

# Reciprocal Migration in the Portuguese Lusophone System: conceptualizing flow categories and exploring measurement possibilities

*Elisa Alves (CEG-IGOT, ULisboa)*

*Asaf Augusto (University Bayreuth)*

*Katielle Silva (Universidade Federal Roraima)*

*Russell King (University of Sussex)*

*Jorge Malheiros (CEG-IGOT, ULisboa)*



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# What is reciprocal migration?

*... a 'mutual exchange of origin and destination by two different migrating groups'*

... not the same as return migration.

## **Brief literature overview:**

- Ravenstein's (1885) laws of migration: 'each main current of migration produces a counter-current'
- Gullick (1977) on reciprocal migration: British military personnel and lifestyle migrants in Malta, Maltese labour migrants and students to Britain
- Pumares et al. (2018) on 'horizontal' two-way youth mobilities between Spain and Italy – migrations of 'affinity' between two similar countries, encouraged by EU free mobility
- Statham et al. (2020) on 'both-ways' migration between Thailand and 'the West' – tourism and marriage migration based on unequal gender politics (Scuzzarello 2020)
- Asaf et al. (2022) on simultaneous flows Angola-Portugal and Portugal-Angola – colonial and post-colonial affecting contemporary migration (labour and student migration); coloniality of contemporary reciprocal migrations (unequal race relations inherited from colonialism; challenges to core-periphery "traditional" perspectives within the lusophone migration system)

# Reciprocal migration – migrations systems and challenges to dichotomic perspectives of migration

**Migration Systems Approach – Migratory fields connecting sets of origin countries and sets of destination countries** in a relatively stable manner. These countries are normally **located in the same geographical macro-region** and their links are not just the result of shared migratory flows but also of other common factors (e.g. a certain homogeneity in the economic and political system; migratory policies with common elements), namely in the case of destination countries (Kritz, Lim e Zlotnik, 1992). Frequent exemples are the Western European migration system of the 1950-early 1970s or the West African migration system - .....).

**The Reciprocal Migration** concept adds to the approach of Migration Systems: it challenges a dichotomic view that separates origin and destination countries (and the notions of the “attractive” core and the “pushing” periphery); it opens itself to contemporary fragmented and discontinuous geographies



# Reciprocal migration and the Lusophone Migration System as an example

- **Migratory movements connecting Portuguese-speaking countries that can be framed in a broader system of relations**, which has a colonial starting point, nowadays is established in a post-colonial framework with distinct types of migrations (Peixoto, 2004; Malheiros, 2005; Baganha 2009; Góis and Marques, 2009; Góis and Marques, 2016).
- **Systematic migratory flows over centuries (colonial and post-colonial contexts), relationships supported by cultural similarities and (incipient) political affinities.**
- **Thesis:** the Portuguese-speaking migratory system would initially only be composed of Portugal and Brazil, and after the 1974 revolution started to also incorporate the PALOP (Baganha, 2009).
- **Originalities 1: bidirectionality of flows** (e.g. Portugal and Brazil; Portugal and Angola (Góis and Marques 2009), **geographical discontinuity of a system composed of semi-peripheral and peripheral countries.**
- **Originalities 2: Establishment of a Mixed Transnational Social Space** - A social space stems from the transnationalism of international migrants and is associated with the development of forms of participation in economic, political, civic and cultural processes, both in the place of origin and destination, varying the domains, levels and modes of involvement (Schiller, Basch, Blanc, 1994; Portes 1999; Levitt, 2001). “Mixed” means that it is considered not a single group of immigrants, more or less homogeneous (in terms of origins (even if it involves descendants, ethnicity) but at least two who “transit” in the same space, fostering logics of reciprocity.

# Goals, Methods and Sources I

## Three main Issues to be addressed:

- What are the historical circumstances which explain reciprocal migrations in the Portuguese Lusophone Migration System (cases of Angola, Brazil, Mozambique and Portugal)?

Focus here on intersecting roles of Portuguese colonial history, coloniality (Maldonado-Torres 2007; Quijano 2000), long term Portuguese migration in the colonial and post-colonial periods (particularly in the case of Brazil) and spatial-economic core-peripherality (King 2015)

- To explore ways to measure the magnitude of contemporary reciprocal migration (21<sup>st</sup> century), considering specific types of flows (students, family, workers) as exploratory cases;

Support in previous research targeting Portuguese workers in Angola (Augusto, 2021); Angolan and Brazilian students in Portugal (Alves, 2021; Silva & Malheiros, 2021); migratory movements within mixed couples (Silva & Malheiros, 2022), all supported by qualitative material (interviews lasting around 1 hour). These in-depth interviews were often framed by extensive approaches supported in official statistics.

- To explore the contribution of these reciprocal migration to the generation of Mix Transnational Spaces

# Goals, Methods and Sources II

## Exploratory multi-sited approaches base on official statistical information

- Comparative harmonised international sources, namely OECD-DIOC;
- National Census Data for Angola (2014); Brazil (2010); Mozambique (2007 and 2017); Portugal (2011 and 2021);
- Long-term old series to illustrate the historical construction of the Migratory System and the reciprocal migration movements;
- Administrative sources from the four countries (specific migration flows and remittances – selection of illustrative cases);

Subject to simple descriptive statistics, graphs and maps illustrating and emphasising “both ways” migration



# The deep historical roots – of the Lusophone Migration system and reciprocal migration involving Portugal

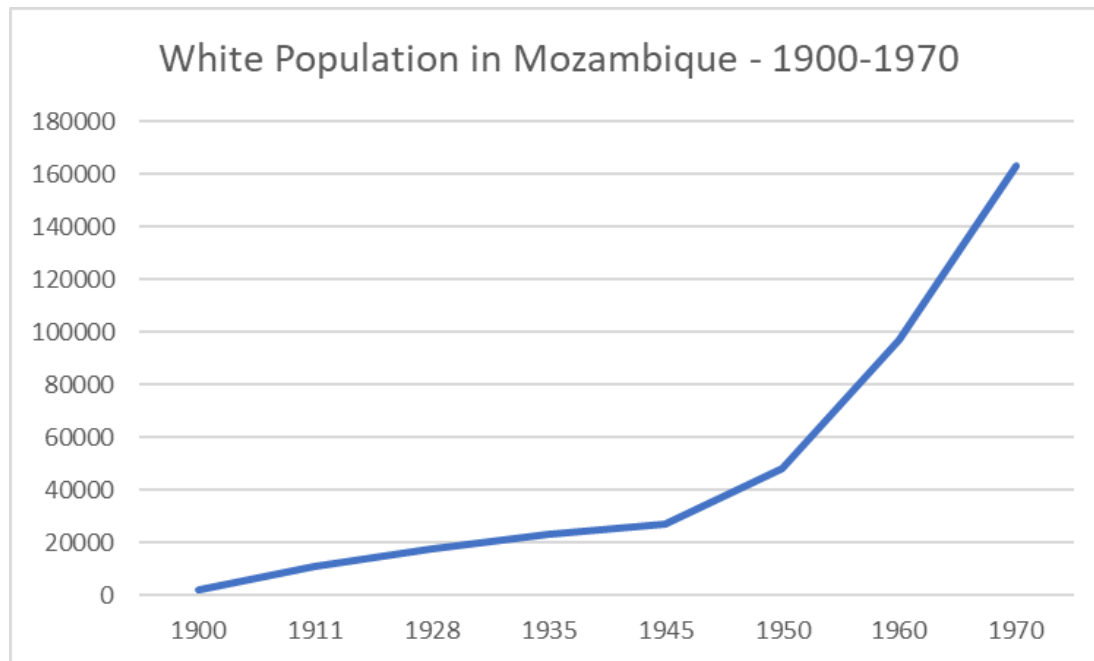
## The colonial mark and its two paths towards reciprocal migration in the 21st century:

**A) Transition from “colonising migration” to complex reciprocal flows in a context of racially segmented capitalism marked by the reproduction of the coloniality of power** (case of PALOP - Portuguese Speaking African Countries): Late colonialism (independences in 1975); stimulus of colonising migration by Portuguese families (Castelo, 2009) + migration for public+private services+commerce between the 1940s/1950s and the early 1970s. Colonial/Liberation war between 1961 and 1974 – Angola and Mozambique. Sudden and generalised “return” to Portugal between 1975 and 1981 (>0,5 million people) – revolution+democracy in Portugal; independencies in Africa. Perception and practice of **Portuguese ‘skilled white bodies’ vs. ‘unskilled black bodies’ in the case of Angolans** both in Portugal (e.g. Lisbon) and Angola (e.g. Lubango) supported by a ‘coloniality’ of power logic (Quijano, 1998; Augusto & King, 2019; Augusto, 2021).

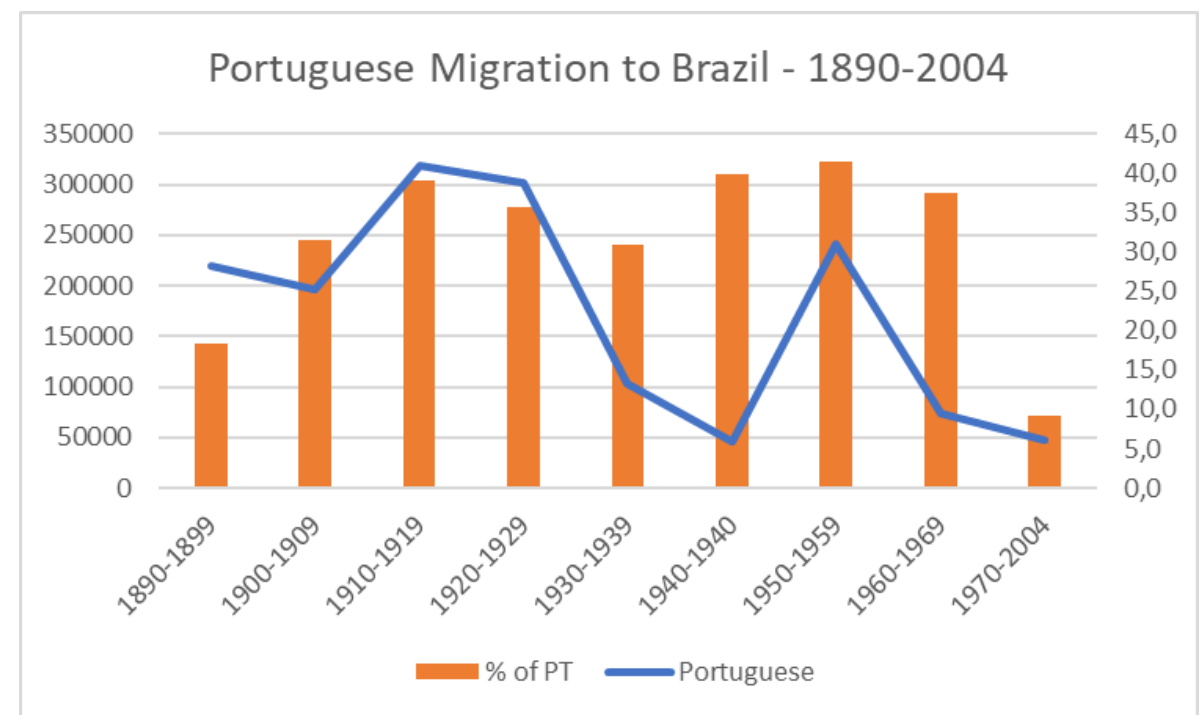
**B) Reversal of migration flows (from intense Portuguese migration to intense Brazilian migration) incorporating a reciprocal dimension in a context of racially+gender segmented capitalism marked by the reproduction of the coloniality of power** (case of Brazil): Specific independence process in 1825 in the context of transformation of Portuguese regime; intense emigration (Portugal as the main source of immigrants in Brazil) - diverse but mostly low skilled workers, from Portugal between the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the 1960s (specific peak of Portuguese emigration in the mid-1975 – political reasons). Shift in the dominant migration flows in the 1980s/1990s; Brazilians become the major migration flow and the largest immigrant stock in the first decade of 21<sup>st</sup> century (4 waves), but... flows Portugal-Brazil remain, intensifying in crisis contexts (e.g. 2011-2015 - global financial crisis). Perception of **Brazilians as scalawag with a limited work culture, and Brazilian women as exotic and hiper-sexualised in a process fed by the ‘coloniality of power’** (Grosfoguel and Georas 2000; Quijano 1998) that imposed a gender hierarchy, denigrating Brazilian women by sexualizing their image (Malheiros & Padilla, 2015).

# The deep historical roots – framing the Lusophone Migration system and reciprocal migration involving Portugal (illustrations)

The original historical element based in colonial migration (Mozambique example) and post-colonial modern migration (Brazil)



Source: Castelo (2009: 79).



Source: Levy, M.S. (1994) and SINCRFE/MJ (2004).



# Reciprocal Migration in the Lusophone Migration System in the 21<sup>st</sup> century

## Reciprocal flows involving Brazil, Portugal and Mozambique

### General Frame

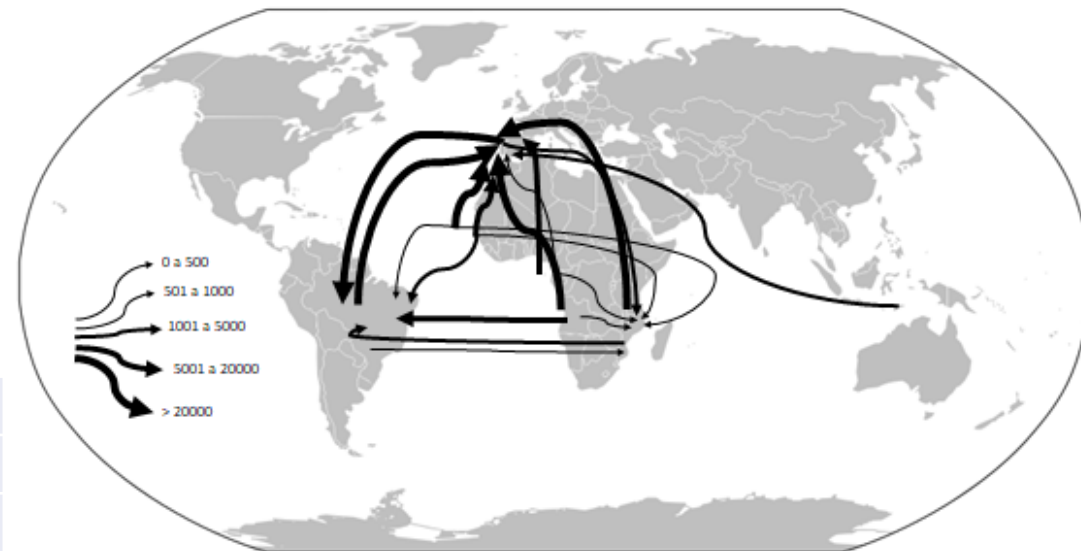
**Persons born in one country living in the other country (DIOC DATA 2010-2011)**

	<i>Origin</i>			
<i>Destination</i>	Angola	Brazil	Portugal	Mozambique
Angola	---	...	6384...	
Brazil	5444---		139451	1682
Portugal	134021	108747---		58972
Mozambique	586	991	3767---	

Source: DIOC\_SOPEMI.

Note: For Portugal to Angola data from the UN Statistics Division (first treatment Observatório da Emigração).

A “fake flows” map: stocks of CPLP countries immigrants in Brazil, Portugal and Mozambique (2010/2011)

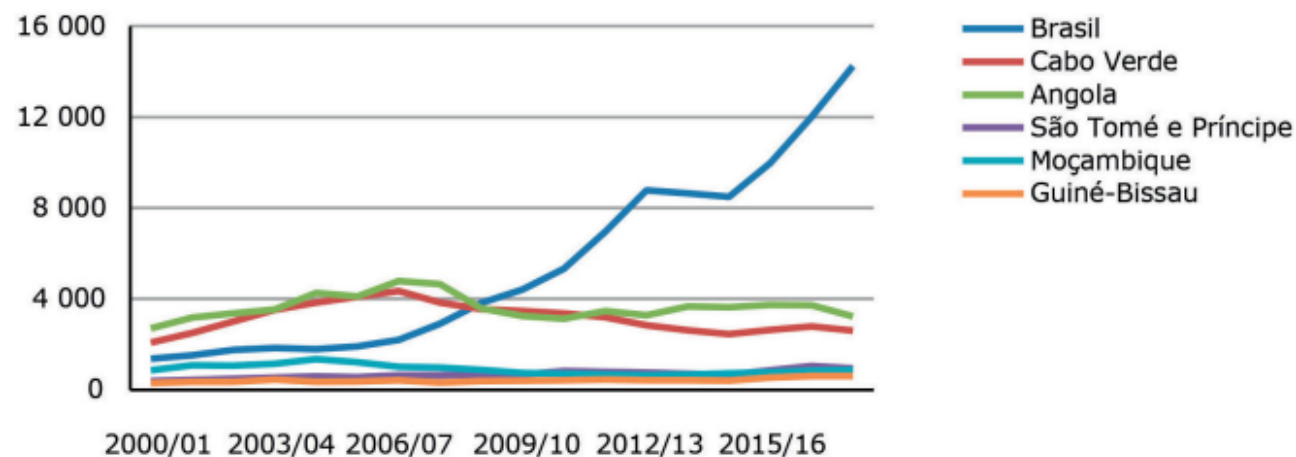


Source: DIOC ==>

<http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm>, 2010-2011  
Censuses

# Specific components of reciprocal migration I - ISM

Foreign Students in Portuguese HEIs – 2000/01 to 2016/17



Foreign Students in Portuguese HEIs - PALOP countries, 2020-2021 (only degree mobility)

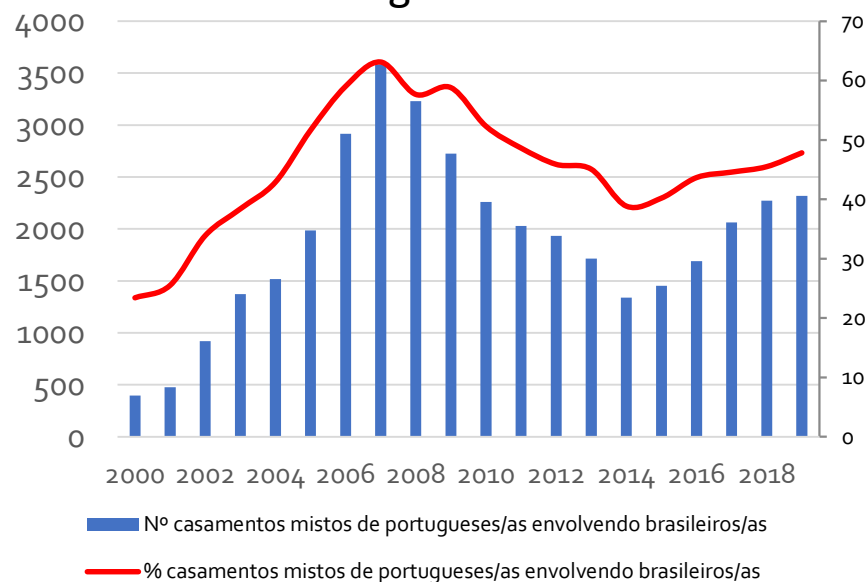
		%
Total	47072	71,8
Brasil	17629	37,5
Cabo Verde	5349	11,4
Guiné-Bissau	4730	10,0
Angola	3552	7,5
Moçambique	1545	3,3
São Tomé e Príncipe	980	2,1

Foreign Students in Brazilian HEIs - 2018

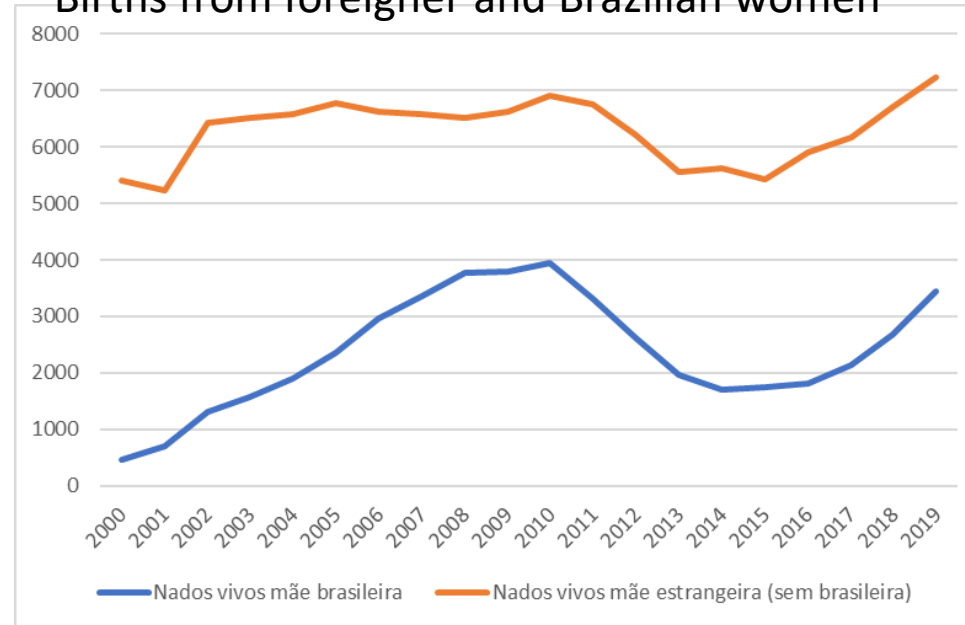
Total	23216	
Angola	2504	10,8
Guiné-Bissau	1268	5,5
Portugal	909	3,9

# Specific components of reciprocal migration II – Mix marriages and family migration (exemple Brazil-PT)

Mixed marriages – PT and Brazil



Births from foreigner and Brazilian women



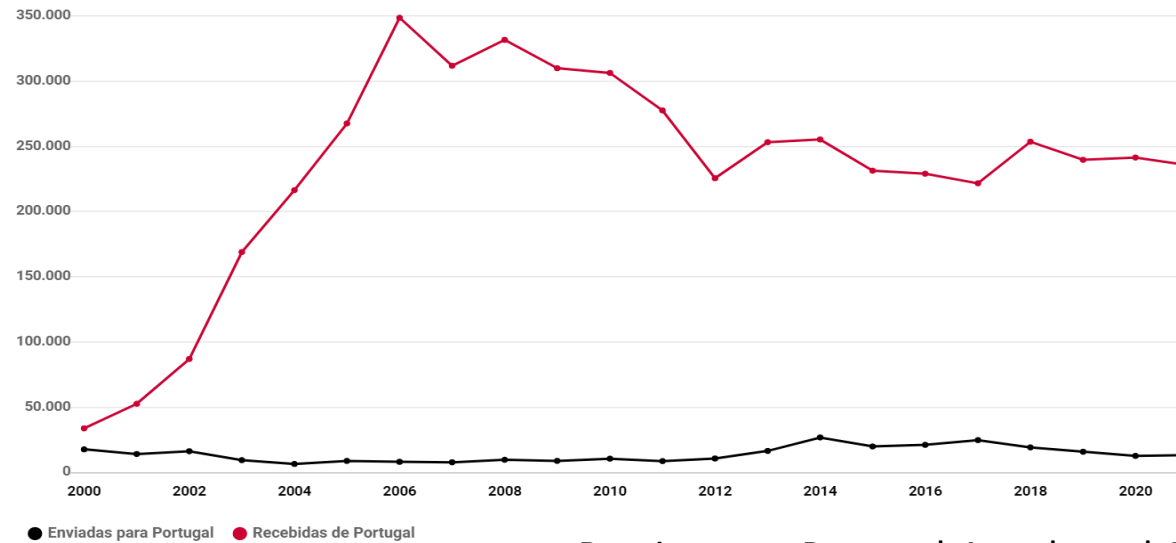
- The elements of mobility **negotiation within mixed marriages involve a “moving” assessment of macro-opportunities** (labour, political stability...) but also of **specific family needs and opportunities**. Different moments (dynamic context) may lead to the mobilization of the resources positioned in each side of the Atlantic

- The mixed Portuguese-Brazilian couples experience at least two transnational social spaces, which potentiate greater dynamism in departures and returns (challenge to the dichotomic notions of departure and return; emigrant/immigrant).

	2000	2010	2019
Nº Live births of father or mother BR	932	6.810	6.089
% Live births of father or mother BR on the total number of live births to foreign fathers and mothers	7.8	32.3	30.8

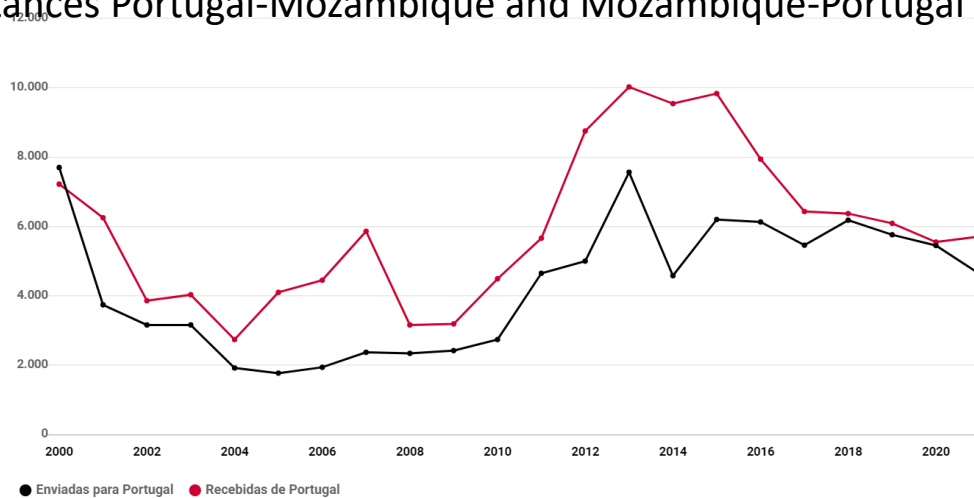
# The effects of reciprocal migration and the generation of a mixed transnational social space

## Remittances Portugal-Brazil and Brazil-Portugal (2000-2021)

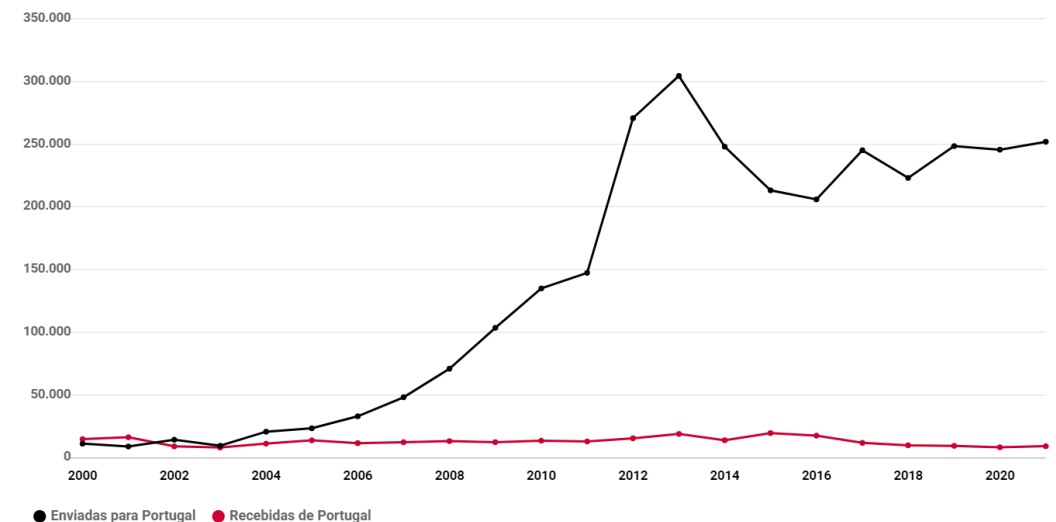


Source: Banco de Portugal  
(treated by Observatório da Emigração).

## Remittances Portugal-Mozambique and Mozambique-Portugal (2000-2021)



## Remittances Portugal-Angola and Angola-Portugal (2000-2021)



# Concluding remarks

**Conceptually (1)** – The perspective of reciprocal migration and an expanded use of the concept of migration systems seems to have the potential to capture better the “double sense” (and the meaning and diversity) of flows taking place between spaces united by well established migration processes. This contributes to deconstruct dichotomic and one-sided perspectives of migration and to challenge a reified world order with “well defined” centres and peripheries.

**Conceptually (2)** – In social terms, migration systems marked by reciprocal migration seem to generate mix social transnational spaces.

**Empirically** – former colonial relations often offer the long-term basis for the establishment of reciprocal migration, but... systematic contemporary flows are essential to feed these migrations (e.g. student migration; mixed marriages and family migration...).

**Methodologically and in terms of data** – more approaches based in reciprocal migration flows are needed to develop (or contest) this approach (the Lusophone migration system and its reciprocal migrations may be used as an example). It is important to have more “comparable data” and “databases” involving countries from the Global North and the Global South to explore migration flows in this perspective.



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