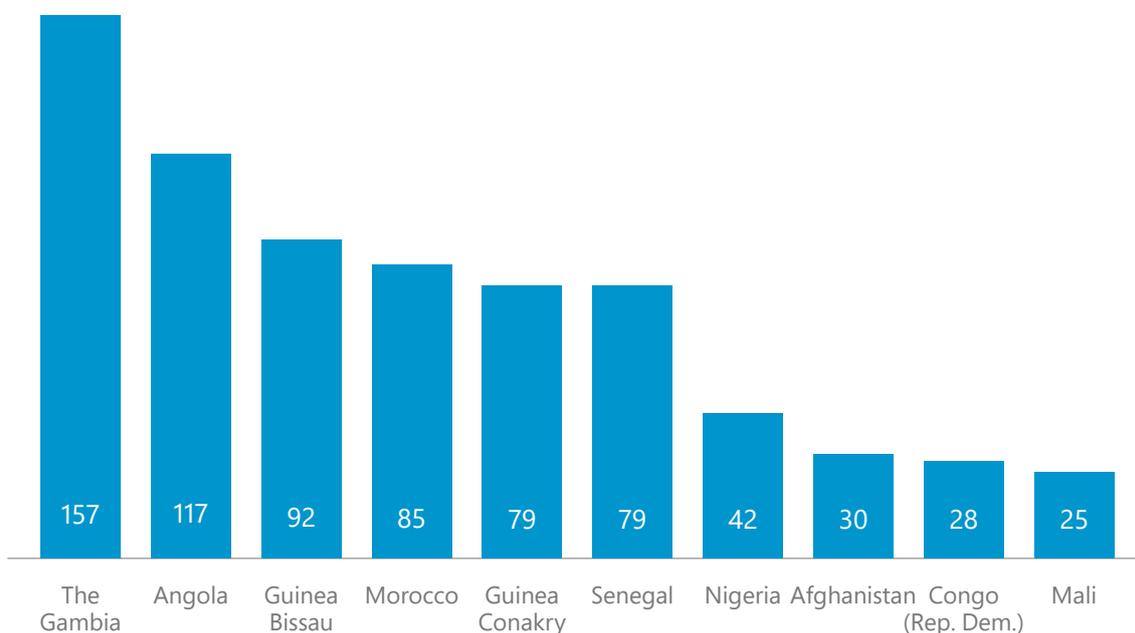


Source: Reis et al. 2021: p.28

Asylum

In 2020, there were 1002 asylum requests in Portugal, with 82.2% being from African citizens, 11.2% from Asian countries and 3.6% from America (Reis et al. 2021). More than half of these applicants were young men between 19 and 39 years old (581), 80,2% of all asylum applicants were male and 90.9% of all applicants were younger than 40 years old. As opposed to previous years, asylum applicants were lower in 2020 (1002 in 2020, compared to 1848 in 2019, 1272 in 2018, and 1750 in 2017). Of the 1002 asylum requests, 77 refugee status and 17 subsidiary protection authorisations have been granted, resulting in a rejection rate of asylum applicants in Portugal of 88.9% in 2020 (Reis et al. 2021; Carreirinho 2021).

Figure 9: Main nationalities of asylum applicants in Portugal in 2020



Source: Reis et al. 2021

According to the Asylum Information Database, there were “1323 spontaneous applicants and beneficiaries of international protection – including relocated persons” in Portugal in December 2020 who received material support from the Portuguese Institute of Social Security (Carreirinho 2021: p.102). More than 600 of them were living in Lisbon. The Portuguese Government issued a communication in June 2021, stating that Portugal accepted 2807 refugees through different international programs “in the last years” (JN 2021). The Migration Observatory states that Portugal hosted 2,136 refugees in 2018, which corresponds only to 0.1% of all refugees in the EU (Migration Observatory 2020).

This situation of hosting only very few refugees in Portugal is currently changing with the influx of Ukrainian refugees after the Russian invasion in February 2022. Interestingly enough, the Portuguese Minister of Justice, Francisca Van Dunem, justified the possible arrival of thousands of Ukrainian refugees with the urgent need of labour in the Portuguese job market:

“We have a large Ukrainian community in Portugal, which is perfectly installed, integrated and stabilized, many of the people who come to Portugal have family members or friends who are already here and who will support them in the first phase [...] We clearly need people. The active population has been reduced a lot, Portugal needs people and, in this perspective, the idea we have is to welcome as many people as possible” (Agencia Lusa 2022).

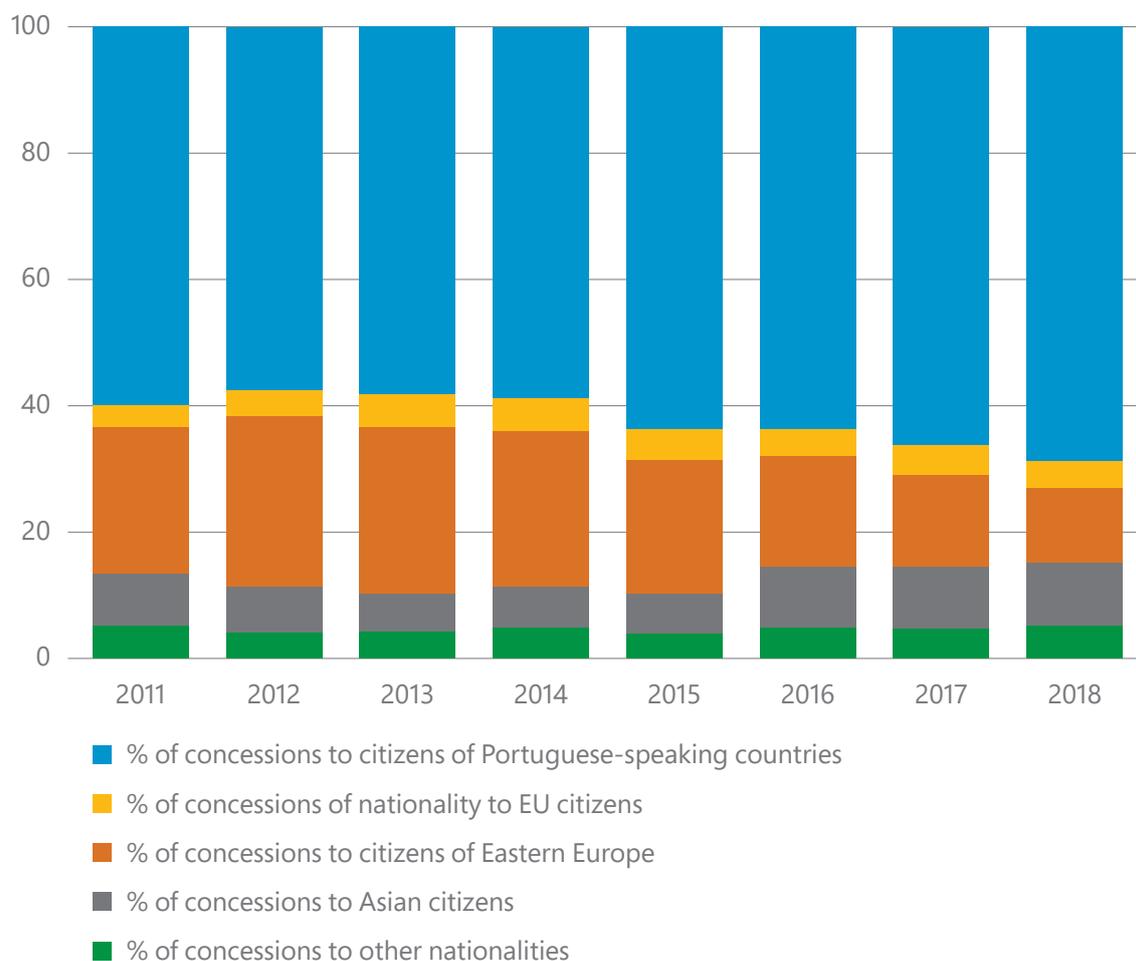
A refugee can work in Portugal as soon as he or she receives a fiscal identification number – the requirement for that is to be granted international protection. In the case of Ukrainian refugees, this will now occur automatically, guaranteeing a direct insertion into the job market. Between 24th February – the beginning of the Russian invasion to Ukraine - and 8th March 2022, SEF received 3,179 requests for international protection from Ukrainians fleeing from the war. SEF has already accepted the majority of these requests (Agencia Lusa 2022). This number exceeds the total number of refugees that Portugal was already hosting (2,136 in 2018). Furthermore, in 12 days, SEF received three times as many asylum requests than in the whole of 2020 (3,179 in February and March 2022 versus 1,002 in 2020). The acceptance rate of these requests for Ukrainian asylum seekers will be close to 100%, while in 2020 88.9% of all asylum requests were rejected.

Naturalisation and Citizenship

Concerning naturalisation, a number of trends are worth highlighting. First, only 4.4% of naturalisations in 2018 were EU citizens. Logically, this is the immigrant group that has the least need to apply for Portuguese citizenship.⁵ Second, and by far the largest immigrant group naturalised in 2018 were immigrants from CPLP countries (especially from Brazil, Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, Timor-Leste and Guinea-Bissau). This is the group that has traditionally a very high motivation to become a Portuguese citizen. A Portuguese passport is a gateway to the rest of the EU, which often is a goal for Brazilians (informant 2). Furthermore, a citizenship is a life-long guarantee to be able to legally stay and work in Portugal (and the EU), which reduces the risk of abuse, irregular employment, deportation, among others.

Third, naturalisation of Eastern Europeans was high at the beginning of the decade (26.9% of all naturalisations in 2012) but has been constantly decreasing since then (only 11.8% in 2018). Immigration of Ukrainians and Moldavians was very high in the 1990s and 2000s. However, it decreased significantly in the last decade. Therefore, there is very little new influx of immigrants from those countries and the large stock that is already in Portugal since one or two decades already has been naturalised. Nevertheless, the number of Ukrainian migrants and asylum seekers is currently increasing drastically (see the section on asylum). Lastly, naturalisation of Asian immigrants grows slowly but steadily (from 6.1% in 2013 to 10.0% in 2018). Asian immigration is often related to temporary work in the agricultural sector and this is also the immigrant group with the highest risk of entering irregular situations like work without contract and registration, living in irregular housing, overstaying their tourist visa and staying in Portugal irregularly, among others (informant 2).

5 Except voting, EU immigrants already have all rights in Portugal that would come with naturalisation.

Figure 10: Percentage of naturalisation by origin, between 2011 and 2018

Source: Reis de Oliveira and Gomes 2019

Irregular Migration and Return

Very few cases of illegal entry to Portugal by boat from Morocco have been reported. However, unreported illegal entries do exist (informant 13), and the numbers might be higher than assumed.

According to non-governmental organisations (NGOs), there were around 30,000 irregular migrants in Portugal in 2019 (Caritas 2019). In the year 2020, SEF carried out 2,960 inspections at workplaces with the objective of identifying workers and immigrants in irregular situations. 1,078 immigrants without the proper documentation, work permits, and contracts were identified. Out of these, the majority was working in the agricultural sector (95 illegal immigrant workers) and 93 in restaurants and cafés (Reis et al. 2021). In 2020, SEF rejected 1,589 individuals trying to enter Portugal. Again, the large majority were Brazilian citizens, 1,172 individuals, which corresponds to 73.75% (JRS 2021).

Table 8: Immigrants in irregular situations, identified during inspections in 2020

Main nationalities	Individuals controlled	In illegal situations	Percentage of individuals in illegal situations
Brazil	2,715	430	15.8%
India	1,309	68	5.2%
Morocco	1,020	123	12.1%
Pakistan	678	29	4.3%
Ukraine	670	44	6.6%
Total	10,834	1,078	10.0%

Source: prepared by the author on the basis of Reis et al. 2021

As to **return**, in 2020, 340 migrants used the possibility of voluntary return, offered by the IOM. The majority of these voluntary returns were Brazilian (97.9%). In 2020, 208 forced deportations were carried out, which is a clear reduction compared to previous years (e.g. 375 deportations in 2016, 316 in 2018). Of these 208 deportations in 2020, the main nationalities of deported citizens were Brazilian (90 individuals); Cape Verdean (16); Moroccan (15); Albanian (15); and Venezuelan (13) (Reis et al. 2021).

As to **groups of foreign residents in Portugal**, Brazil (183,993); UK (46,238); Cape Verde (36,609); Romania (30,052); and Ukraine (28,629) have major diaspora groups in Portugal (Reis et al. 2021; also see the following section). Furthermore, Brazil has with the 'Casa do Brasil' in Lisbon, a registered NGO as diaspora organisation. Ukrainian immigrants also have several diaspora associations in Portugal, for instance the 'Associação dos Ucrânicos em Portugal' (Association of Ukrainians in Portugal). The number of Cape Verdean, Brazilian and Ukrainian descendants (among others) in Portugal are higher than these numbers suggest because many have been naturalised (see Figure 10).

As can be seen in Table 9, Brazilians in Portugal account for almost half of all remittances sent by immigrants in Portugal (45,5%). Other immigrant groups, such as from CPLP countries (Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau), Eastern European countries (Romania, Ukraine) and China each send remittances in the single-digits percentage. In general, the size of the remittances sent is proportional to the number of immigrants in Portugal from a certain country.

Table 9: Remittances sent by immigrants in Portugal (in Million Euros)

Country	Amount	Percentage of Total
Angola	9.12	1.7%
Brazil	235.58	45.5%
Cape Verde	19.11	3.7%
China	51.42	9.9%
Guinea-Bissau	2.87	0.6%
Romania	20.30	3.9%
Ukraine	17.52	3.4%
Total	517.96	100%

Source: PORDATA 2022

2.3 LABOUR (MIGRANT) STOCK INFORMATION

General Labour Stock Information

The labour force participation rate was 59.7% in the third quarter of 2021. The recorded high was 62.50% in the third quarter of 2007 (Trading Economics 2021b). Among the total active population in the country (5.21 million citizens), 2.62 million are men and 2.59 million are women (INE 2022b) and 4.96 million of these are in continental Portugal, 120,300 in Azores and 128,800 in Madeira. As mentioned, the active population is currently around 5.2 million. In 2008, however, the active population was around 5.5 Million. Even though the total population in Portugal grew, the active population decreased at the same time, due to demographic change and an ageing population. The employed population currently is 4.8 million and in 2008 it was 5.1 million (informant 3; PORDATA 2022).

Portugal has the highest percentage of workers over 64 years of age in the EU (11.7%). In May 2021, 11% of young people (15-29 years old) were neither working nor studying compared to an EU27 average of 14% (Agencia Lusa 2021a). Considering the total employed population, Portugal is the ninth country in the EU with the highest proportion of self-employed employers (4.6%) and the eighth with the most self-employed workers who are not employing others (11.8%) (Agencia Lusa 2021a).

Table 9 highlights that out of the total employed population (4.8 million) in Portugal: 820,700 are employed in the industrial sector; 707,200 work in retail trade; 508,300 in the health sector; 305,400 in construction work; 244,400 in tourism, hotels and restaurants; and 130,600 in agriculture. As will be seen in the following sections, many of these sectors that have a large number of workforces are also among the ones who face labour shortages.

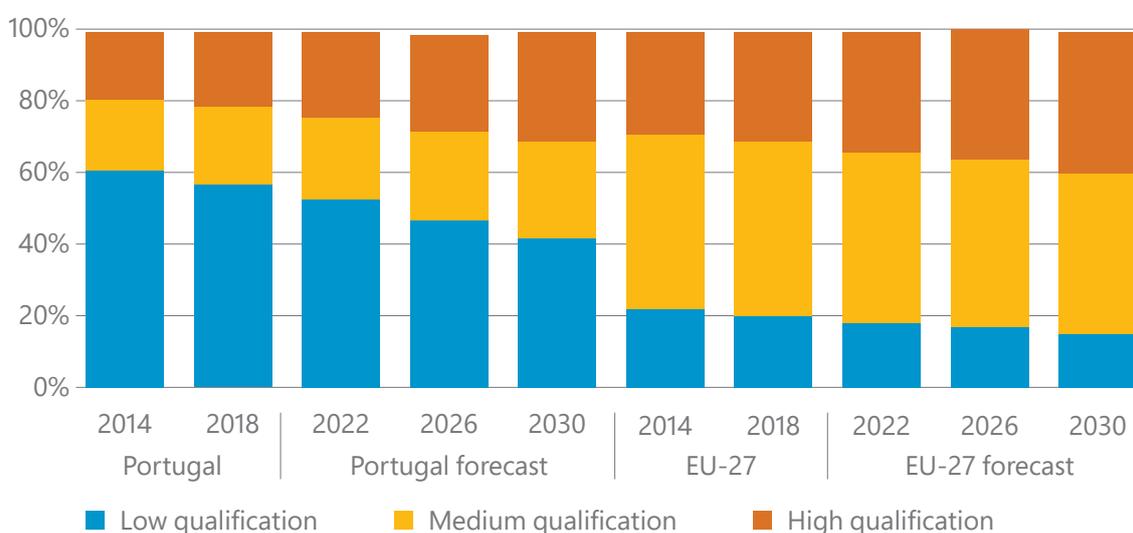
Table 10: Employed Population by Economic Sector in 2021

Economic sector	Employed population (in thousands)
Industry	820,700
Retail trade	707,200
Health sector	508,300
Construction	305,400
Tourism, hotel business and restaurants	244,400
Agriculture	130,600
Total	4,812,300

Source: created by the author on the basis of PORDATA 2022

The labour force share by qualification situation in Portugal differs drastically from the EU27 average (see Figure 11). In 2018, 57% of the labour force in Portugal had low qualification – this share is almost three times higher than the EU average (20%). Among the reasons for this include the low requirements of job opportunities in Portugal. While 21% of the workforce in Portugal in 2018 was highly qualified, this number was 31% in the EU average. The predictions for 2030 see 42% of the workforce in Portugal being of low qualification versus 15% in the EU. This is also linked to brain drain from Portugal. Highly-skilled Portuguese citizens leave the country and find employment in other EU countries. Since the average salary in the IT and tech sector is only slightly above the minimum wage (Informant 13), qualified Portuguese graduates apply to relevant positions abroad. The fact that immigration to Portugal is mainly low-skilled and emigration from Portugal mainly high-skilled explains the qualification patterns in the Portuguese workforce.

Figure 11: Labour force share by qualifications, currently and forecast 2014 – 2030

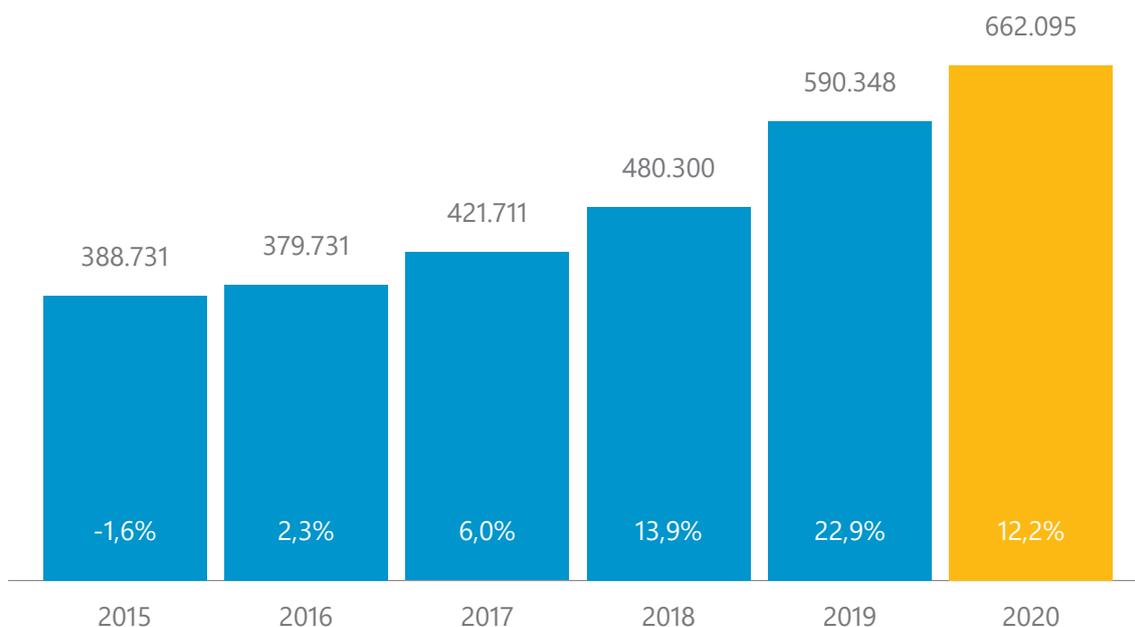


Source: CEDEFOP 2020

Current Labour Migrant Stock

In 2020, there was a total stock of 662,095 foreign residents in Portugal, which constituted an increase of 12.2% from the previous year. Expressed in percentage points, approximately 7% of residents in Portugal are foreigners (informant 12; Reis et al. 2021) and 118,124 new residence permits were issued, 8.5% less than in the previous year (Reis et al. 2021).

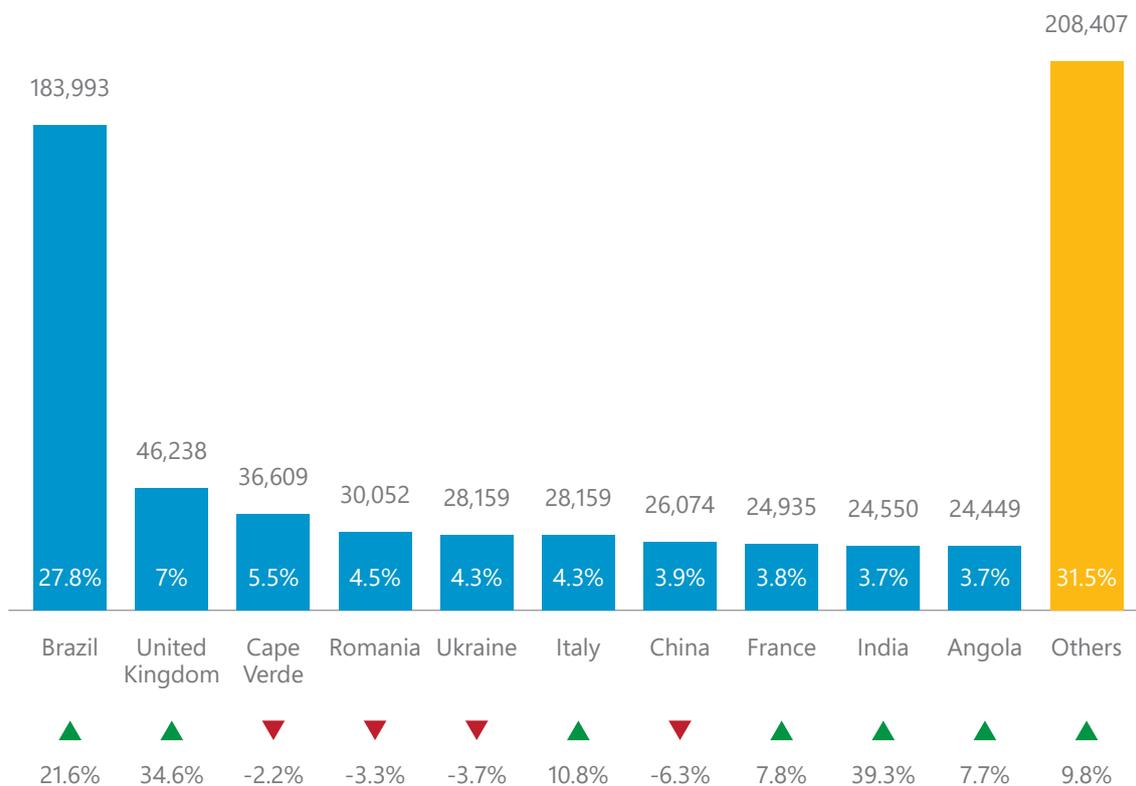
Figure 12: Stock of foreign residents in Portugal



Source: Reis et al. 2021

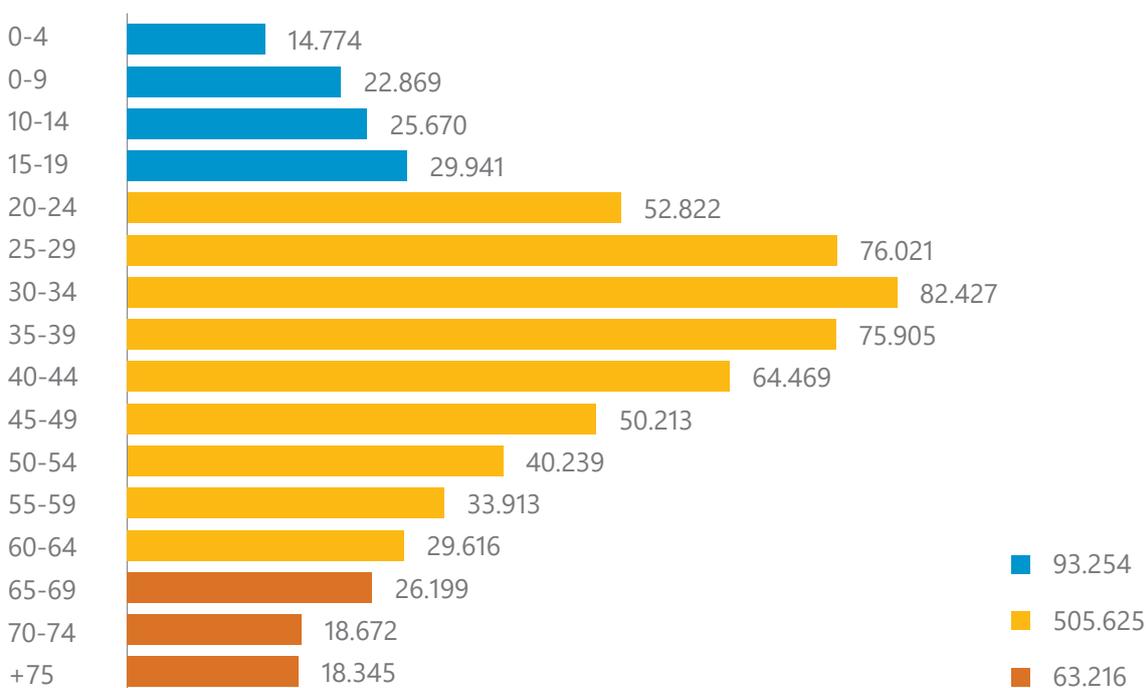
As to the immigrant stock in Portugal, immigrants from Brazil dominate the picture (2.8% of immigrant stock), followed by the UK (7.0%) and Cape Verde (5.5%). The biggest growth of their immigrant stock compared to the previous year is seen in the Indian cases (39.3% increase of Indian immigrants living in Portugal from 2019 – 2020). In general, we can note that more than one out of four immigrants in Portugal are from Brazil and the rest of the immigrant stock in the country is shaped by European immigrants (UK, Italy and France); Portuguese-speaking African immigrants (Cape Verde and Angola); Eastern Europeans (Ukraine and Romania); as well as Asian immigration (China and India). In the category 'others' (31.5% of immigrant stock) Nepal, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Pakistan, Germany and Bangladesh account for the most prominent countries of origin.

Figure 13: Most common origin of foreign residents in Portugal in 2020



Source: translated by the author on the basis of Reis et al. 2021

Figure 14: Foreign residents by age in Portugal in 2020

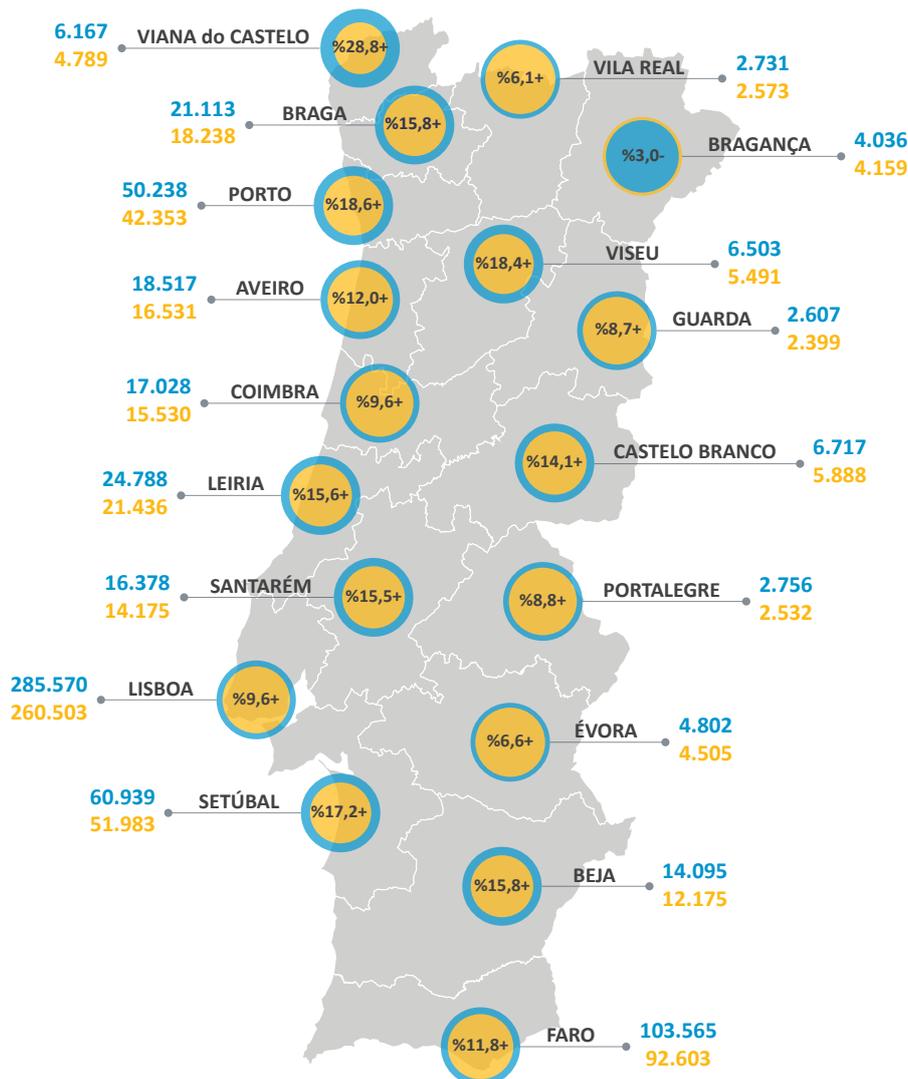


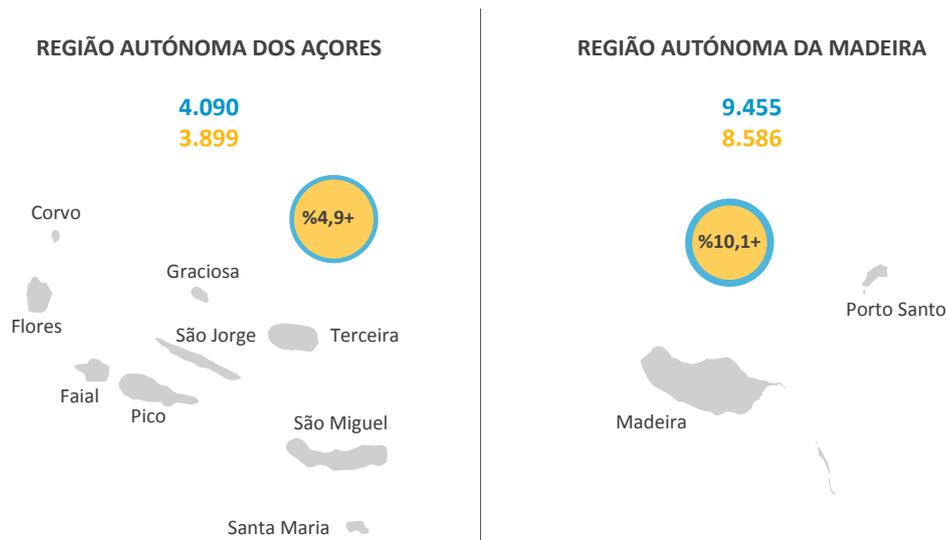
Source: Reis et al. 2021

As illustrated in Figure 14, the majority of the immigrant stock in 2020 is in the age group 30-34 years old (82,427). The age groups indicated in blue (0 to 19 years) are considered too young to work. The green age groups (20 to 64 years) are the active population in working age and the red age groups (65 and above) are in retirement age. Clearly, the immigrant stock is younger with the large majority (505,625 people) in the active employment age and 298,822 people (almost 60% of the green age groups and around 45% of the total immigrant stock) are between 25 and 44 years old.

68% of the immigrant stock is registered in Lisbon, Faro and Setúbal. Thus, the majority is concentrated close to the big cities (in the greater Lisbon area and Porto areas), as well as in the tourism destination Algarve (Faro). The vast majority live on the coastline and only few in the interior of the country in the rather rural, depopulated regions bordering Spain since employment opportunities related to tourism are at the coast and in the big cities. Industry and construction activities are also mainly concentrated close to the larger cities. There are only some job opportunities in the agricultural sector, which explain the presence of at least some thousands of immigrants in the rural interior regions (e.g. 2,607 immigrants in Guarda; 2,756 immigrants in Portalegre).

Figure 15: Immigrant stock by region, compared to previous year





Source: Reis et al. 2021

Labour Information Systems

There have **been annual reports on labour market needs** in all economic sectors until 2007 (informant 5; informant 13). These reports had their legal basis in Regulamenta o DI No. 6/2004, 26th April, Regulamenta o DI No. 244/98, DE 8/8 and had the function of informing quotas and visa issuing processes. With the change in the Portuguese law in 2007 Regulamenta o DI No. 84/2007, 5th November, the system of quotas per economic activity, as well as the annual reports on labour market needs, ceased to exist. Since the abolishment of these systematic reports, there are no comprehensive and frequent forecasts on labour market needs that would inform policymaking.

The National Institute of Employment and Professional Training (**IEFP**) **posts monthly updates on open job offers** that have been communicated to IEFP. This monthly information on open job offers contains numbers disaggregated by region and by economic sector. However, this is a rather momentary picture, which does not allow for forecasts. It is important to flag that IEFP, who has a major role in labour immigration and skills-matching, does not have any current mechanisms in place to frequently and systematically collect numbers and statistics of labour market needs, which would include the profiles of needed workforce in the different economic sectors (informant 15).

An important interaction that informs policymakers about the labour market needs of the different economic sectors is the **intermediary role that the employers' federations** of the respective sectors play. The employers' federations flag the concrete labour shortages, inform about workforce profiles needed, inform about current challenges and needs of the private companies and request policy responses to address these points. The concrete working procedure of this interaction, as well as obstacles and points to improve will be further discussed in Section 3.3.

2.4 EMPLOYMENT AND LABOUR MARKET OUTCOMES

In 2020, 74.2% of the total population between 20 and 64 years in Portugal was employed. This is above the EU average of 72.4% (Eurostat n.d.-b). In 2021, the Portuguese active population amounted to 5,196,800, of which 2,611,400 are men and 2,585,400 are women (INE 2022b). The employed population between 15 and 74 years old in November 2021 was 4,853,500.

According to the Portuguese National Statistics Institute, there were 330,600 unemployed people in Portugal in the third trimester of 2021 (INE 2022b). Slightly more women (174,800) than men (143,900) were unemployed. The unemployment rate in 2022 (5.7%) was close to a Portuguese historical low. Interestingly, the unemployment rate of continental Portugal (6.1%) was lower than the island regions Madeira (7.3%) and Açores (5.9%). The male unemployment rate in 2022 stood at 5.5%, while the female unemployment rate was 5.9% (INE 2022b). The youth unemployment rate of the active population under 25 years old (between 16 and 25 years of age) was 23.4%, almost five times higher than the unemployment rate of the other age groups (5.7%) in 2021. Considering the education level completed, the unemployment rate of people with only compulsory schooling was 6.6%, of people with upper-secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education was 7.9% in 2021, while the same rate was as low as 5.3% in the group of people who completed higher education (PORDATA 2022). The latest available data in the group without any education is from 2019. In that year, the active population without any education had an unemployment rate of 12.8% - almost two times higher than the total unemployment rate of the same year at 6.6% (PORDATA 2022). In 2020, the unemployment rate of foreign residents in Portugal was 12.9%, almost twice as high than the unemployment rate of Portuguese citizens (6.7%) (PORDATA 2022).

Table 11: Unemployment by age group

Age group	Share of total unemployed people in Portugal (2020)	Unemployment rate by age group (2021)
Under 25	12.47%	23.4%
25 - 34	23.29%	
35 - 44	14.70%	5.7% (age group 25 – 54)
45 - 54	22.92%	
55 - 64	24.73%	5.7%
Total	100%	6.6%

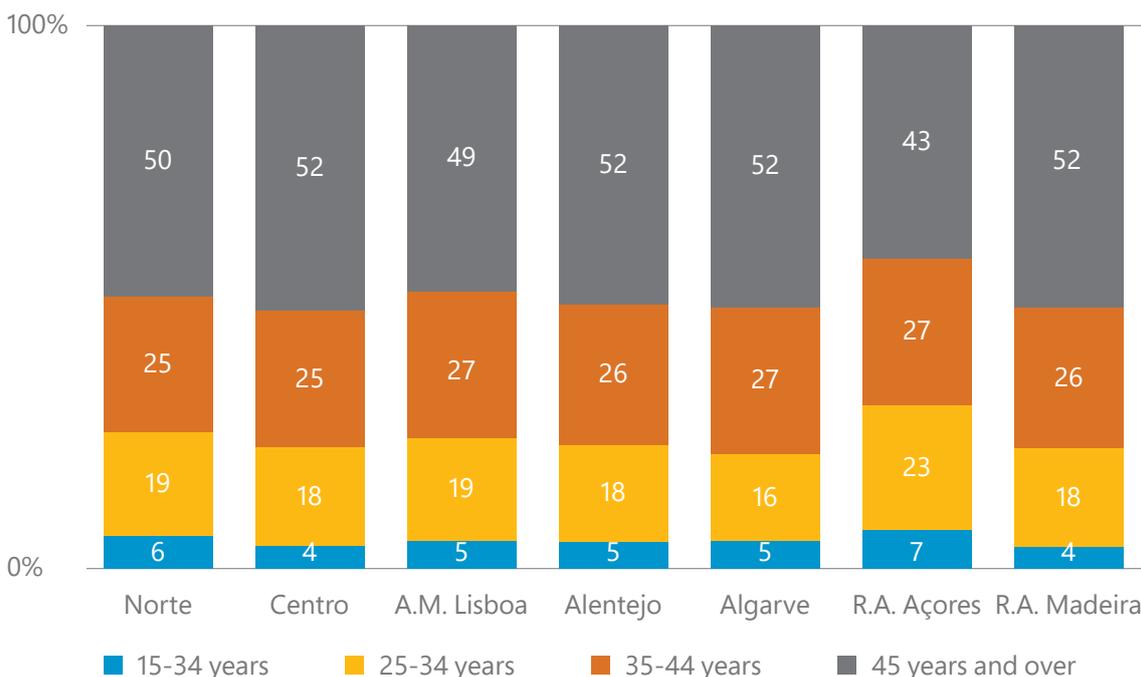
Source: Prepared by the author on the basis of PORDATA 2022 and INE 2022b

The medium monthly income in 2019 was €1,209.94, while men (€1,312.43) earned more than women (€1,086.97) (INE 2022b). The long-term unemployment rate was 3% in 2021 (this refers to the share of unemployed persons since more than a year in the total number of active persons) (Trading

Economics 2021a). A related figure is that of around 50% of unemployed Portuguese in the active population have been looking for a job for more than one year in 2021 (164,900 in total numbers) (PORDATA 2022).

As can be observed in Figure 16, around 50% of the employed population is over 45 years old. The share of the age group 25-34 years old is lower than 20% in all of the regions except Azores (23%).

Figure 16: Distribution of employed population according to region and age group, 2020

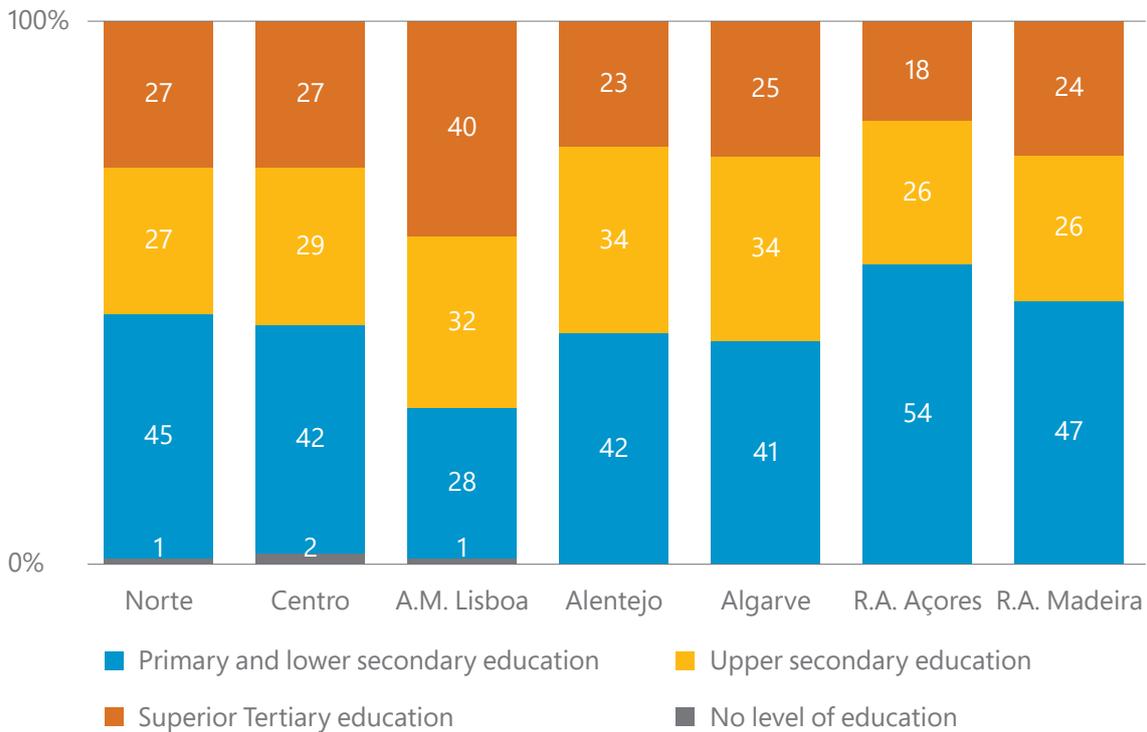


Source: INE 2022a

In Portugal, foreigners have higher activity rates than Portuguese nationals. Regarding the highest activity rates of foreigners among EU countries, Portugal is in fourth position: 75.2% in 2020, 17.6% more than Portuguese nationals in that year (Reis de Oliveira 2021a).

Figure 17 shows that around 25% of the active population in most of the Portuguese regions (and 40% in Lisbon) have the highest level of education: Superior tertiary education. Between 40 – 50% of the active population (except 28% in Lisbon) have only finished primary and lower secondary education. 26% to 34% have upper secondary education. We can therefore observe a clear distinction between the region of the capital Lisbon and the other regions of the country concerning the education levels of the active population.

Figure 17: Distribution of active population according to educational level completed by region, 2020



Source: INE 2022a

2.5 EDUCATION SYSTEMS AND LEVELS

From a structural point of view, the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education (MCTES), the Ministry of Education (ME) and the Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security (MTSSS) cooperate and coordinate, in order to shape the Portuguese schools, universities and other centres of education, research and training. The MCTES designs and regulates the Portuguese education system. The pre-school, basic, upper secondary and out-of-school education, as well as vocational training is the responsibility of the ME. In the case of vocational training and adult education, ME collaborates jointly with MTSSS (with the involvement of its respective public institutions, above all IEFP and ACM) (Eurydice n.d.).

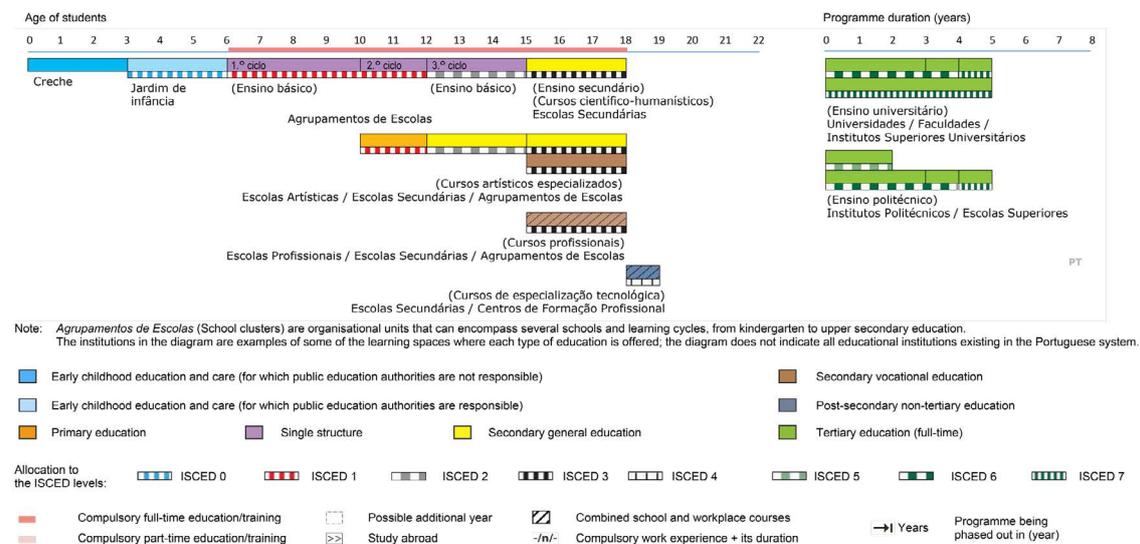
There are different clusters of schools, which are shaped and influenced by the previously mentioned ministries but do enjoy some level of autonomy for curriculum management (according to the Decree Law No. 55/2018, 6th July). The Portuguese education system is trying to promote decentralisation and the role of local municipalities for designing equipment, school building and others. The autonomous regions of the Azores and Madeira, have a greater level of autonomy in education policy (especially when it comes to human, material and financial resources) (Eurydice n.d.).

Importantly, technological specialisation courses are offered as post-secondary non-tertiary training courses. These courses have a duration of one year and are designed in dialogue with the labour markets. Therefore, this part of the education system aims to satisfy the dynamic needs of the Portuguese labour market (IEFP n.d.).

The Portuguese higher education system consists of both universities and polytechnic schools. Higher education in Portugal is therefore binary. While the universities equip students with academic and scientific knowledge, the polytechnic schools deliver vocational and technical trainings (Eurydice n.d.).

The Portuguese university system follows the principles of the Bologna process, ensuring recognition of diplomas and certificates of graduates from other EU universities. The recognition of foreign degrees, including degrees from outside of the Bologna area, is regulated by Decree Law No. 66/2018. The Decree Law establishes a list of degree levels from certain countries around the world, which is recognised automatically. The recognition process is digital. In Portugal, there are nine years of compulsory schooling. Four years of elementary school level, two years of middle school and three years of high school (Eurydice n.d.).

Figure 18: An overview of the Portuguese education system



Source: Eurydice n.d.

Regarding **skills-matching of immigrants**, foreign workers are more likely than their Portuguese counterparts to perform functions in the Portuguese labour market that are below their level of qualification: "in 2019, 12.5% of foreigners with higher education (8.7% more than the accessional workers) were incorporated in the basic occupational groups not using their qualifications in the activities they perform." (Reis de Oliveira 2021a). Therefore, there is room for improvement when it comes to using the qualifications and skills of immigrants. As for now, a lot of talent and skills are wasted because immigrants, more frequently than Portuguese citizens, work in jobs that are below their education and experience. In the main migration pathway - entering Portugal as a tourist (see Section 5.1) – there are no filters or requirements regarding education and skills. The main economic sectors

of labour shortage that require immigrant workforce (the agricultural, construction, restaurant and hotel business sectors) are low-skilled and do not require education levels or degrees (except knowledge of the Portuguese language in customer-related jobs).

Recognition of Foreign Diplomas and Skills

Two government departments are responsible for the recognition of foreign qualifications and skills. The Directorate General for Higher Education (DGES) is responsible for the recognition of academic qualifications, whereas the Directorate General for Employment and Labour Relations (DGERT) oversees the recognition of professional and practical qualifications. Within DGES, there is the Commission for the Recognition of Foreign Degrees and Diplomas, which creates the list of institutions and countries for automatic recognition, as well as processes individual applications of degree recognitions.

In 2018, Portugal reformed its recognition procedures for foreign **academic qualifications**, degrees and certificates. The Decree Law No. 66/2018 introduced a way of automatic recognition of degrees and certificates from universities and institutions (bachelor, master and doctoral degrees) published in a specifically approved list. The automatic recognition can be processed by either Portuguese Public Higher Education Institutions or by the DGES.

The list of degrees and diplomas approved by the Commission for the recognition of foreign degrees and diplomas is limited to European countries: Ukraine, the United States, Russia, Turkey, Brazil, Canada, Moldova and Macao. It does not include any other origin countries of migrants coming to Portugal. Major countries of immigration to Portugal such as Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Nepal, India, China, Timor-Leste and Venezuela are not included in the list. In this context, many labour immigrants to Portugal still have to go through lengthy and bureaucratic recognition processes, and sometimes do not get their skills and diplomas recognised at all, which contributes to the high share of foreign workers who are not using their skills and qualifications in Portugal, as mentioned in the previous section.

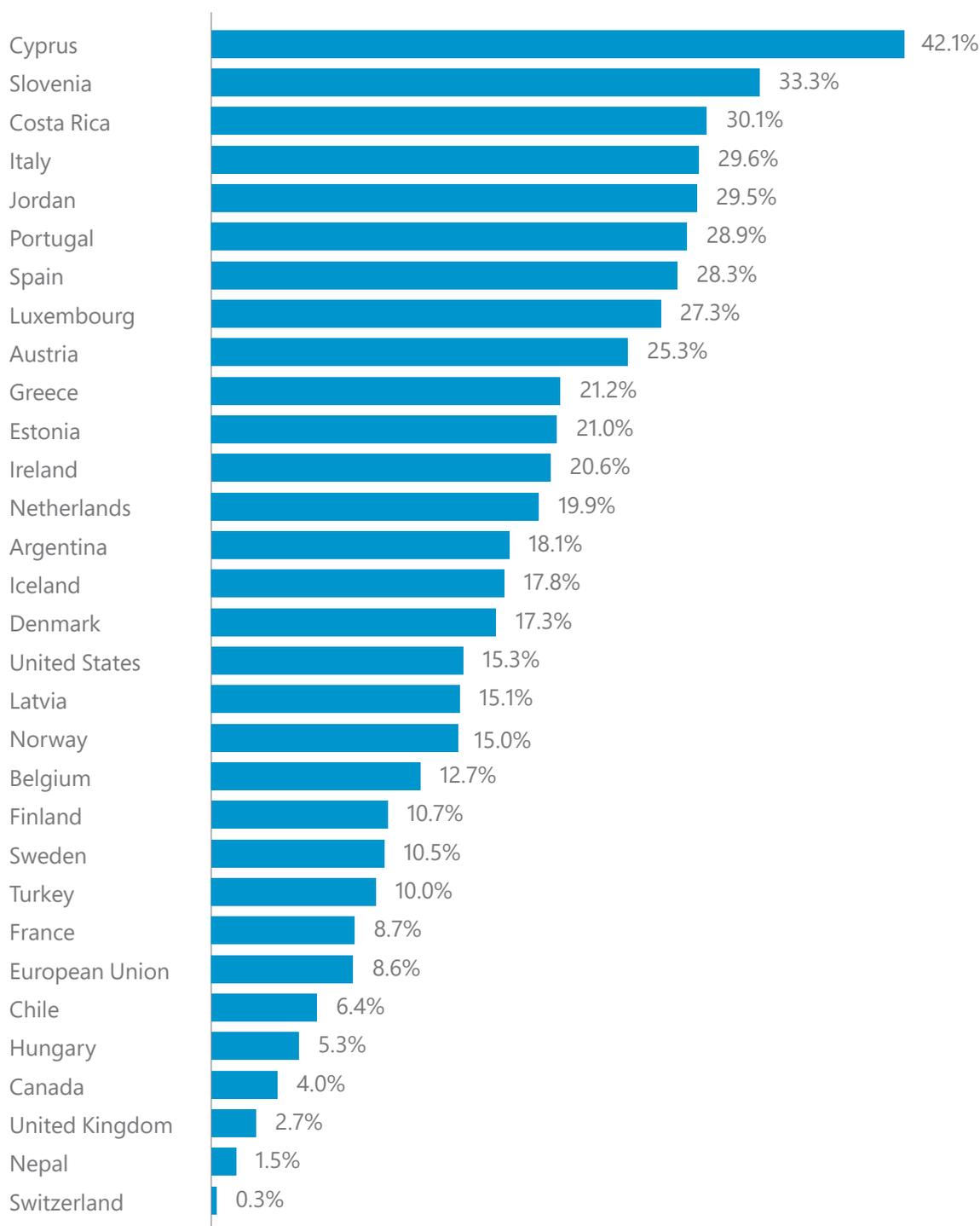
As to **professional recognition of skills and qualifications**, there are mechanisms in place to recognise skills and professional qualifications received in other EU member states. However, there is no comprehensive regulation in place which would give concrete guidelines on how professional qualifications from third countries are recognised in Portugal. Therefore, in most of the cases, labour immigrants from third countries have to apply to DGERT individually and the applications are checked and decided upon on a case-by-case basis.

In some sectors, there are specific bilateral agreements, which facilitate the recognition of professional qualifications. One example is an agreement between Portugal and Venezuela that regulates the recognition of qualifications of Venezuelan citizens with working experience and professional qualifications in the health sector. This agreement was concluded to promote labour migration in the health sector (informant 13).

2.6 MIGRANT PAY GAP

Portugal has one of the highest migrant pay gaps among OECD countries. With a 28.9% migrant pay gap, this number is significantly higher than the EU average (8.6%). In other words, immigrants earn on average 28.9% less than Portuguese citizens in similar positions (see Figure 19 below).

Figure 19: Average migrant pay gaps in selected OECD countries before COVID-19



Source: ILO 2020

3. INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES WITH COMPETENCY ON LEGAL AND LABOUR MIGRATION

3.1 INSTITUTIONAL (STATE) ACTORS

Table 12: Main institutions and their responsibilities in immigration and integration

Institution	Responsibility	Relation with other Institutions
Ministry of Home Affairs (MAI)	Immigration and asylum policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Coordinates immigration and integration policy with PCM, MNE, MJ and MTSSS
Portuguese Immigration and Border Service (SEF)	Admission, control of legal stay, criminal investigation, deportation, visas and residence authorisation, asylum, citizenship, and passport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Is subordinated to the MAI – Cooperates with DGACCP on visa issuing abroad. – Cooperates with ACM on the integration of immigrants into the labour market – Cooperates with IRN on the issuing of nationality and passports within Portugal – Cooperates with ACT on working conditions and inspections – Cooperates with IEFP on the employability and proper work documentation of migrants
Presidency of the Ministerial Council (PCM)	Coordination of sectoral integration policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Coordinates immigration and integration policy with MAI, MNE, MJ and MTSSS
High Commission for Migration (ACM)	Execution of integration policy and integration of immigrants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Is subordinated to the PCM. – The High Commissioner for Migration (currently Sónia Pereira) is head of ACM – ACM has its own Migration Observatory, which is a research centre with the goal of producing knowledge on immigration and integration in Portugal – Cooperates with IEFP on integration (language courses, information campaigns of migrant rights, skills-matching and integration into the job market) – Cooperates with SEF on documentation and registration of immigrants

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MNE)	Relations with third countries	– Coordinates mobility agreements and relations to third countries with PCM, MAI, MJ and MTSSS
Directorate-General for Consulate Affairs and Portuguese Communities (DGACCP)	Issuing visas abroad	– Is subordinated to MNE – Coordinates working visas issued abroad with SEF, MTSSS and IEFP
Ministry of Justice (MJ)	Issuing Portuguese nationality	– Coordinates issuing Portuguese nationality with PCM, MAI, SEF and MTSSS
Institute of Registries and Notaries (IRN)	Nationality and passport issuing	– Is subordinated to the MJ – Cooperates with SEF on the issuing of nationality and passports within Portugal
Ministry of Work, Solidarity and Social Security (MTSSS)	Promotion of Employment, education and decent work conditions	– Coordinates integration and employment of immigrants with MAI, MNE, MJ and PCM
Authority for Work Conditions (ACT)	Working conditions and taxation	– Is subordinated to MTSSS – -Cooperates with SEF on working conditions and inspections
Portuguese Employment Institute (IEFP)	Facilitating the access of immigrants to the labour market. Skills match-making.	– Is subordinated to MTSSS – Cooperates with SEF on the employability of proper work documentation for migrants. – Cooperates with ACM on integration (language courses, information campaigns on migrant rights, skills-matching and integration into the job market) – Forwards job postings and labour needs of the private market to DGACCP to be reflected in issued work visas abroad

Source: Prepared by the author on the basis of Reis et al. 2021 and EC 2020

Section 1.2 outlined the new challenges for integration posed by large numbers of immigrants from Eastern Europe in the 1990s. Consequently, Portugal created a new political portfolio, the High Commissioner for Migration (created in 1996). From 2004 on, the High Commissioner for Migration headed a whole public institution – the High Commission for Migration (ACM), which has the purpose of facilitating the integration of immigrants (informant 10). The second political term of Prime Minister António Costa also came with the creation of yet another position, the Secretary of State for Integration and Migration, created in 2019, currently Claudia Pereira (PS). This position is part of the central governmental department **PCM** (informant 10; informant 11 and informant 12). PCM coordinates immigration and integration with all other ministries involved: MAI, MNE, MJ, ME and

MTSSS. ACM – arguably the most important agency in the context of immigration and integration – is subordinated to PCM.

The **ACM** acts as an important contact point for immigrants throughout the whole country. In National Support Centres for the Integration of Immigrants (CNAIMs), immigrants – both documented and undocumented – can obtain information about ways of obtaining residence and work permits, skills-matching programmes and access to the labour market, access to housing, access to social security, language courses, access to the education system, recognition of degrees and certificates, among others. There are four national CNAIMs: in Lisbon, Algarve (Faro), the North (Porto) and in the Centre (Beja). Moreover, there are 140 local support centres for the integration of immigrants throughout the whole country.

Additionally, the responsibilities and tasks of ACM include employment projects for migrants, such as organising job fairs for immigrants, matching refugees with job offers in the project 'Novos Percursos', establishing a judicial cabinet to support immigrants legally, and coordinating and organising the 'Network GIP Immigrant'. The Network GIP Immigrant brings together professionals from ACM, IEFP, regional and municipal authorities, as well as relevant non-state actors and representatives from the private market. There are 23 of these networks who meet frequently in order to include immigrants in the regional and municipal job markets. According to interview partners (informant 12), more than 400 job placements have been made through the Network GIP Immigrant.

The **Ministry of Foreign Affairs** (MNE) negotiates mobility agreements with third countries, such as the ones recently concluded with Morocco, India and CPLP (see chapter 5.5). Therefore, the Foreign Ministry plays an important role in shaping the number of immigrants coming to Portugal. By issuing residence visas in the embassies and consulates abroad, the ministry contributes to regular migration. The migrants who come to Portugal as tourists and who do not obtain the residence visa from the Ministry Of Foreign Affairs (through the embassies abroad) before coming, are occasionally exploited, might earn below the minimum wage and do not have access to social security, healthcare, housing market, etc. Therefore, this ministry has also an important role in guaranteeing the rights of migrants. ACM and IEFP also participate in the negotiation of mobility agreements, trying to bring the integration and employment perspectives to the negotiation table.

DGACCP is the network of Portuguese Embassies and Consulates abroad. Formally, DGACCP is part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Several interview partners mentioned that there is a tension between the Ministry of Interior (including SEF) and DGACCP. While DGACCP is responsible for issuing visas and residence permits to labour migrants who want to come to Portugal, SEF is in charge of giving this documentation to migrants who enter Portugal as tourists. Many researchers and activists try to push for DGACCP issuing the necessary work permits for the majority of labour migrants coming to Portugal, instead of SEF doing the job when these migrants are already in Portugal. This is because if the labour migrants already come with the adequate paperwork, situations of irregularity could be avoided. Consequently, smuggling networks would be combatted, abuse by employers could be prevented and the access of the immigrants to social security and to the housing market and language courses could be ensured. Interview partners (informant 2; informant 3 and informant 4) claim that DGACCP does not have the intention of taking up this big amount of extra work and become dominantly involved in the documentation process of labour migrants. A lack of human

capital at Portuguese Embassies and Consulates, as well as lengthy, bureaucratic visa application processes result in DGACCP not being efficiently involved in visa issuing for labour migrants. The Portuguese Embassy in New Delhi was mentioned as an example of long, inflexible and unpredictable visa application processes (informant 7). As a result, the majority of labour migrants from Nepal, India and Bangladesh to Portugal arrive as tourists. Furthermore, there is an informal migration network that aims to facilitate the migration from this region of the world to Portugal.

MAI, as well as the efficient and regular arrival, registration, and integration of immigrants, also has security as its priority. **SEF**, which is a subordinated agency to MAI, holds these responsibilities - being the Portuguese border police. The closure of SEF will result in important changes in the immigration and integration processes. SEF is currently in charge of many important responsibilities, all of them related to two dimensions: 1) police work, inspections, deportations and border control, and 2) documentation and regularisation of individuals. Interview partners have the hope that the residence permit application process will be simpler, faster and more humane when this responsibility will be transferred from the border police to another authority (informant 11). The efficiency will, however, only be increased if the other institution has the necessary financial and human resources, which is questionable (informant 5). Even though the dissolution of SEF is decided, there is no timeline and no decided plan for the redistribution of SEF's responsibilities to other institutions.

IEFP and **ACT** are subordinated agencies to **MTSSS**. IEFP, MTSSS and ACT work together with the objective of including the immigrants into the labour market. ACT is responsible for guaranteeing fair and dignified working conditions for migrants, as well as for their correct taxation. IEFP is the centre in charge of skills-matching, while the MTSSS is setting the policy-framework that would promote an easy hiring process without obstacles. IEFP is one of the key actors relevant for the scope of this research and has two dimensions of responsibilities in this context: 1) the integration of immigrants who are already in Portugal into the job market, 2) to support the employers to hire workforce from abroad.

According to Portuguese law, for every job offer Portuguese and EU citizens have the first priority to take the job. If after one month, the job has not been taken, it can then be offered to a citizen from a third country. Many times, due to labour shortages in Portugal, the jobs are not taken by Portuguese or EU citizens. **IEFP** declares that a job offer in Portugal was not taken by a Portuguese or EU citizen and therefore is open for a citizen from a third country. However, IEFP does not actively go and contact authorities in third countries. There is no active workforce search of IEFP in third countries. Often the company has hiring companies who do this job for them (informant 15). Under the network EURES, IEFP coordinated with the national employment centres of other EURES member states, in order to hire abroad, communicate job offers and labour market needs and this will be explored in subsequent sections. IEFP will also have the task of collaborating with the national employment centres of Morocco and India under the corresponding mobility agreements, recently signed.

Lastly, **municipalities** can be listed as decentralised state actors. In the 'Network GIP Immigrant', in the case of the local immigrant support centres CLAIM or in 'Rede Valoriza' (Network Raise the Value), ACM, IEFP, and PCM aim to build on the local knowledge of municipalities. These three mentioned initiatives intensify the exchange between different state actors – from municipal to national level – in order to bring local challenges to the policy agenda, as well as to improve skills-matching between local job offers and the available immigrant workforce.

3.2 NON-STATE ACTORS

Table 13: Important non-state actors in the context of labour migration to Portugal

Actor	Description
Manpower	Recruitment Firm
Randstad	Recruitment Firm
Time Pro	Recruitment Firm
Growmart	Recruitment Firm
Onda de Soluções	Recruitment Firm
CAP	Employers' federation of the agricultural sector
CTP	Employers' federation of the tourism sector
CCP	Employers' federation of the commerce and services sector
CPCI	Employers' federation of the construction sector
CIP	Employers' federation of the industry sector
APICCAPS	Employers' federation of the shoe and leatherware sector
UGT	General Workers' Union
CGTP	General Confederation of the Portuguese Workers
JRS	Refugee Support Platform
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ICMPD	International Centre for Migration Policy Development
A Casa do Brasil	Brazilian Diaspora Organization in Lisbon

Source: Prepared by the author

The Portuguese **worker's unions** – with UGT and CGTP being the largest ones – have the priorities of pushing for the basic rights of immigrant workers. In this context, UGT and CGTP frequently flag irregular situations in which immigrants are smuggled and/or not registered and documented properly. These situations result in immigrants having no access to the health system, social security and the legal housing market. UGT and CGTP were in favour of the Article 88 and 89 of the Aliens Law 2007, as they foresaw that it would increase regularisation of immigrants in Portugal and their subsequent guaranteed access to social services and basic rights (Kolarova and Peixoto 2009).

Employer's federations have the important function of collecting challenges, needs and requests from private companies of the respective economic sector and communicate these to the relevant government institutions and ministries. The priority of employers' federations is therefore to make the (workforce) need of the private companies heard among policymakers and to ideally provoke a policy response, which would address the challenge (see the interactions of employers' federations with companies and government structures in Section 3.3).

Global **recruitment firms**, such as Manpower, Randstad or Time Pro, have offices worldwide, which enables them to draw on their networks in the third country from where Portuguese companies would like to hire (informant 1). Companies from the agricultural and restaurant and hotel business sectors organise large recruitment campaigns abroad to cover their labour need for the high season (informant 7 and informant 14). For these and for other recruitment processes, recruitment firms can be an important actor to address labour shortages.

IOM and ICMPD are two important international non-state actors which collaborate with the Portuguese Government on several labour immigration projects, with the objective of satisfying the workforce need in the Portuguese labour market. In this context, IOM Portugal is realising joint programmes with SEF on labour migration for the agricultural and tourism sector (informant 8).⁶ Furthermore, ACM requested IOM Portugal to carry out evaluations and assessments of the CNAIMs and their function for integration of immigrants, as well as of the GIP Immigrant networks. Lastly, IOM Portugal collaborates with IEF, among others, to set up a pilot circular migration scheme between Ukraine and Portugal. Through the Youth, Employment and Migration Programme of IOM and ILO in Tunisia, IOM Portugal helps private companies in the Portuguese agricultural sector to hire Tunisians for seasonal work (informant 8).

As will be further outlined in Section 5.6, ICMPD is involved in bilateral mobility initiatives, for example, through the ICMPD Migration Partnership Facility III which finances and implements the Coop-4Int – Strengthening Migrant Integration through cooperation between Portugal and Cape Verde. The project aims to further enhance migration cooperation between the two countries, including through sharing of best practices in relation to the governance of legal migration and integration of foreigners (Portuguese Government 2021a).

3.3 INTERACTION BETWEEN ACTORS

The interaction between the actors is a point that needs to be improved, as mentioned by several interview partners (informant 7; informant 10; informant 13 and informant 14). Especially, the dialogue between employers' federations, representatives of the labour market and governmental institutions and ministries is not frequent and systematic enough, resulting in an insufficient awareness of the relevant actors responsible for migration policy and labour migration pathways.

⁶ The project, which is led by IOM and co-financed by IEF and SEF, takes place in southern Portugal (Alentejo and Algarve regions). These regions are a destination for many seasonal labour immigrants working in the agricultural sector. The project aims to build capacities of governmental structures, sensitise employers to recruit ethically and to raise the awareness of challenges and barriers to successful integration of immigrants.

IEFP, who has a major role in labour immigration and skills-matching, does not have any mechanism to frequently and systematically collect numbers and statistics of labour market needs and forecasts in the different economic sectors (informant 15). It is also debatable whether this should be the responsibility of IEFP or whether INE could collect this information and there would be a frequent dialogue between IEFP and INE. As can be seen in the mobility agreements signed with Morocco and India, as well as in the case of the network EURES, IEFP increasingly is a key player who tries to recruit abroad by communicating the labour market needs and job offers of the Portuguese private companies to the national employment centres of the partner countries. However, due to the lack of exchange and dialogue, as well as to the fact that IEFP is under-staffed (informant 15), this role is not as efficient as it could be.

Furthermore, relevant ministries (MNE, MAI, as well as the Ministry of Agriculture for the agricultural sector, Secretary of State for Tourism within the Ministry for Economy and Digital Transition for the tourism sector et cetera, do not stand in a sufficient exchange with the representatives and employers' federations of the economic sectors (informant 7; informant 10; informant 13 and informant 14). Some interviewees highlighted that the influence of employers' federations on the policy agenda of ministries is not strong. Ministries are not always following up with policy changes on concerns concerning labour market needs and requests remain unanswered (informant 7; informant 13 and informant 14).

The employer's federations themselves do have frequent meetings with representatives of the private companies of the sector. In the case of the tourism sector for instance, CTP has meetings with the associations and representatives of the tourism sector every two months, and after these meetings CTP carries the requests, needs and problems to the Government.

Another important example of the influence and working methods of employers' federations is the following quote from an interview conducted with an employer in the agricultural sector:

“CAP interacts with the government, conveying our concerns as employers. It has direct access to the relevant Secretaries of State and Ministries involved in the process of issuing temporary visas for seasonal work. So, CAP pressures them to facilitate the issuing of these visas, and CAP tries to find ways with the government to speed up processes, so that the labour arrives on time to the producers. Being seasonal work, this process of issuing visas must be fast. And in most cases, it isn't quick. It takes a lot of contact and pressure from CAP to get visas issued, which should be a simple process when there are employers wanting to hire, and workers wanting to come to Portugal” (informant 7).

Another example of the interaction between actors in the immigration and integration process is the 'Rede Valoriza' (Network Raise the Value), which was adopted by the Portuguese Council of Ministers in July 2021. This is a pilot-project that aims to create a network of municipalities that develop policies for the reception and integration of immigrant people (informant 12). In this network, municipalities with a certain share of immigrants (7% or more of their local population) are incentivised to have a CLAIM, offer Portuguese language courses, and outline plans to guarantee access to housing, to the job market and to information on their rights to immigrants (informant 12).

4. KEY SECTORS AND REGIONS IN DEMAND OF LABOUR, KEY ECONOMIC PARTNERS ABROAD

4.1 ECONOMIC SITUATION AND FORECAST

The Portuguese economy shows signs of recuperation. After being hit hard in 2020 by the COVID pandemic and subsequent lockdowns, GDP was €211,278 million in 2021 (countryeconomy.com n.d.) In this context, the Portuguese GDP per capita contracted by 8.5% in 2020, as compared to the previous year. The unemployment rate is at 6.3% in November 2021 (Banco de Portugal 2021). In 2021, inflation was 1.2% and the debt-to-GDP ratio 130.8%. According to the OECD economic survey for Portugal from December 2021, the Portuguese GDP was projected to grow by 4.8% in 2021, 5.8% in 2022 and 2.8% in 2023. With these growth rates, it should reach its pre-pandemic level by mid-2022 (OECD 2021). The first assessments after Russia's invasion of Ukraine assume that the war will reduce the Portuguese economic growth in the current year. However, Portugal is still expected to reach and surpass GDP-levels of 2019 in 2022 (Varzim 2022).

As can be observed in Table 14, the majority of job offers in December 2021 were in Lisbon and the Central region (together 66.6% of all job offers in Portugal). Therefore, there is a clear concentration of jobs in the urban centres Lisbon and Porto.

Table 14: Job offers per region in December 2021

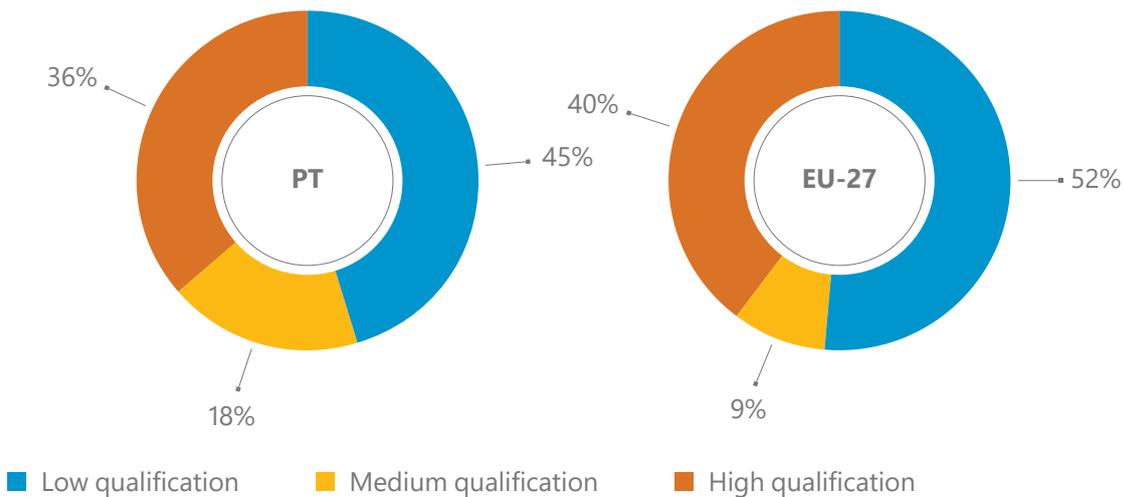
	December 2021	%
Portugal	15941	100
Continental	15336	96.2
Norte	2604	16.3
Centro	4325	27.1
Lisboa V. Tejo	6291	39.5
Alentejo	1401	8.8
Algarve	715	4.5

Autonomous regions	605	3.8
Azores	48	0.3
Madeira	557	3.5

Source: IEFP 2022a

Even though the majority of job openings until 2030 in Portugal will require highly qualified workforce (45% of job openings), the job openings associated with low-skilled labour demand is twice as high as the EU average (18% of job openings in Portugal versus 9% EU average) (see Figure 20). As outlined before, labour immigration will be mainly addressing the low qualification job openings, as Portuguese citizens are less willing to work in those jobs in the agricultural, tourism, hospitality and construction sector (informant 1). In general, the projected employment growth in Portugal will be well over the EU average: 4.5% employment growth in the years 2022-2026 versus 1.5% employment growth in the same year in EU27 average (CEDEFOP 2020). As to employment growth per sector, in the time period between 2022 and 2030, business and other services (1.9%), construction (1.4%) and manufacturing (0.6%) will account for the largest employment growth numbers (CEDEFOP 2020).

Figure 20: Shares of total job opening by level of qualification, 2018-2030



Source: CEDEFOP 2020

4.2 KEY PRODUCTIVE SECTORS AND SECTORS FOR GROWTH

The key productive sectors for the Portuguese economy are agriculture, tourism, restaurant and hotel business, civil construction, industry (textile, shoes, furniture, automobile) and to some extent, IT and programming (tech-sector).

In recent years, the demographic challenge that Portugal faces has extended the need for labour migrants to the industry and IT sector. Traditionally, the agricultural, hotel business and civil construction sectors have always been sectors that attracted and depended on immigrants (informant 1). In the past decades, education and wealth developed considerably in Portugal. As a consequence, Portuguese citizens are not willing to do physically demanding and low-paid jobs in agricultural harvesting, in some hotels and restaurants, as well as in civil construction (informant 2).

Table 15: Economic sectors in Portugal, 2020

Sector	Share of GDP	Share of total Workforce Employed	Main Products	Labour Shortage
Agriculture	2.1%	5.5%	Cereals, fruits, vegetables and wine	In low-skilled harvesting tasks throughout all regions of the country, especially in the Southern Algarve region for berry harvest.
Industry	24.7%	19.4%	Metallurgy, machinery, electrical and electronics industries, mechanical engineering, textiles and construction	In the textile, shoe and furniture industry in Northern Portugal. In construction work throughout the whole country. In the automobile industry in the peripheries of Lisbon.
Services	65.7%	69.8%	Including tourism sector, which accounts for 15% of GDP	In the tourism summer months, especially in Lisbon, Porto and in the Algarve region.

Source: Created by the author, on the basis of conducted interviews and *Crédit Agricole Group n.d.*

The tourism and hospitality sector have been hit disproportionately hard by the COVID-19 pandemic. While the construction and manufacturing sectors remained relatively stable during 2020, travel and tourism exports decreased by 58% in 2020 (OECD 2021a). This is because the Portuguese tourism sector depends on international travel and 70% of in-country tourism spending in Portugal stems from foreign tourists (compared to 25% of OECD average for this value) (OECD 2021a). In contrast, the construction sector grew during the pandemic in 2020 (2.5% compared to 2019) (Idealista News 2021). Exports of goods and services contracted by 20.5% in 2020 (OECD 2021a).

4.3 KEY LABOUR SHORTAGE SECTORS

Between now and 2050, Portugal will need 2 million immigrants to respond to the labour shortage caused by the ageing population (informant 2). There are 15,000 workers needed currently in **the hotel business** (Agencia Lusa 2021b). The **construction sector** is in need of 70,000 people (Donn 2021a) and 89% of employers in the Portuguese construction sector report labour shortages (informant 1). According to a report by the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) and Oxford School of Economics, every sixth job in the Portuguese **tourism sector** will be unfilled because of labour shortages in 2022 (Schengen Visa Info News 2022a). In this context, Portugal currently lacks 50.000 workers in the seasonal tourism, restaurant and hotel business sectors (WTTC, 2022).

Around 80% of employers in the **restaurant sector** declare difficulties to fulfil their labour needs (Lenzi 2021). The Portuguese employers' confederation for the **shoe and leather industry** highlights the need of 500,000 new workers for these sectors in European countries in the current decade – with Portugal being one of the European countries with the highest labour shortage in this industry (Agencia Lusa 2021c). Most of the jobs in the agricultural, tourism, restaurant and hotel business sectors are temporary and limited to the tourist season or harvest. The industry and construction sectors require long-term employment. Their increasing workforce need is intensified by the economic recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic. The following table shows the open job offers in the relevant sectors of labour shortage in January 2022. IEPF publishes this information monthly.

Table 16: Open job offers per economic sectors in January 2022

Sector	Open Job Offers (Total Numbers)
Agriculture	462
Industry	2.221
Construction	2.638
Restaurant and Hotel Business	2.406
Total of all Job Offers	15.629

Source: IEPF 2022b

To some extent, labour immigration from different origins addresses labour shortages in Portugal as shown in Table 17. The same table also shows the total number of migrants working in the sectors of labour shortages. When comparing the Portuguese workforce with the immigrant workforce in these sectors, it becomes obvious that the agricultural sector (14,225 immigrant workers versus 51,881 native Portuguese workers), the construction sector (20,822 immigrant workers versus 199,162 Portuguese workers) and the restaurant and hotel business sector (44,744 immigrant workers versus 206,606 Portuguese workers) are the sectors that heavily rely on immigrant workers (Reis de Oliveira 2021a). Other sectors with labour shortages, such as the industry sector, do not have such a relevant immigrant worker share (20,669 immigrant workers versus 613,125 Portuguese workers) (Reis de Oliveira 2021a).

Table 17: Origin of labour migrants in sectors that lack labour force in Portugal

Sector	Origin of labour immigrant	Migrant profile and education	Explanation	Total number of migrants working in these sectors (2019)
Restaurant, hotel business and cleaning services	Ukraine (although decreasing), Africa (Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola), Brazil (for restaurant and hotel business)	Often female immigrants in cleaning services and male immigrants working in restaurants. Low-skilled, in the case of the African immigrants, there is the knowledge of Portuguese language In many cases, students who work in tourism as a side-job. Knowledge of the Portuguese language	Due to the established migration networks of Ukrainians and Portuguese-speaking African countries, immigrants manage to secure promises of a job contract through contact. This facilitates entry to the country. Large Portuguese tourism companies go to Brazil to hire employees. Furthermore, Brazilians can enter Portugal as tourists without needing a visa. Many CPLP citizens study in Portugal and do jobs in the tourism sector as a side-job or during vacations.	44,744 (21.2% of all immigrants)
Civil construction	Africa (Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola)	Chain migration and knowledge of the Portuguese language.	African immigrants have a better knowledge of the Portuguese job market and a long-lasting network in place. This way, they can secure jobs in the construction sector, which are better paid and have better working conditions than in the agricultural sector.	20,822 (9.9% of all immigrants)
Agriculture	Asia (Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Vietnam, Philippines)	Low-skilled	There are illegal migration networks in place and part-time work companies who facilitate immigration from Asian countries to work in the agricultural sector.	14,225 (6.8% of all immigrants)

Industry	Eastern Europe	Semi-skilled	Eastern Europeans from Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, Bulgaria and Russia were the first big immigration wave to Portugal in the 1990s and 2000s) after immigration from former Portuguese colonies (in 1970s and 1980s). This is also the first immigration wave where immigrants do not stay in the periphery of Lisbon but spread to the whole country.	20,669 (9.8% of all immigrants)
Tech-Sector	Italy, France, UK and Scandinavian countries	Young, educated EU (or UK) citizens with skills and education in IT, programming and similar	These individuals want to come to Portugal for a limited period of time to have a different life experience. The good climate, abundant sun hours, as well as cultural and culinary offers in Lisbon are the main pull-factors.	Only partial data available. E.g. communication and information sector: 5,752 (2.7% of all immigrants)

Source: prepared by the author on the basis of the interviews conducted and Reis de Oliveira 2021a

4.4 KEY TARGET COUNTRIES FOR EXPORT AND INVESTMENT

Exports

Regarding Portuguese exports, Spain (26%), France (14%), Germany (12%) and the UK (5.8%) are the main trade partners. As to third countries, the US (5.0%), Angola (1.6%), Brazil (1.35%) and Morocco (1.3%) have to be highlighted as main destination countries for Portuguese exports outside Europe (PORDATA, 2022).

Figure 21: Importance of Selected Third Countries for Portuguese exports in 2020

Destination Country	Percentage of Total Exports
Angola	1,6%
Brazil	1,35%
Cape Verde	0,72%
China	1,16%

Morocco	1,3%
Mozambique	0,38%
Tunisia	0,16%

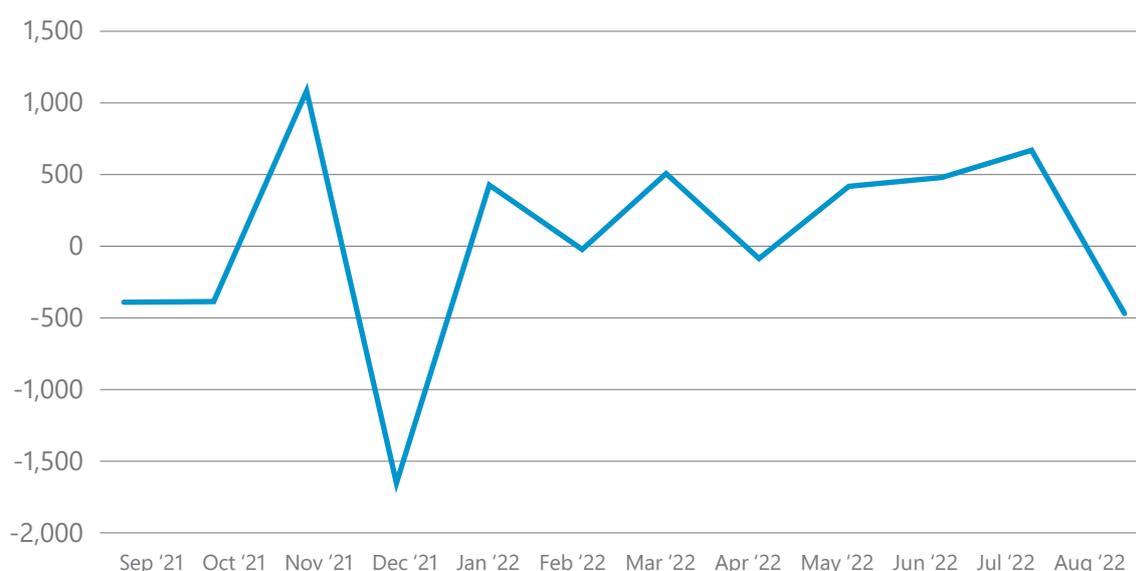
Source: Observatory of Economic Complexity, 2022

Foreign Investment

As for foreign direct investment (FDI), Portugal managed to attract increasing investments in the year 2021, even though hit by the pandemic, receiving a record amount of FDI. Most of this FDI comes from other EU countries, mainly the Netherlands, Luxemburg, France, Germany, as well as the UK and the US. In 2019, the country “reached more than €1.1 billion of investment, which translated into the creation of more than 7,200 jobs” (Leiva 2021). In 2019, 68% of FDI came from European countries. With 26 FDI projects in Portugal, the US is the largest non-European investor in Portugal (Leiva 2021).

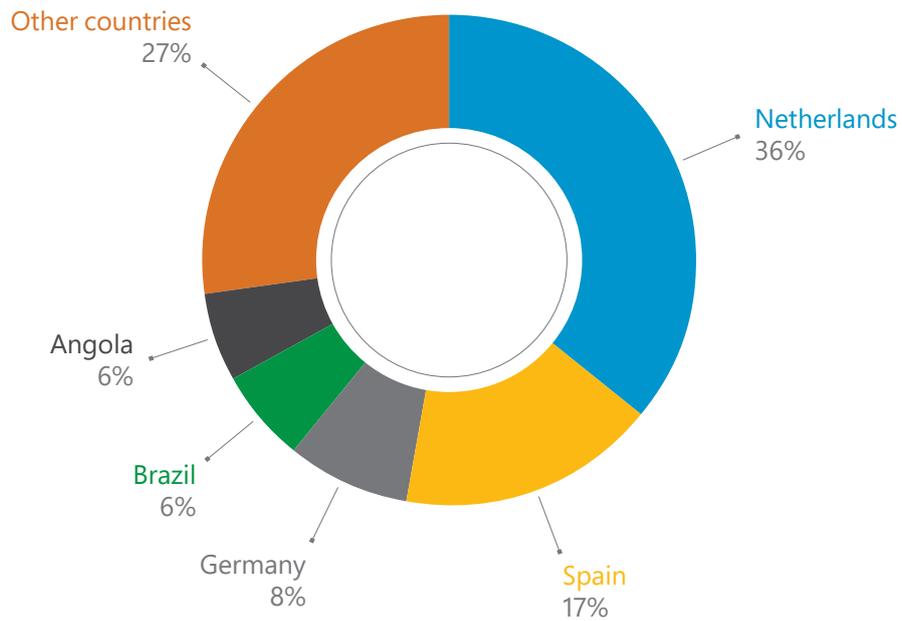
Regarding Portuguese direct investment abroad, other EU member states are the main recipient countries. The amount of Portuguese outward FDI went up and down, maintaining similar levels since 2015 (see Figure 22). Main recipients are traditionally the Netherlands (36%), Spain (17%), Germany (8%), Brazil (6%) and Angola (6%) (Banco de Portugal 2015). Portuguese inward FDIs are more than double the size of outward FDIs (see Figure 23). The inward FDI stocks are constantly at least twice as large as the Portuguese outward FDI stocks. From 2015 to 2021, inward FDIs stocks remained around 30% in relation to the Portuguese GDP, while outward FDI stocks rose from 60% to 70% in the same time period (see figure 24). Outward FDI stocks to the Talent Partnership priority pilot countries does not play a significant role in Portuguese overall foreign direct investment abroad.

Figure 22: Portugal direct investment abroad 1996 - 2022



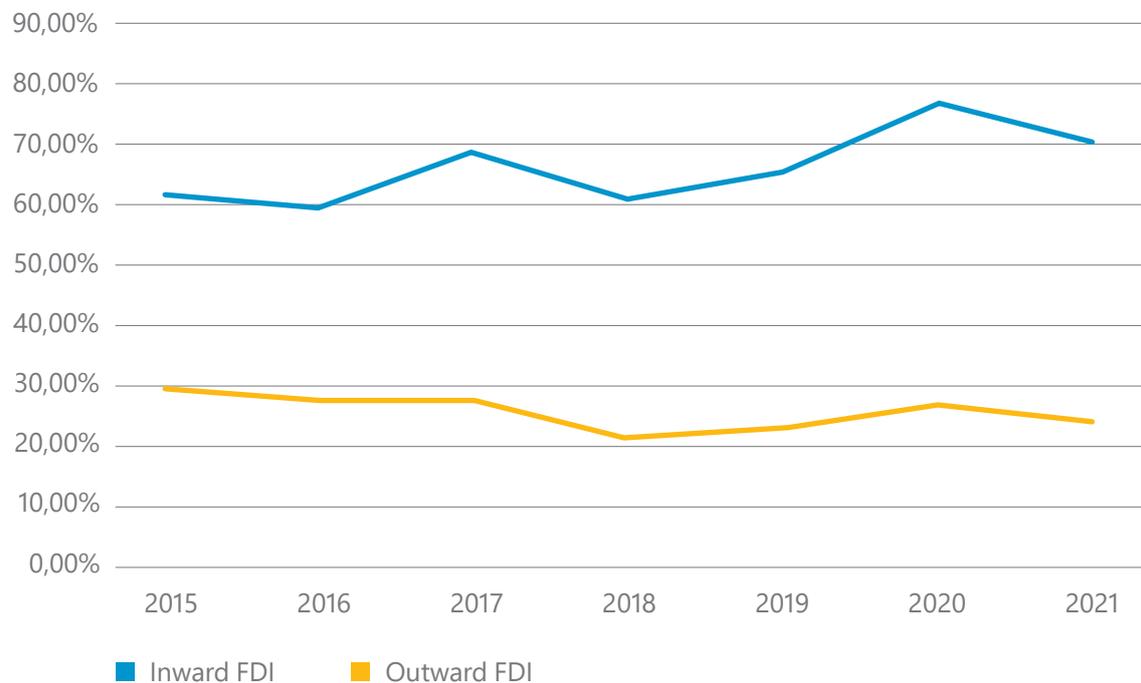
Source: CEIC 2021

Figure 23: Portuguese outward FDI in 2014



Source: Banco de Portugal, 2015

Figure 24: Portuguese outward versus inward FDI stocks, % in relation to GDP

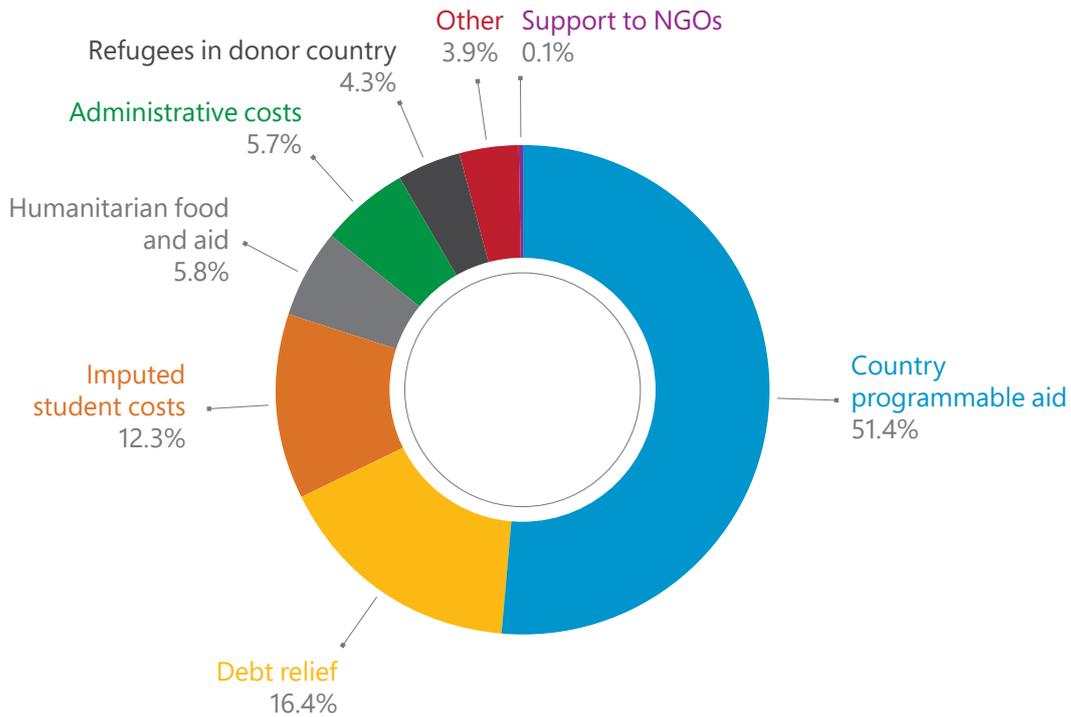


Source: Prepared by the author on the basis of data.OECD.org

Development Cooperation

Portuguese official development aid (ODA) abroad accounted for 0.17% of the Portuguese PIB in 2020 (385 million USD). In its development cooperation, Portugal prefers to engage in multilateral cooperation through EU Institutions. Main recipients for Portuguese bilateral cooperation are Portuguese-speaking countries.

Figure 25: Portugal – Bilateral ODA by type of expenditure 2019



Source: OECD n.d.-b

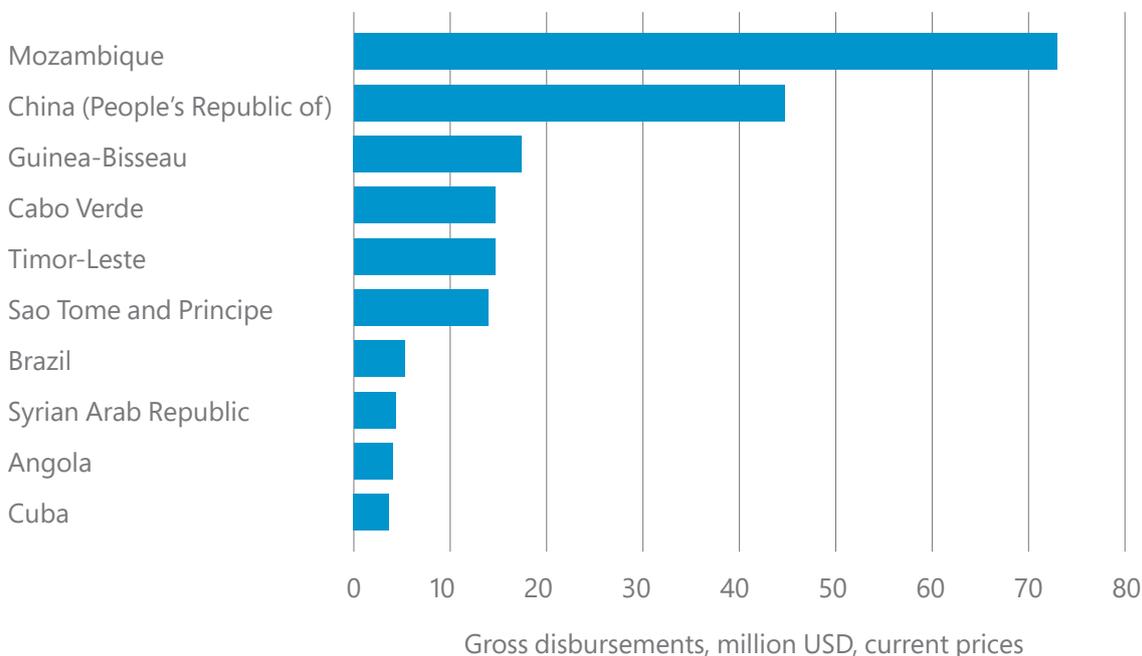
Portugal dedicated 34.9% of its bilateral development aid to gender empowerment programmes. Portuguese development aid is mainly coordinated and implemented by the Institute Camões⁷ (OECD 2021b). The fact that a language institute is part of the Foreign Ministry and is directing and overseeing all Portuguese development aid (and also directly disbursing and implementing 6.5% of it), is an indicator of how Portuguese development cooperation is tied to culture and language, which can also be seen in the list of top 10 recipient countries below (OECD 2021b).

In a stark contrast to other donor countries, Portugal allocated 63.4% of its ODA to least developed countries (LDCs) – compared to 23.8% DAC average (OECD 2021b). This may be connected to the fact that most of the Portuguese-speaking countries, which are of strategic interest for Portugal, are LDCs. In the figure below, we can observe that 7 of the top 10 recipient countries of Portuguese ODA are Portuguese-speaking countries and part of the CPLP. Because of historic and cultural ties, the CPLP

7 The Portuguese Institute Camões is named after the poet Luís de Camões and is a cultural institution, aiming to promote the Portuguese culture and language around the world.

countries have a special relation with Portugal.⁸ Since Portugal is focusing on CPLP countries, there is no TP priority country in the top 10 Portuguese ODA recipient countries.

Figure 26: Top 10 recipients of Portuguese ODA in 2020



Source: OECD iLibrary n.d.

Cultural Cooperation

Culture and language are central concepts in Portuguese development cooperation and in its foreign relations overall. The Institute Camões, which directs all Portuguese development aid, is also the main actor for Portuguese cultural cooperation abroad. Analysing the list of 30 countries where the Institute Camões has a presence, indicates the priority and extent of Portuguese cultural cooperation. The Institute Camões has language centres, where the Portuguese language is taught, as well as cultural centres, that have the objective of fostering the cultural relations between Portugal and the partner country.

While the Institute Camões has a presence for the purposes of offering Portuguese language courses in most of the European countries, the cultural centres are based in its majority in CPLP countries (see the list below). 11 cultural centres are in CPLP countries, versus 9 cultural centres in other Asian, European and North African countries. All 7 CPLP countries in the list of top 10 recipient countries of Portuguese ODA also have at least one cultural centre of the Institute Camões, as well as several language centres.

⁸ Immigration from CPLP countries is thanks to the same language also regarded as most capable to address labour market needs and the Portuguese problem of an ageing population (informant 2; informant 3 and informant 4).

There are cultural centres of the Institute Camões in:

- 11 cultural centres in CPLP countries: 1 in Angola (Luanda), 2 in Brazil (Brasilia and Sao Paulo), 2 in Mozambique (Maputo & Beira), 1 in Guinéa-Bissau (Bissau), 2 in Cape Verde (Praia and Mindelo), 1 in Timor-Leste (Dili), 2 in Sao Tome and Principe (Sao Tome, Principe)
- 3 cultural centres in European countries: 1 in France (Paris), 1 in Luxemburg, 1 in Monaco
- 1 in China (Beijing)
- 1 in India (New Delhi)
- 1 in Japan (Tokyo)
- 1 in Thailand (Bangkok)
- 2 in Morocco (Rabat & Casablanca)

To sum up this sub-section, we can highlight that the foreign direct investment picture, as well as the one of exports, do not match the one of development and cultural cooperation. This is because development aid and cultural cooperation are managed by the government, who identified CPLP countries as strategic partners on the global scene. Private investors and companies, however, do not follow the same logic. Since most of the CPLP countries are LDCs, with unsure business conditions, including corruption, bad infrastructure and opaque economic and financial policies, private Portuguese investors rather invest in EU member states. Needless to say that common regulatory policies and a common market within the EU make investments easier. Similarly, much of the Portuguese exports go to the big European economies, which are geographically close to Portugal, as well as to the US and the UK.

5. PATHWAYS OVERVIEW BY CATEGORIES AND THEIR USE AND EFFECTIVENESS

5.1 NATIONAL LEGAL PROVISIONS AND THEIR USE/EFFECTIVENESS

Table 18: Migration pathways and their effectiveness for addressing labour shortages

Migration pathway	Legal basis	Main countries of origin	Economic sectors	Advantages	Disadvantages	Cumulated number of immigrants using this pathway (2017-2020)
Entering Portugal as a Tourist and obtaining the residence permit after having found a job in Portugal.	ARTICLE 88, PARAGRAPH 2 OF THE ALIENS ACT, IN CONJUNCTION WITH ARTICLES 51, 53 AND 54 OF THE REGULATORY DECREE N.º 84/07	Brazilians, Cape Verdeans, Indians, Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, and Nepalis. Importantly, some citizens need to apply for a SHORT STAY VISA (SCHENGEN). See Table 19 for information on which citizens can enter Portugal without a tourist visa	Low-skilled work in construction, tourism and agricultural jobs.	Less bureaucratic, comparatively efficient for employers in the fluctuating agricultural and tourism sectors to directly hire workforce who are already in the country.	Unconventional. Migrants are prone to smuggling networks and agents in countries of origin, especially in Asian countries that need tourist visas to come to Portugal.	79,562 Increasing over the last years.: 3,005 in 2016, 4,169 in 2017, 16,424 in 2018, 29,993 in 2019, 28,976 in 2020 (Reis de Oliveira 2021a). There is probably a large number of immigrants who entered Portugal as a tourist in those years but did not succeed in obtaining the residence authorisation yet.

<p>Entering Portugal to Study (secondary education; bachelor's; master's; PhD; post-doc; mobility programme / exchange programme).</p>	<p>Especially for Portuguese-speaking nationals from Guiné-Bissau, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Timor Leste, Macao, Sao Tome and Principe and Cape Verde.</p>	<p>Part-time or holiday work in the hotel business, restaurant and tourism sector.</p>	<p>These immigrants speak the Portuguese language and can use the income from the side job to finance their studies. Often, they stay in Portugal after completing their education. Foreigners who came to Portugal to study in higher education have a maximum period of one year to find a job or set up a company after the completion of their studies.</p>	<p>36.632</p> <p>This is the most common visa type that CPLP nationals receive in Portuguese Embassies abroad.</p> <p>This entry pathway is 51% female and 49% male (Reis de Oliveira 2021a).</p>
<p>'Golden Visa' for investors and businessmen.</p>	<p>China, Russia, Turkey, Brazil</p>	<p>Retired people from US, UK, Brazil, Russia, China among others who buy real-estate or make large-scale investments. Businessmen who create jobs in Portugal.</p>	<p>They do not come to work in Portugal, especially not in the job sectors that face labour shortages. Since they are older than the Portuguese average, they have a negative effect on the Portuguese demographic problem.</p>	<p>10,442 in the period from 2012 until 2022. 17,426 dependent family members moved with them to Portugal.</p> <p>More than 60% is from China (Get Golden Visa 2022).</p>
<p>Residence visa to undertake a highly qualified professional activity under an employment contract</p>	<p>Not many in number. Mainly, the economic elite and highly educated individuals from third countries</p>	<p>This entry pathway is for scientists in the field of physics, biology, mathematics, medicine, for engineers, for CEOs, private company board members and high-level functionaries of public institutions.</p>	<p>This pathway does not contribute in a significant way to address labour market shortages in sectors of urgent labour shortage such as tourism, hotel business, construction or agriculture.</p>	<p>4,264</p> <p>Approximately 75% male and 25% female (Reis de Oliveira 2021a).</p>
<p>Residence visa to undertake professional activity under an employment contract.</p>	<p>Mainly from third countries, which are not able to enter Portugal without a tourist visa.</p>	<p>Immigrants who are hired and supported in the visa application process by large and well-established companies.</p>	<p>By using this pathway, migrants enter Portugal in place to directly start working. Furthermore, they are protected against abuse and have access to social security.</p>	<p>3,730</p> <p>89% were men in 2019 (Reis de Oliveira 2021a).</p>

<p>Short-stay visa for seasonal work for a period of 90 days or less</p>	<p>Law n° 23/2007 of the 04-07-2007 CHAPTER IV – VISAS SECTION Article 51A</p>	<p>Asian, Latin American, Eastern European and African immigrants especially.</p>	<p>For work in the seasonal agricultural or tourism sector.</p>	<p>In theory the adequate visa for the seasonal work demand in the mentioned sectors.</p>	<p>Too bureaucratic and inflexible. Lengthy process which does not give the hiring company certainty to plan and to hire flexibly according to dynamic needs of agricultural production and tourism. Immigrants who want to work in these sectors rather try to enter as a tourist.</p>	<p>2,035 in 2019 for both seasonal work visas combined. The majority was for the period exceeding 90 days (EMN 2020).</p>
<p>Temporary stay visa for seasonal work for a period exceeding 90 days</p>	<p>Law No. 23/2007 of the 04-07-2007 CHAPTER IV – VISAS SECTION Article 56</p>	<p>For Asian, Latin American, Eastern European and African immigrants especially.</p>	<p>For work in the seasonal agricultural or tourism sector.</p>	<p>Same as previous.</p>	<p>Same as previous.</p>	<p>2,035 in 2019 for both seasonal work visas combined. The majority was for the period exceeding 90 days (EMN 2020).</p>
<p>'TECH-VISA' to be obtained at the Portuguese Embassy in the country of origin.</p>	<p>ARTICLE 90 OF THE REPSAE, IN CONJUNCTION WITH ARTICLE 56 OF THE RD 84/2007 AS AMENDED ORDER NUMBER 1563/2007 ORDER 328/2018, OF 19/12 ORDER 99/2019, OF 4/19</p>	<p>Only a few selected individuals from around the world, who are comparatively rich and very highly qualified.</p>	<p>Highly qualified workers in innovation and technology jobs.</p>	<p>Increasing Portugal's capacity to attract high-skilled IT workforce from around the world.</p>	<p>Many requirements and bureaucratic, lengthy processes at the Embassy in the country of origin. Only a few in numbers.</p>	<p>This pathway has existed since 1st January 2019. Since then and until June 2021 approximately 800 Tech Visas given out (Bueno 2021).</p>
<p>StartUp Visa for Entrepreneurs Immigrants</p>	<p>ARTICLE 89 PARAGRAPH 4 OF REPSAE, IN CONJUNCTION WITH ARTICLE 55, N.º 6 OF THE RD 84/2007 AS AMENDED AND WITH DECREE ORDER N.º 344/2017 OF NOVEMBER 11</p>	<p>Very few in number. Mainly, the economic elite and highly educated individuals from third countries.</p>	<p>Could be any sector but its potential of innovation and the quality and likely success of the business plan are assessed during the visa application process.</p>	<p>They create jobs, bring innovations, as well as know-how, skills and investment to Portugal.</p>	<p>This pathway does not contribute in a significant way to address labour market shortages in relevant sectors like tourism, hotel business, construction or agriculture.</p>	<p>No data available.</p>
<p>Visas for research and teaching, as well as family reunification are not mentioned in this table, since they have little importance for the scope of this study.</p>						

Source: prepared by the author on the basis of expert interviews conducted and SEF n.d.-b

This sub-section further describes and analyses the various entry pathways and visa types established by the Aliens Act (Act 23/2007) and its eight amendments outlined in Section 1.3. Table 18 outlines the different entry pathways for labour migrants from third countries to Portugal and discusses their advantages and disadvantages.

As mentioned in the previous sections, the economic sectors which will be in most need for workforce in the years to come are agriculture, tourism, construction, industry, and hotel and restaurant business. For the required low-skilled workforce, **entering Portugal as a tourist** and regularising their own situation after arrival in Portugal has been the most relevant entry pathway. From a legal point of view, this immigration pathway is not considered irregular migration, as long as the immigrant finds a job and applies for a residence permit on the corresponding platform on SEF's website before the tourist visa expires. In practice, immigrants who are using this pathway are prone to end up in irregular situations and grey zones. In this context, the employer knows about the dependence of the immigrant and can use this superior situation and abuse it in several ways. Wages can be withheld, working hours might be long and too little wages might be paid (informant 11). These phenomena are especially occurring in the agricultural sector (see Sections 5.3 and 5.4). Immigrants who enter as a tourist do not have full access to social security, to the legal housing market, to Portuguese language courses and to healthcare. From the point of view of the labour market, there are several advantages to this entry pathway. It is less bureaucratic and it is comparatively efficient for employers in the fluctuating agricultural and tourism sectors to directly hire workforce who are already in the country.

Analysing the cumulative total numbers of immigrants, it becomes obvious that this entry pathway is the dominant one: between 2017 and 2020, 79,562 immigrants entered as a tourist and obtained the work permit in Portugal by SEF after having secured (the promise of) a work contract. The second important entry pathway is to obtain **a visa for study purposes** (36,632 immigrants between 2017 and 2020). The majority comes from CPLP countries and many of them work part-time in the hotel and restaurant business to finance their studies. 51% are female and 49%, meaning this the only migration pathway that is not male-dominated (Reis de Oliveira 2021a). Importantly, foreigners who came to Portugal to study in higher education have a maximum period of one year to find a job or set up a company after the completion of their studies.

All the **other work visas** listed in the table are feasible for high-skilled migrants who are hired and supported during the visa application process by large and well-established companies. For the vast majority of labour migrants who aim to go to Portugal, the visa application at the Portuguese Embassy in the third country comes with too many obstacles and is therefore not a viable option in practice (Informant 1, Informant 2, Informant 7).

One key obstacle is the distance to the nearest Portuguese Embassy. The Asian countries Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Philippines and Vietnam are increasingly important countries of origin for labour migrants coming to Portugal. However, Portugal's presence in these countries is very sparse.⁹ Therefore, even within India, the potential labour migrant might have to travel thousands of kilometres to for the appointment at the Portuguese Embassy. There is no Portuguese Embassy in

⁹ Significant countries of origin of migrants coming to Portugal with no Portuguese Embassy in the country include: Bangladesh, Honduras, Moldova, Nepal, Nicaragua, Philippines, Vietnam.

Nepal and Nepalese citizens would have to travel to neighbouring India. Furthermore, it is likely that a visa application process involves around 2-4 meetings at the Embassy over a 3–12-month period. This poses sheer insurmountable economic and logistical difficulties to the potential migrant who in many of the cases is not financially well-off himself.

It is important to note that even when planning to enter Portugal as a tourist and applying for a residence permit. There, many of the mentioned Asian nationalities need to apply for a tourist visa. Even though this is cumbersome, obtaining a Schengen tourist visa from one of the European Embassies is still way easier than receiving a working visa from the Portuguese Embassy. The distances are shorter because the potential migrant can visit the representation of any EU Member State, which will likely be nearer than the closest Portuguese Embassy. Furthermore, and unfortunately, there is an illegal migration network in place, which facilitates tourist visas and enables the trip to Portugal. Often these illegal migration agents help the immigrant in the country of origin (mainly in Asian countries) and link the migrant to employers in Portugal who are willing to hire undocumented immigrants without official job contract (Informant 13). Temporary employment agencies which are set up only for a couple of months in Portugal also play a role in the illegal immigration system. Under these modalities, immigrants often arrive to Portugal with a debt, owing to the migrant agents because of the flight, paperwork or fees for facilitating a job and informal housing. In some cases, the passport is withheld and the immigrant works in a vulnerable situation of maximal dependency on the employer and the migrant agents (Informant 7, Informant 13). This is a problem specifically in the agricultural sector and came to the media attention in 2021 with the inhuman conditions discovered in Odemira (see Section 5.4).

Table 19: Citizens from the main origin countries often need a tourist visa

Country	Need for a Tourist Visa to Enter Portugal?
Angola	Yes
Bangladesh	Yes
Brazil	No
Cape Verde	Yes
Guinea-Bissau	Yes
India	Yes
Moldova	Yes
Mozambique	Yes
Nepal	Yes
Pakistan	Yes
Philippines	Yes

Serbia	No
Ukraine	No
Venezuela	No
Vietnam	Yes

Source: Prepared by the author on the basis of SEF n.d. -a

Table 19 shows that only Brazilians, Ukrainians, Serbian and Venezuelans (among the main immigrant nationalities to Portugal) do not need to apply for a tourist visa before coming to Portugal. For these nationalities, it is easy to enter Portugal and apply for the work permit after securing (the promise of) a job contract.

For several years, the Portuguese Government of António Costa plans to introduce a **new visa type**, which aims to simplify labour migration. The visa would be specifically for immigrants without a work permit or job contract who would then be allowed to enter Portugal in order to search for jobs. This visa plan was included in the budget plan 2020 by the Socialist Party in 2019 (Miranda 2019). Since 2015, this plan of a new visa type for job searches in Portugal has been on the political agendas of PS and other political parties. However, until now, this plan has not been realised. This will be further discussed in Section 5.6 on innovative schemes.

5.2 EUROPEAN LEGAL PROVISIONS AND THEIR USE AND EFFECTIVENESS

Portugal transposes the EU legislation into national law. As described in Section 1.3, most of the Portuguese legislation on asylum is based on EU directives. Portugal has transposed the **seasonal workers directive** in its amendment to the aliens act Law 102/2017. However, as will be analysed in Section 5.4, the visas for seasonal workers, as well as their protection and inclusion into social security and healthcare are not functioning efficiently. Different to other EU member states where work permits for seasonal workers were issued for a duration of 1-90 days, in Portugal, the seasonal workers permits under the EU directive were issued for periods of 7-9 months mostly (EMN 2020). While in 2017 and 2018 there were no seasonal workers permits issued under this modality in Portugal, the number rose to 2,035 in 2019 (EMN 2020).

Regarding the **Blue Card**, Portugal swiftly transposed the EU legislation into national law. The legal basis of the EU Blue Card for Portugal is Article 121-A paragraph 3 of the Aliens Act. However, it has not been a significant entry pathway to Portugal until now. In 2018, only four Blue Cards to Portugal have been issued. In 2020, Portugal was in the group of EU member states who issued and renewed the least Blue Cards. Portugal only issued eight blue cards in 2020, while most EU member states issued between 200 and 400 Blue Cards, France issued 1,286 Blue Cards, Poland 2,251 and Germany 5,586 Blue Cards. In the same year, Portugal only renewed 11 Blue Cards, while most EU member states renewed between 200 and 500 Blue Cards, and France as many as 1,765 (Schengen Visa Info News 2022b).

Portugal also transposed the **EU Single Permit Directive** in 2011. Portugal is among one of the countries where both the employer and the employee can apply for the single permit. In 2020, Portugal was the fifth state in the EU with the most single permits issued (170,000 in total numbers; 6.3% of all single permits issued by EU countries in 2020) (Eurostat 2021).

Lastly, interview partners (informant 6 and informant 7) mention the great benefit of the network EURES¹⁰ for the Portuguese labour market. The collaboration of IEFP with the national employment centres of the other EURES members states has been described as efficient in sharing job offers, communicating labour market needs and recruiting workforce in the EURES partner country (informant 15).

5.3 SCHEMES (PROGRAMMES) TARGETING LOW-SKILLED, MEDIUM-SKILLED AND HIGH-SKILLED WORKERS

Even though the majority of workforce that is required in Portugal is in the low-skilled sectors, there is some demand for **high-skilled workers** in the IT, programming and service sectors. Due to an envisioned digitalisation process of the Portuguese Government, this need might be further highlighted. The Portuguese IT sector pays an average salary only slightly above the Portuguese minimum wage and is therefore not in a good position to compete with the IT sectors of the US, Canada, Australia, Germany, UK, France and that of Scandinavian countries for skilled individuals from around the world. Interestingly enough, there is some influx of EU citizens to Portugal in these technology-related sectors. Especially young citizens from Northern Europe, France, and Italy, with skills in programming and IT come to Lisbon because of the working hours, pleasant climate throughout the whole year and vast cultural activities on offer in the Portuguese capital city (informant 2 and informant 13).

To attract high-skilled individuals to the IT-related sectors from third countries, the **Tech Visa** came into existence in 2019. The Tech Visa is not used as much as an entry pathway to Portugal as other visa types (see Table 18). Between 2019 and 2021, approximately 800 Tech Visas were issued. There is a list of 'Tech Visa certified' companies in Portugal, to which citizens from third countries who are over 18 years old and have a bachelor's degree (or high school degree with five years of experience) in specialised technical functions can apply (GrowIn Portugal 2021). With the **StartUp Visa**, which was introduced in 2017, immigrants who open a business in Portugal have to generate €325,000 turnover per year after the incubation period of five years (GrowIn Portugal 2021). During the application process for the StartUp Visa, the quality of the business plan, its likelihood for success and the potential for innovation the start-up can bring will be assessed by the Portuguese Agency for Competitiveness and Innovation (IAPMEI). The residence visa to undertake a **highly qualified professional activity** under an employment contract is for scientists in the field of physics, biology, mathematics, medicine, for engineers, for CEOs, private company board members and high-level functionaries of public institutions. The applicant for this visa type needs to have exceptional technical competences, relevant for the secured job contract, which should have a duration of at least one year and the remuneration should be more than 1.5 times the national average gross annual

¹⁰ EURES is a European cooperation network of employment services to promote the free movement of workers and to address labour shortages in the labour markets of EU member states.

salary (Legispédia SEF n.d.). This visa type was issued 4,264 times between 2017 and 2020 and in approximately 75% of the cases to men. Labour need in the Portuguese job market for highly qualified workforce in areas other than the ones covered by the Tech Visa is punctual and not relevant in total numbers. Some of these punctual needs are considering highly specialised doctors. In this regard Portugal has concluded some agreements with Venezuela and other Latin American countries to enable immigration in healthcare-related jobs (informant 13).

As to **medium-skilled labour demand**, there is a need in the semi-skilled industry, including the textile, shoes and furniture industries in the North of the country, as well as the automobile industry in the peripheries of Lisbon. Currently, there is no specific entry pathway that would meet the needs of medium-skilled workers. As mentioned, low-skilled workers enter as tourists or with short-term visas, while high-skilled workers manage to enter with the Tech Visa, StartUp visa, research visa, Golden Visa or residence visa to undertake a highly qualified professional activity under an employment contract. Since some degree of skills is needed for the work in the semi-skilled industry, companies have a hard time to draw from the pool of immigrants who are already in the country (Informant 1). In some cases, there is the time and available effort to instruct and train low-skilled immigrants. However, this is not as efficient as it could be. In other cases, employers try to activate chain migration and draw on the network of their employees. In practice, employees are told to call for their relatives and friends in their country of origin. Nevertheless, these sectors will also have an increasing labour need in the future and currently there is no well-working visa format or other pathway of entering the country that could address this shortcoming (Informant 13).

Schemes targeting **low-skilled workers** include the short-stay visa for seasonal work for a period of 90 days or less and the temporary stay visa for seasonal work for a period exceeding 90 days. Even though these seem like adequate schemes to react to the seasonal workforce needs in the agricultural and tourism sector, they are not working well until now. Interview partners (Informant 7, Informant 14) from the mentioned sectors claim that these short-term schemes are too bureaucratic and inflexible. The process often takes well above 6 months and employers cannot be sure if the worker will arrive on time for the harvest or the tourist season, which does not give the agricultural, restaurant and hotel business sectors the flexibility of hiring according to the dynamic market needs. Consequently, low-skilled immigrants who want to work in these sectors rather try to enter as a tourist. The seasonal workers permit based on the EU directive, transposed in 2017, was issued 2.035 times in Portugal in 2019 (EMN 2020). This is represented by the two lines on temporary short term visas for seasonal work in Table 18.

5.4 SEASONAL AND TEMPORARY MIGRATION SCHEMES

Relevant visa types and official entry pathways for labour migrants in the agricultural sector (namely, the short-stay visa for seasonal work for a period of 90 days or less and the temporary stay visa for seasonal work for a period exceeding 90 days) are difficult to obtain in practice, as discussed in previous sections.

Concerning the agricultural sector, companies interviewed for this research note that visa applications at the Portuguese Embassies in third countries take too long and cause uncertainties for human resources planning. While in most of the cases, companies in the agriculture sector know their labour demand 3-6 months beforehand (for instance in November the employer knows the number of temporary labour immigrants needed for the harvest starting in March), visa application processes might take more than 6 months (Informant 7). In this sector, most labour immigrants come from Asian countries, with the Portuguese Embassy in New Delhi being responsible for most of the visas to be issued. This same Embassy has been criticised by interview partners to have particularly lengthy processes, bureaucratic requirements and is difficult to enter in contact with (Informant 2, Informant 7, Informant 13). In the 2000s, when many of the labour immigrants for the agricultural sector came from Eastern Europe, companies went to these countries (especially, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Moldova and Serbia) to recruit workforce directly there. However, now that most of the labour immigration in this sector is from Asia, private companies often cannot afford direct recruitment or do not have the necessary institutional network that could facilitate recruitment. Some thus hire by referral, asking their employees to call their relatives or friends at home to come to work (Informant 7).

Therefore, in practice the schemes that allow for temporary and seasonal labour migration to Portugal, especially in the agricultural sector, consist also of illegal smuggling networks (Informant 2, Informant 7, Informant 13). The COVID-19 pandemic has revealed the extent of the irregular migration phenomenon, especially of Asian immigrants in the agricultural sector. Several newspaper articles uncovered settlements where immigrants lived in inhumane conditions and contracted COVID in large numbers (Deutsche Welle 2021). Reacting to these reports, the Portugal authorities decided to legalise everyone “who could prove three months of paid work and social security contributions” (Deutsche Welle 2021). By relying on the illegal migration networks to enter Portugal, immigrants begin their work stay in Portugal with debts to agents organising the arrangements, often over €10,000. Even after regularising through SEF, the debt and dependency to the smugglers continues. If legal pathways to enter and work in Portugal with one of the two temporary visas (or with the proposed job search visa) was simple, immigrants would not choose the irregular migration networks anymore.

The example that received the largest media presence in 2021 was the rural town of Odemira in the Portuguese region Alentejo. Immigrants, who came from mainly Nepal, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan to work in the agricultural sector lived in informal housings and in irregular situations. Due to the poor hygienic situation and a lack of access to the health sector and social security, COVID-19 spread rapidly among the immigrant population. Many of these labour migrants are undocumented, receive wages that are too low and work in conditions that are not humane. The dominant presence of illegal migration and smuggling networks which lead to this situation has been confirmed by SEF (Donn 2021b).

Similarly, in the Portuguese tourism sector – the other sector requiring temporary and seasonal labour migrants – recruitment abroad is equally cumbersome. The two mentioned visa types for this kind of work are not efficiently addressing labour market needs. In the case of the tourism sector, employers demand a low-skilled workforce with knowledge of the Portuguese language. The COVID-19 pandemic has led to a surge in employees in the Portuguese tourism sector changing their job resulting in a labour shortage. Now that the Portuguese tourism sector is expected to surpass 2019 levels in 2023 this could become a challenge for the sector (Informant 14).

A representative from the tourism sector mentions: “We are very much delayed in creating a working immigration system that would work for the economy. Big tourism companies go to Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Timor-Leste to directly hire there themselves” (Informant 14). These recruitment trips to distant Portuguese-speaking countries pose a significant additional cost to companies. Only large companies can afford these costs, while small companies (and the majority of the tourism sector consist of small companies) have difficulties to reach out to potential workforce (Informant 14). For the Portuguese tourism sector, the CPLP mobility agreement would potentially be an important new scheme allowing for the facilitation of labour immigration benefitting the sector.

Against the backdrop of the foregoing discussion, there is a need to reduce the number of requirements (and/or to change them to make them less strict) for obtaining one of the two mentioned temporary visas, as well as to reduce processing times significantly. The operationalisation of the E-Visa website could help overcome the large distances to the nearest Portuguese Embassy. Since there is an urgent demand for temporary labour in the Portuguese agricultural and tourism sectors, an interview partner claims: “The issuing of visas [...] should be a simple process when there are employers wanting to hire, and workers wanting to come to Portugal” (Informant 7).

5.5 BILATERAL OR SPECIAL LABOUR AGREEMENTS/ PARTNERSHIPS (WITHIN EU, WITH NON-EU COUNTRIES)

As explained in Section 1, the PS party committed in its political agenda, as well as in strategic documents, such as the National Implementation Plan of the UN Global Pact on Migration, to the conclusion of bilateral mobility agreements. Additionally, cooperation on migration with CPLP countries is mentioned separately and with extra emphasis. In fact, the Portuguese government of António Costa is delivering on this commitment.

In this context, the Portuguese government signed three mobility agreements in the last nine months: with CPLP in July 2021, with India in September 2021, and with Morocco in January 2022. In their nature, the agreements with Morocco and India are bilateral agreements, while the CPLP is a community of nine countries.

While the agreement with **India** is about mobility in both directions, the agreement with **Morocco** is only about entry, regularisation and integration of Moroccans in Portugal. As outlined in Section 3.1, IEFP will play a major role in these two mobility agreements as the Portuguese employment centre will directly collaborate with the Indian and Moroccan counterparts – sharing job offers, communicating labour market needs and initiating recruitment processes for Portuguese companies in the third countries. In other words, Portuguese companies who want to hire Indian or Moroccan citizens have to contact IEFP first, who then transmits the request to the Indian/Moroccan authorities (Portuguese Government 2021b). The main intention of the two mobility agreements is to recruit Indian and Moroccan workforce and to address labour shortages in the Portuguese labour market. The main innovation lies in the match-making of Portuguese job offers with Indian and Moroccan job seekers through the collaboration of IEFP with the Indian and Moroccan employment platforms. Migration management or return of irregular migrants is not a relevant part of these agreements.

Since the signing of these mobility agreements occurred very recently, the institutional collaboration mechanisms are not fully in place yet and there are no numbers or estimations about their efficiency yet.

These two mobility agreements will serve as a template for further mobility agreements with other third countries that MNE is currently negotiating (Informant 15). These two agreements are mainly expected to enable the immigration of low-skilled workers for the agricultural sector. Other bilateral mobility agreements that are currently in negotiation (or whose negotiations are possibly starting soon) are with Moldova, Tunisia, Nepal, and Pakistan (Informant 15).

The **CPLP** mobility agreement is broader in its scope and will have to be complemented by several individual and thematic successor agreements. This will likely come with the introduction of a new visa type for CPLP citizens (Informant 15). Currently, there is no timeline about further implementation of the CPLP agreement and its thematic successor agreements because the ambition levels of CPLP countries differ. Brazil, being the largest country of the group, is not motivated to push this forward quickly, as there is no labour shortage in Brazil and there is an abundant workforce in the country. The sector that can benefit most from CPLP immigrants is the tourism, restaurant and hotel business sector due to the language requirements. MNE will likely aim to address labour market shortages in these sectors with the further concretisation and operationalisation of the CPLP mobility agreement.

In July 2022, the Portuguese government proposed simplified visas and entry pathways for CPLP citizens to Portugal. The new legislative package will introduce a work procurement visa, simplify the student visa and allow a special authorisation for remote work in Portugal (Nacionalidade Portuguesa, 2022). The package has been approved by the Portuguese Parliament and has entered into force, although the visa is not currently ready to be issued due to institutional arrangements.

There have been mobility agreements with CPLP and with Brazil before, as will be explained in the following paragraphs. These previous agreements eased entry to Portugal for certain professions: businessmen, liberal professionals, scientists, researchers/researchers, sportsmen, journalists and cultural/artistic agents in the case of CPLP and entry for recreative, sports or internship purposes in the case of the agreement with Brazil (see the two quotes below). However, this does not affect the obtention of work permits. Nevertheless, these agreements with Brazil contributed to the fact that Brazilians can enter Portugal now without the need of a tourist visa, which, due to Art. 88, Nr.2 contributes to the preferred migration pathway of Brazilians to enter Portugal as a tourist and apply for the work permit in Portugal after having secured (the promise of) a job contract.

The Migration Observatory gives a useful summary of the previous CPLP agreement:

“The main purpose of the set of bilateral and multilateral agreements with member countries of the CPLP is to facilitate the movement of citizens from the member countries of this community. Decree no. 34/2003, of 30 July 2003 allows a specific group of citizens (e.g. businessmen, liberal professionals, scientists, researchers/researchers, sportsmen, journalists and cultural/artistic agents) of the CPLP member countries to obtain a multiple entry visa with a minimum duration of one year. In its Article 1, this agreement enables citizens of one of the CPLP Member States

holding a valid common passport who are businessmen and women, liberal professionals, scientists, researchers/researchers, sportspeople, journalists and cultural/artistic agents to have access to multiple-entry visas entry visas to any of the other Member States of the Community, for a minimum duration of one year.” (Góis and Carlos Marques 2014: p. 56).

Similarly, the same study summarises the bilateral mobility agreement with Brazil. Brazil is part of the CPLP community. However, Portugal has additional bilateral mobility agreements with Brazil on top of the CPLP agreements:

“The bilateral agreement between the Portuguese Republic and the Federative Republic of Brazil on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons, approved by Decree no. 43/2003, of 24 September, which complements Decree no. 40/2003, of 19 September, in the part that establishes a visa exemption regime, for stays of up to 90 days (extendable for an equal period), for artistic, cultural, scientific business, academic internship, journalism or sport. The ultimate purpose of this regime is to make easier and more fluid circulation of Portuguese and Brazilian nationals, professionals in the aforementioned areas (especially artists, teachers, scientists, researchers, entrepreneurs, executives, sports journalists and/or trainees). It is a legal regime which is not directed to the satisfaction of the labour needs of Portuguese companies, given that, according to Article 1(4) of this Decree, the visa exemption excludes the possibility of exercising a paid activity for an entity of the destination country (except in the case of daily allowances, scholarships, per diems and prizes).” (Góis and Carlos Marques 2014: p. 57).

As described on the previous page, the Portuguese government passed several simplifications and new visa forms for citizens from CPLP countries. The collaboration within the CPLP framework is likely the main priority of António Costa’s government when it comes to attracting labour immigrants. Due to the common language the sustainable integration of Portuguese-speaking immigrants is seen as easier.

6. QUOTA SYSTEMS

A quota system (based on labour needs per sector of activity) existed in Portuguese law between 2001 and 2007 (Dec. Reglm. N.º 6/2004, of 26 April, REGULAMENTA O DL N.º 244/98, DE 8/8). The quotas were based on yearly labour market assessments published in yearly “workforce need reports”. In 2007, it was replaced by the definition of an “overall quota” of labour needs (this time, the total needs) (Dec. Reglm. N.º 84/2007). Since the 2007 law is still in force (even though it has been subject to several modifications), the “quota” still exists (Peixoto et al. 2009).

The entry of immigrants often occurs in an uncontrolled way, being regularised a posteriori under the regularisation system established by article 88 of the Aliens Act (Peixoto et al. 2009). In other words, since it is very bureaucratic and cumbersome to receive the work permit in the Portuguese Embassy of the third country, the vast majority of labour migrants prefers to enter Portugal as a tourist, making use of the in-country regularisation process after having secured a work contract (or the promise of a work contract).

Along the same lines, interview partners highlighted that actual immigration was well below the established quotas (Informant 13, Informant 14). The yearly workforce need reports, on which the quotas per sector were based before the change of the law in 2007, stopped to be produced in the same year (2007). These reports were considered a failure because the labour market needs turned out to be too dynamic to be studied only once per year and to be put in quotas (Informant 5). The needed workforce in Portugal could not efficiently be predicted with one year of anticipation. Furthermore, a significant part of the Portuguese workforce need is linked to seasonal, fluctuating sectors, such as agriculture and tourism. There were not enough follow-up meetings to update the quotas according to dynamically changing labour market needs (Informant 8).

Due to the prevalence of the mentioned migration pathway of entering Portugal as a tourist, quotas, which are communicated to and would be applied by DGACCP in the Portuguese Embassies are not working. Quotas are a mechanism of controlling migration. In contrast, the mentioned dominant labour migration pathway to Portugal is rather an example of uncontrolled migration. Quotas could in theory also be applied to this pathway. However, if labour immigrants who entered as tourists and secured a work contract are not granted the in-country regularisation, this will result in irregular work and grey zones. Furthermore, the PS government of Prime Minister Costa decided to ignore the overall quotas as of 2020 (Caetano and Ribeiro Pinto 2019). The global indicative quota of employment opportunities is suspended by virtue of the State Budget Law 2021, under the terms of its article 193.

6.1 INNOVATIVE (PILOT) SCHEMES/PROGRAMMES

For several years Portugal intends to introduce an **innovative 'job search' visa- a visa** for entering Portugal with the intention to search for a job. Similar to the entry pathway of entering Portugal as a tourist and receiving the work permit in Portugal by SEF after having secured (the promise of) a work contract, immigrants with the proposed job search visa would enter Portugal without having a job, trying to find one after arrival. This new job search visa would differ from the pathway of entering as a tourist in several ways. Firstly, with this visa type immigrants would less likely end up in irregular situations, as they would have access to the housing market, social security, healthcare, and language courses (Informant 2, Informant 11). The lack of access to these services by tourists who aim to regularise their situation later on is largely criticised (Informant 10, Informant 12). Secondly, the obtention of a work residence permit within the country after having secured a job would be automatic and significantly faster than the regularisation of tourists (which takes around a year normally). Since 2015, this plan of a new visa type for job search in Portugal has been on the political agendas of PS and other political parties.

However, until early 2022 this plan has not been realised. The reason for that is related to the needed institutional restructuring. The MNE (and its sub-agency DGACCP) is responsible for granting visas outside the country and SEF of the MAI is responsible for these processes in the country. This visa type would be in high demand and the MNE would not have the human resources to administer it. On the other hand, SEF would lose its own revenue in fines and regularisations (Informant 5).

In July 2022, in the context of the **mobility agreement with CPLP countries**, the Portuguese government proposed a new legislative package which includes a job search visa for CPLP citizens. CPLP citizens using this entry permit will have 120 days (which can be extended by another 60 days) to secure an employment contract. The Portuguese Parliament approved the legislative package in the same month (Nacionalidade Portuguesa, 2022). Since the new visa type did not enter into force yet, its efficiency in practice is yet to be seen. Nevertheless, this new legislative package with simplified entry pathways for CPLP citizens might be an important step for labour immigration to Portugal.

Other innovative pathways include the mentioned **Tech Visa, the StartUp Visa and the GOLDEN Visa**. As described in Sections 5.1 and 5.2, the Tech Visa was introduced in 2019 and aims to attract high-skilled workforce for the tech-sector, while the Golden Visa, in existence since 2012, is designed to give residence permits to individuals who invest in a Portuguese company, buy a property, transfer more than one million Euros to a Portuguese bank account (among others). The StartUp Visa has existed since 2017. In numbers, the Tech visa (800 visas issued between 2019 and 2021) is less significant than the Golden Visa (10,442 visas issued for investors and 17,426 for their family members in the period from 2012 until 2022). There are no statistics for the StartUp Visa but all three of them are seen as less important when it comes to addressing labour shortages in the Portuguese labour market (informant 2; informant 5 and informant 13). This is because the economic sectors that most urgently need workforce – agriculture, restaurant and hotel business, construction and semi-skilled industry – require mostly low-skilled workforce that does not use the visa options presented in this paragraph.

The mobility agreements with Morocco, India and CPLP introduced innovative match-making and recruitment mechanisms (see Section 5.5). The PS and the re-elected government of Prime Minister António Costa promised to conclude further mobility agreements.

Following other EU member states, Portugal has announced the introduction of a **'digital nomad' visa scheme** taking effect at the end of October 2022. The new visa and combined residence permit will be available for people who are employed outside of Portugal and want to come and live in Portugal performing their work. They will need to provide a contract of employment, tax residency documents and proof of an average monthly income over the past three months that is equivalent to at least four times the minimum wage in Portugal.

6.2 POSSIBILITY OF STATUS CHANGE

As mentioned in Section 2.2, Portugal only hosts 0.1% of all refugees in the EU. Therefore, this group of individuals has until now not been the most important group that could contribute to fulfilling the labour market needs in Portugal. For the same reason as very low numbers of asylum seekers in Portugal, the debate on enabling a status change from asylum seeker to labour immigrant that has been taking place in other European countries, has not been discussed widely in Portugal (informant 5). In Portugal, asylum seekers can work as soon as their asylum application is accepted and they receive the status of international protection, as well as their fiscal identification number.

There will be a significant number of Ukrainian refugees coming to Portugal, whose recognition and insertion into the job market will be automatic (see Section 2.2). Therefore, the debate on a possibility of status change seems to be postponed for now. In the light of a high rejection rate of asylum applications (approximately 89% in 2020), this might be a point worth exploring for Portuguese policymakers.

In Section 3.1, we saw that ACM organises the project 'Novos Percursos' (New Pathways), which aims to match refugees with job offers in Portugal even before their arrival to the country.

7. ANALYSIS AND ENSUING POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Politically, it might be the perfect moment for the Portuguese government to change the current labour immigration policies. This is because of a mix of favouring factors. Portugal seems to be leaving the COVID-19 pandemic with significant economic growth numbers. The unemployment rate is close to an all-time historic low and is predicted to keep decreasing further in the months to come. At the end of January 2022, the election results gave the PS and Prime Minister António Costa an absolute majority, ending the need of ruling in a minority government, which has been the case since November 2015. The PS highlighted their ambition to increase immigration to Portugal and has very recently concluded mobility agreements with India, CPLP and Morocco.

Furthermore, the Portuguese society has an open and welcoming attitude towards labour migration, with over 60% of Portuguese citizens believing that labour immigration is beneficial for Portugal and is necessary to address the demographic problem in the country (Reis de Oliveira 2021a). Recent days have shown that there will be a significant arrival of Ukrainian refugees coming to Portugal (see Section 2.2). Because of the large Ukrainian diaspora in Portugal, which is well integrated, we can assume that many of them may stay for a longer time and integrate themselves into the Portuguese society. Since they will be automatically granted international protection and a fiscal identification number, they can start working immediately. Especially in the construction and agricultural sector (where major harvests will start soon), there will be demand for workforce. In both of these sectors, knowledge of the Portuguese language is not as important.

For these reasons, it is likely that the newly re-elected government under Prime Minister Costa will introduce important reforms and new policies in the context of immigration and integration. Therefore, there is reason to hope that the new visa type for job search for example could be finally adopted, the digital E-Visa website could be operationalised and procedures at Portuguese Embassies could be simplified and made faster - among other recommended measures that will be discussed in the following sections.

The recommendations for modifying the immigration and integration system include the following points and are grouped into four types of recommendations:

1. Recommendations that support the facilitation of the existing pathways:

- Expanding and improving the operability of the digital visa application platform.
- Increasing the budget and human resources of IEFP, in order to ensure its role in the new mobility agreements with third countries and to be able to work with the national employment centres of third countries.
- Create platforms of frequent, systematic exchange between the relevant ministries (MTSSS, MNE, MAI, PCM) and representatives of the different economic sectors.

- Simplify the visa application procedures and reduce processing time at the Portuguese Embassy and Consular Network DGACCP.

2. Recommendations that create incentives and increases attractiveness of Portugal as a destination or for national to stay:

- Increasing flexibility and working conditions of the IT sector to reduce emigration of Portuguese citizens and attract global high-skilled workers.
- Expand the list of automatic recognition of academic qualifications and include the main third countries origin of labour migrants coming to Portugal.

3. Recommendations that focus on either adapting existing pathways or on creating new ones

- Improve access of immigrants to social security, to the housing market, to language courses and to the school and education system (for their children).
- Enquire the possibility of a pilot-project of immigrant work in the agricultural sector.
- Create a mechanism of improved recognition of professional qualifications from third countries.

4. Considerations regarding collaboration with TP priority countries

1. Recommendations that Support the Facilitation of the Existing Pathways

Expanding and improving the operability of the digital visa application platform

The MNE of Portugal introduced a new e-visa platform in March 2020. Since that moment, labour immigrants can apply for their work visa (or for a tourist) online. The application process on the platform has four stages: (1) the registration of an application; (2) the examination of the application by DGACCP; (3) the decision of 'accepted' or 'rejected'; and (4) finally the visa is issued. The e-visa platform is available in Portuguese, English, French, Ukrainian and Russian. The introduction of this platform is part of the Portuguese digitalisation strategy, as well as of the National Plan for the Implementation of the UN Global Pact on Migration.

A well-functioning e-visa platform would address several of the current problems in the context of labour immigration to Portugal. Firstly, the large distances to the nearest Portuguese Embassy – especially for Asian migrants. As described in Section 5.1, for a labour immigrant without vast financial resources in India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Vietnam or the Philippines, travelling to the nearest Portuguese Embassy in order to apply and get interviewed in the course of a work visa application process implies major obstacles. The nearest Portuguese Embassy for these citizens might be in New Delhi or in Islamabad, which would mean several thousands of kilometres travelling distance, sometimes crossing borders.

Secondly, an online platform has the potential of increasing transparency and preventing abuse and exploitation of labour migrants. Having this possibility of applying and accompanying the application process online, there might be less need for using illegal migration networks and smugglers

who help facilitate the immigration journey to Portugal. Often, in the cases of these networks, the immigrants arrive in Portugal with a debt to the smugglers, putting him or her in a position of dependency and vulnerability.

MNE, MAI, PCM and MTSSS together should explore the possibility of directly posting job offers or workforce need figures of economic sectors on the e-visa platform. Potential immigrants could directly apply to these calls online, upload qualifications and certificates, and this way get the work visa issued in a purposeful manner. This would enhance transparency and the rights of the immigrant to see from the beginning what the working conditions are, the salary et cetera. This could be an effective way of skills-matching of the immigrant prior to arrival in Portugal.

The introduction of the e-visa platform is a good first step. However, until now it is not a relevant instrument for the large chunk of labour immigrants to Portugal. The entry pathway of entering as a tourist remains the dominant pathway. In this context, if the Portuguese Government does not follow up and intentionally enforce its use and operability, it could remain a good idea without relevance in practice.

Increasing budget and human resources of IEFP, in order to ensure its role in the new mobility agreements with third countries and to be able to work with the national employment centres of third countries

The Portuguese National Employment Center (IEFP) has an important role in the recently signed mobility agreements with India and Morocco. IEFP will coordinate job postings and labour need with the Moroccan National Employment Centre and with the Indian Platform for Jobs and Workforce.

Several interview partners mentioned the positive experience of IEFP collaborating with other European employment centres in the network EURES (informant 6; informant 7 and informant 15). Having the direct connection with the national employment centre of another country, which in turn has the information of the workforce and labour market needs of that country, is a powerful tool for recruiting abroad.

Applying the working logic of EURES to the relation of IEFP with third countries could be an important puzzle piece for addressing labour shortages in the Portuguese economy with immigration from third countries. In that sense, IEFP could establish collaborations with the national employment centres of the main countries of origin of immigrants in Portugal. This logic is introduced in the mobility agreements signed with India and Morocco, but could be systematically expanded to other third countries, especially CPLP countries.

A limitation to this idea, however, is IEFP's capacity in terms of human resources in order to manage all these exchanges and additional responsibilities. Interview partners mentioned that it remains to be seen if IEFP will be able to fulfil the tasks as outlined in the mobility agreements with India and Morocco (informant 15). One expert suggested that before concluding new mobility agreements, the Portuguese Government should stop in order to see how IEFP manages to collaborate with the Indian and Moroccan authorities (informant 15).

In this sense, a budget increase and more human resources for IEFP are needed, in order to fully untap the potential of efficiently communicating and coordinating workforce needs and job offers with third countries.

Create platforms of frequent, systematic exchange between the relevant ministries (MTSSS, MNE, MAI, PCM), IEFP, ACM and representatives of the different economic sectors

Currently, there is no systematic and sufficient exchange between the relevant governmental agencies and ministries on the one side, and the representatives and business associations of the economic sectors on the other side. Interview partners from sectoral business associations (informant 7 and informant 14) mention that there is the possibility of mentioning needs, problems or obstacles that a sector faces to the relevant ministries. However, there is no sufficient follow-up to these requests. Furthermore, the policymakers in these ministries have no concrete knowledge of the labour market needs.

Similarly, IEFP does not have any systematic mechanism in place to collect concrete numbers and information on labour shortage from the different private companies and sectoral business associations (informant 15). This lack of exchange results in the fact that the relevant governmental agencies and ministries do not have the knowledge about the labour market that should inform their policymaking and the realisation of their tasks. In this context, IEFP needs to know the concrete labour shortage numbers, in order to work with the national employment centres of third countries (for example under the mobility agreements with India and Morocco).

Therefore, there should be one platform per economic sector that brings together officials from MTSSS, MNE, MAI, PCM (as well as the relevant ministry for the economic, for instance Ministry of Agriculture in the case of the agricultural sector), IEFP, ACM and representatives of the different economic sectors. Each of these sectoral platforms should meet at least every second month and should furthermore have surveys and data collection mechanisms in place to frequently update numbers on labour shortages, as well as to be aware of challenges faced, labour profiles required et cetera. These statistics and data should then be systematically shared with all the mentioned public actors of the Portuguese immigration and integration system.

Simplify the visa application procedures and reduce processing time at the Portuguese Embassy and Consular Network DGACCP

As outlined in previous sections, the visa application processes at the Portuguese Embassies and Consulates in third countries is bureaucratic and lengthy. Consequently, the majority of labour immigrants enter Portugal as tourists and aim to regularise the paperwork in the country after having secured (the promise of) a job contract. Interview partners from the agricultural and tourism sector (informant 7 and informant 14) highlight that the lengthy and unpredictable visa application process at the Portuguese Embassies in third countries is a major obstacle for hiring abroad. In the agricultural sector, employers know about their labour need for the harvesting season approximately three to six months before. Nevertheless, the visa application processing time often takes more than six months, especially at the Portuguese Embassy in New Delhi, which is responsible for the applications of Nepalese, Indian and Bangladeshi citizens (among others), who work predominantly in the agricultural sector. These uncertainties pose challenges and obstacles to employers.

The e-visa platform might simplify and speed up the visa application processes. MNE could initiate an analysis of what the reasons for the lengthy procedures are. If the identified reasons are linked to limited human resources, extra staff could be provided. If the lengthy processes are related to the multitude of documents that the candidate should submit and Embassy staff has to check, the application process should be simplified and the amount of requirements and documents should be reduced.

Furthermore, through an increased skills-matching and a more efficient involvement of IEFP, potentially complemented by mobility agreements, work visa applications could be fast-tracked.

2. Recommendations that Create Incentives and Increases Attractiveness of Portugal as a Destination or for Nationals to Stay

Increasing flexibility and working conditions of the IT sector to reduce emigration of Portuguese citizens and attract global high-skilled workers

As illustrated in Section 4, most of the labour needs of the Portuguese labour market are in low-skilled positions in the agriculture, tourism, hotel business, restaurant, and construction sector. However, there is, and increasingly will be, some degree of workforce shortage in the IT, programming, and tech-sectors. Compared to the low-skilled sectors, Portugal will face more difficulties to attract labour immigrants for these tech-sectors. This is because of the language barrier and because of uncompetitive salaries. The average income in the IT sector is only slightly over the Portuguese minimum wage (informant 13). Against this backdrop, high-skilled, well-educated individuals will, in an increasingly global job market, much rather be hired by North American, Australian or Northern European companies, who often have English as their working language and are capable of paying many times what the wage Portuguese companies can pay.

Likewise, the group of Portuguese citizens with experience and qualifications in this sector has the highest propensity of emigration. Portugal has been able to compensate for some of this depletion with the influx of young Europeans from Italy, France and Scandinavia who are willing to work in Portugal for some time because of the better weather and the lifestyle.

Therefore, the Portuguese government could make a maximum effort to reduce emigration of Portuguese citizens, as well as to attract young tech-migrants, especially from CPLP countries. As to the latter, the recently signed CPLP Agreement will be complemented by additional individual and thematic agreements. One of those additional agreements could specifically focus on an uncomplicated immigration of citizens with the aforementioned skills (who also speak Portuguese). Countries who, based on their migration activity, could be interesting in this regard are Cape Verde, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe. As to other countries, the mobility agreements with India and Morocco could be used to attract talents from those countries. Interview partners mention that the recognition of qualifications in the IT sector is difficult. For instance, Brazilians immigrants with experience in IT cannot work in Portugal directly, as the codes and working procedures differ (informant 10). There should be short introductory courses to get used to the Portuguese IT sector and in order to be able to start working in a short period of time.

An interesting programme in the context of reducing emigration is the 'Programa Regressar' (Programme Come Back) which started in January 2019 and aims to convince Portuguese emigrants to return to Portugal. 'Emigrants who have lived abroad for at least three years and who return to Portugal [...] will benefit, among other measures, from a 50% income tax cut' (OECD n.d.-a). The application deadline of the programme has been extended to 2023.

To address the emigration of Portuguese citizens with tech-qualifications, flexible working conditions and higher salaries would contribute to a higher attractiveness of jobs in the Portuguese tech-sector. Remote work could be a modality worthwhile supporting in order to combine family and professional responsibilities, as well as to enable work away from the city of the employer. It might be beneficial to commission studies to look into possibilities of how Portuguese tech companies could be supported by the Government, so that they can afford raising the wages.

Expand the list of automatic recognition of academic qualifications and include the main third countries origin of labour migrants coming to Portugal

As outlined in Section 2.5, the list of automatic recognition of academic qualifications does not include institutions, degrees and qualifications from many of the main countries of origin of labour immigrants in Portugal. Therefore, it should be a priority for the next government, elected on 30th January 2022, to expand this list and to try to facilitate the automatic recognition for degrees and qualifications obtained in countries like Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Timor-Leste, India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Pakistan.

Understandably, not every degree should be recognised blindly, and the high quality of Portuguese degrees should be maintained and not watered down by putting degrees of less quality on the same level. Nevertheless, the urgent need of labour requires an optimised talent acquisition and skills-matching process. Therefore, there should be some flexibility. If the incoming minister of MCT-ES, ME and MTSSS, together with the responsible DGES, thoroughly assess the possibility of recognising certain degrees in specific fields in determined third countries, there can be a substantial extension of the list for automatic recognition of academic qualifications.

3. Recommendations that Focus on Either Adapting Existing Pathways or on Creating New Ones

Improve access of immigrants to social security, to the housing market, to language courses and to the school and education system (for their children)

Next to abuse and exploitation of undocumented labour migrants, the difficulty to access social security, the healthcare, the housing market and language courses is what makes their lives in Portugal vulnerable. While the points about language courses and access to training and the education system are more related to successful integration - the healthcare and housing market are rather fundamental basic needs. An uncomplicated access, dropping requirements like a residence permit or a job contract to be attended at the hospital and to be able to officially rent a room or an apartment, would help to avoid situations like in Odemira.

Regarding the Portuguese language courses for immigrants, the Portuguese government has made progress during the COVID-19 pandemic and offered more flexible hours (both morning and afternoons/evenings). Furthermore, there are specific modules for immigrants to learn the Latin alphabet (e.g. for immigrants from Nepal). From 2021, the Portuguese language courses contribute to the recognition process of foreign qualifications (informant 12). Also, immigrants who are in the regularisation process have now already the right to access language courses. However, undocumented immigrants in irregular situations cannot access the Portuguese language courses.

Lastly, as it is expected that immigration from non-Portuguese speaking countries continues to increase in the near future, the preschool, day care and primary education systems should be prepared to integrate and include the children of immigrants (informant 6). There will have to be more options of bilingual preschools and primary schools, with special courses and efforts to teach Portuguese to immigrant children.

Create a mechanism of improved recognition of professional qualifications from third countries

Next to academic qualifications obtained in third countries, professional qualifications obtained in third countries should also be recognised more rapidly. Currently, there is not such a list as in the case of automatic recognition of academic qualifications and professional skills obtained in third countries are assessed on a case-by-case basis (see Section 2.5).

It would therefore be a target-oriented measure to create such a list, in which certain technical and vocational skills issued by certain schools, institutes or companies in third countries could be listed and recognised in an automatic or at least fast-tracked way. This already works in a similar logic with professional qualifications obtained in other EU member states. Again, an assessment of the incoming ministers of MCTES, ME and MTSSS, together with the responsible DGERT could work on the creation of such a list. This would remove important obstacles for labour immigration and would address the inefficient skills-matching explained before. As mentioned in Section 2.5, immigrant workers have a too high likelihood of not using their qualifications in the functions they perform in the Portuguese labour market.

Enquire the possibility of a pilot-project of immigrant work in the agricultural sector

Lastly, there could be the possibility to develop new working methods for immigrants working in the agricultural sector in Portugal. This would address two of the main problems that come with seasonal immigration to the Portuguese agricultural sector: Firstly, the difficulty for employers to recruit the necessary workforce from abroad, and secondly, the fact that immigrants to this sector frequently stay in vulnerable, irregular situations.

Since agriculture is a seasonal work, there should be better models of circulating the immigrants throughout the country and engaging them in different types of harvests of different crops and products, which take place at different times of the year (informant 13). For the harvesting time, labour need is three times higher than during the other months of the year (informant 7). While forest berries are harvested between March and June in southern Portugal, olives are picked from Novem-

ber through January in central Portugal, and wineries in northern Portugal require workforce starting in September. Portuguese pears are normally harvested in August (informant 7 and informant 13). Those are just some of the crops and agricultural products in Portugal. Portuguese companies who are involved in the production of each of these crops have immense difficulties in recruiting the workforce for the harvests. Instead of having this workforce come for one of these harvests to Portugal and stay for one to three months only, there could be a major coordination between the companies to circulate the immigrant workforce from one harvest to the next one. Since the labour immigrants have the motivation of working for more than just one to three months, this would be a win-win situation for all parties involved, addressing the difficulty of satisfying the labour need in the different harvest peak seasons.

Obviously, there are some obstacles to this idea, which include organising the housing for the migrant workers in each of the regions where they would work. Furthermore, the workforce demand for the different harvests is not equal. The labour need for forest berries in Algarve is far greater than that of harvesting pears in August. Furthermore, the experiences required, and the skills needed for each type of harvest differ. Nevertheless, the skills can be learned quickly and thus, this idea is worth being assessed and tested.

4. Considerations Regarding Collaboration with EU Talent Partnership Priority Countries

The Portuguese government made significant efforts to simplify migration pathways towards Portugal. In the recent mobility agreements, it seems that Portugal predominantly focuses on CPLP countries as main partners for addressing labour market needs. In July 2022, new visa types for CPLP citizens were approved (see chapter 5.5). Furthermore, agreements have been concluded with India and Morocco. Among the TP countries, Morocco is therefore the most relevant one for Portugal. Immigrants from Tunisia, Egypt, Senegal and Nigeria are small in numbers. Since Portugal favours the African countries Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe, engagement with Senegal and Nigeria seems less relevant to Portugal.

There is a growing influx of Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants, especially in the agriculture sector. Since immigrants from these two countries often work and live in Portugal without work permits, an increased collaboration, for example bi-lateral mobility agreements would increase the situation of the immigrants. At the same time, collaboration with those countries might help to address labour market needs in the agricultural, but also in the IT sector. The mobility agreement with India could be used as a template and could be replicated with India's neighbouring countries Pakistan and Bangladesh.

ANNEX 1

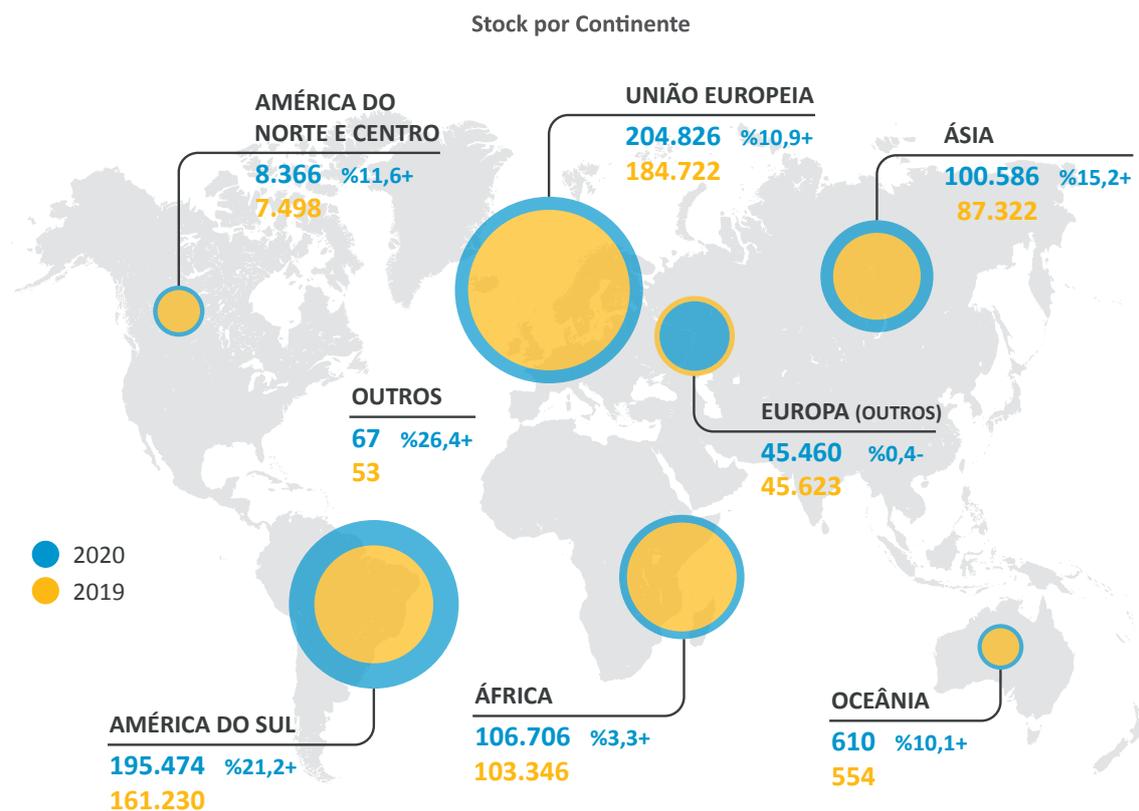
COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER ANTÓNIO COSTA'S SECOND TERM (2019-2022)

No.	Minister	Name	Party
1	Prime Minister	António Costa	PS
2	Minister of State, Economy and Digital Transition	Pedro Siza Vieira	Independent
3	Minister of State and Foreign Affairs	Augusto Santos Silva	PS
4	Minister of State and the Presidency	Mariana Vieira da Silva	PS
5	Minister of State and Finance	João Leão	Independent
6	Minister of National Defence	João Gomes Cravinho	Independent
7	Minister of Internal Administration	Eduardo Cabrita	PS
8	Minister of Justice	Francisca Van Dunem	Independent
9	Minister of State Modernization and Public Administration	Alexandra Leitão	PS
10	Minister of Planning	Nelson de Souza	PS
11	Minister of Culture	Graça Fonseca	PS
12	Minister of Science, Technology and Higher Education	Manuel Heitor	Independent
13	Minister of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security	Ana Mendes Godinho	PS
14	Minister of Health	Marta Temido	PS
15	Minister of the Environment and Climate Action	João Pedro Matos Fernandes	PS
16	Minister of Infrastructure and Housing	Pedro Nuno Santos	PS
17	Minister of Territorial Cohesion	Ana Abrunhosa	Independent
18	Minister of Agriculture	Maria do Céu Antunes	PS
19	Minister of the Sea	Ricardo Serrão Santos	Independent
20	Minister of Education	Tiago Brandão Rodrigues	Independent

Source: Created by the author on the basis of Portuguese Government n.d.

ANNEX 2

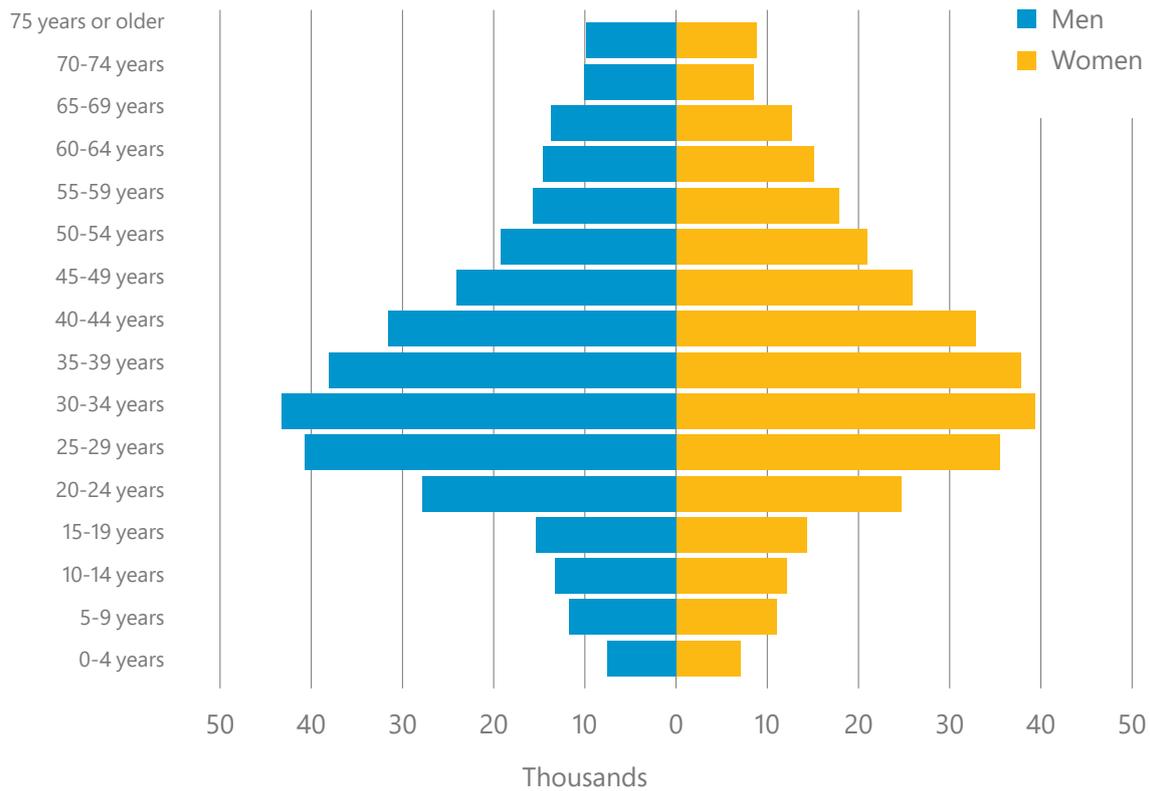
FOREIGN RESIDENT STOCK IN PORTUGAL BY CONTINENT



Source: Translated by the author on the basis of Reis et al. 2021

ANNEX 3

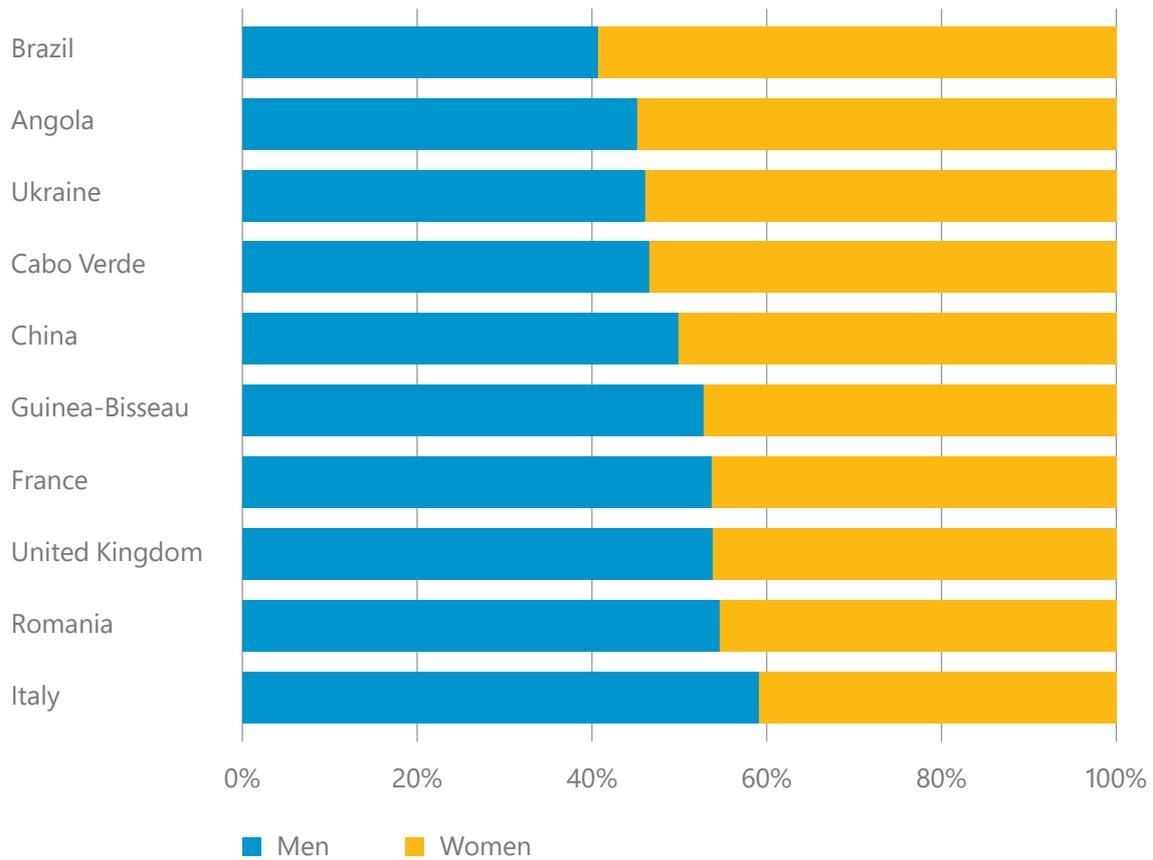
FOREIGN RESIDENT STOCK BY AGE AND GENDER



Source: translated by the author on the basis of Reis et al. 2021

ANNEX 4

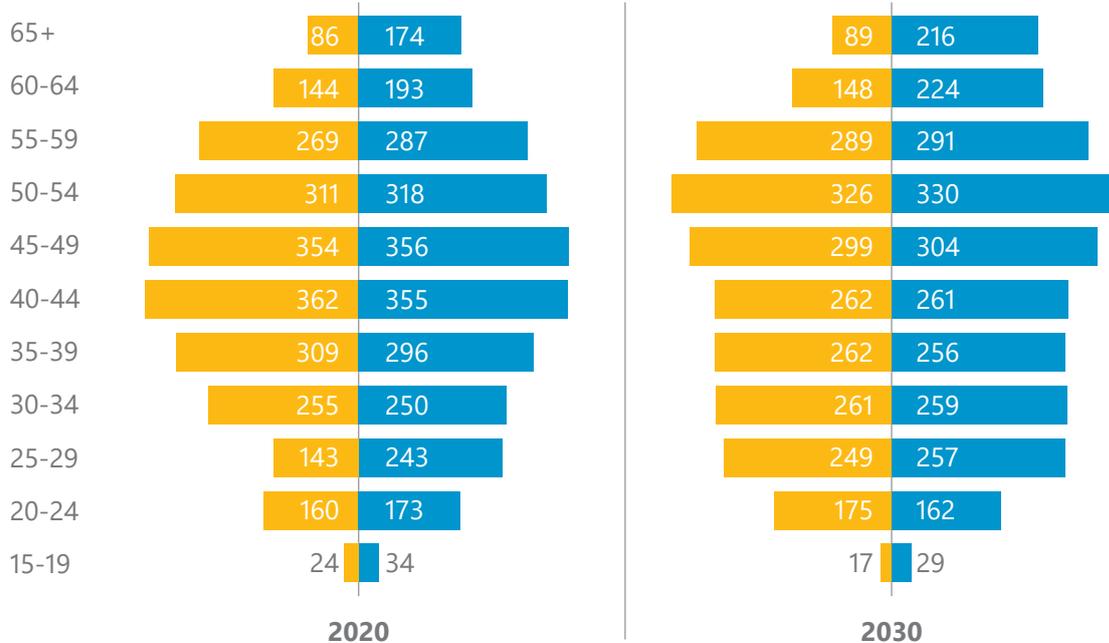
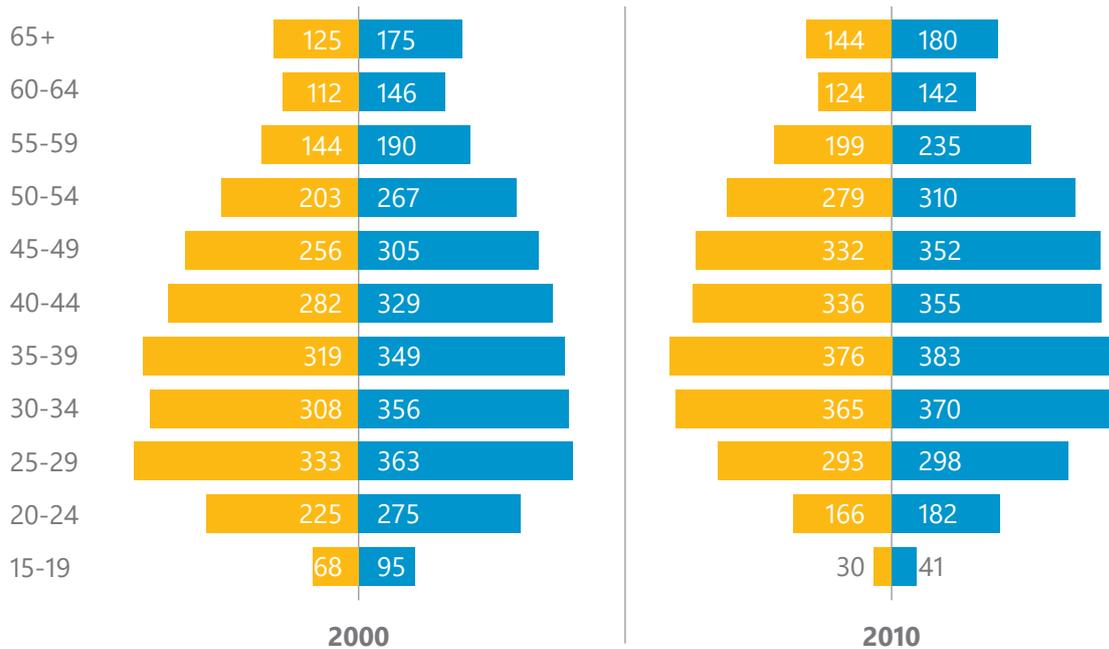
GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF THE MAIN IMMIGRANT GROUPS



Source: Migrant Observatory 2019

ANNEX 5

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOUR FORCE, 2000 – 2030, IN THOUSANDS



■ Male ■ Female

Source: Cedefop (2020 Skills Forecast)

ANNEX 6

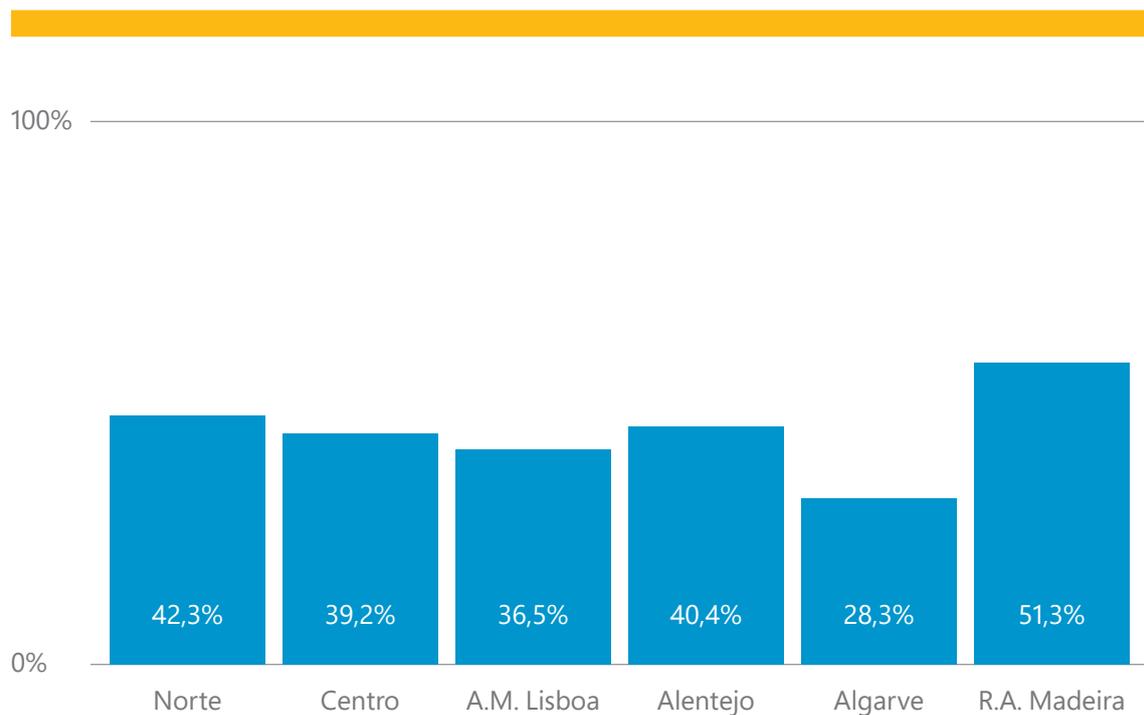
ACTIVE POPULATION BY SEX AND REGION, 2020

	Total	Males	Females
Portugal	5 165,1	2 610,9	2 554,2
Norte	1 837,2	935,8	901,4
Centro	1 112,3	570,1	542,2
A.M. Lisboa	1 399,9	682,4	717,5
Alentejo	340,9	179,4	161,5
Algarve	218,5	109,1	109,4
R.A. Açores	121,2	65,4	55,7
R.A. Madeira	135,0	68,6	66,4

Source: INE 2022a

ANNEX 7

PROPORTION OF LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYED POPULATION BY REGION, 2020



Source: INE 2022a

ANNEX 8

MOST REPRESENTATIVE FIELDS OF STUDY OF STUDENTS ENROLLED

1	Business sciences	16,8%
2	Engineering and engineering trades	15,4%
3	Health	13,4%
4	Social and behavioural sciences	9,4%
5	Arts	6,1%

Source: INE 2022a

ANNEX 9

MACROECONOMIC INDICATORS AND PROJECTIONS FOR PORTUGAL

	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
	Current prices (billion EUR)					
Gross domestic product (GDP)	205.2	2.7	-8.4	4.8	5.8	2.8
Private consumption	131.9	3.3	-7.1	4.5	4.6	1.9
Government consumption	34.8	2.1	0.4	4.3	2.9	1.3
Gross fixed capital formation	36	5.4	-2.7	5.7	8.1	8.5
Housing	6.4	1.4	-6.6	1.7	6.8	4.4
Final domestic demand	202.7	3.4	-5	4.7	5	3.1
Stockbuilding	1.6	-0.3	-0.6	0.2	0	0
Total domestic demand	204.2	3.1	-5.5	4.9	4.9	3.1
Exports of goods and services	89.1	4.1	-18.6	9.2	10.5	4.6
Imports of goods and services	88.2	4.9	-12.1	9.2	8	5.3
Net exports	0.9	-0.4	-2.9	-0.2	0.8	-0.4
Other indicators (growth rates, unless specified)						
Potential GDP	..	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.7
Output gap	..	-1	-11	-8.4	-4.7	-3.7
Employment	..	1.2	-1.9	2.3	1.3	0.8

Unemployment rate	..	6.6	7	6.9	6.7	6.5
GDP deflator	..	1.7	1.9	0.9	1.4	1.2
Harmonised consumer price index	..	0.3	-0.1	0.8	1.7	1.1
Harmonised core consumer price index	..	0.4	-0.2	0.1	1.6	1.1
Household saving ratio, net	..	-2.2	3.5	2.4	-1.1	-2
Current account balances	..	0.4	-1.1	-1	-0.6	-0.9
General government fiscal balance	..	0.1	-5.8	-4.3	-2.4	-1.6
Underlying general government fiscal balance	..	0.6	1.9	-0.6	-1.1	-1.1
Underlying government primary fiscal balance	..	3.4	4.3	1.6	0.8	0.7
General government gross debt (Maastricht)	..	116.6	135.2	133.4	128.3	125.8
General government net debt	..	99.1	112.7	110.9	105.7	103.3
Three-month money market rate, average	..	-0.4	-0.4	-0.5	-0.5	-0.5
Ten-year government bond yield, average	..	0.8	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.3

Source: OECD 2021a, OECD Economic Outlook: Statistics and Projections (database) with projections from "OECD Economic Outlook No. 110"

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