

**Bradramo - Brain Drain and Academic Mobility
from Portugal to Europe**

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Working Paper 8 - Sociological Portraits: General Results

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SOCIOLOGICAL PORTRAITS: GENERAL RESULTS

Sociological portraits arise as a methodological device able of capturing a double plurality in individual trajectories: on the one hand, the plurality of internal dispositions, considering their origin, unequal “strength” and systematicity; and, on the other hand, the plurality of contexts, as an external factor, associated with the multiplicity of processes, agencies and socialisation contexts or ways of life. In other words, we are plural individuals set in equally plural contexts. Bernard Lahire (2002) offers a grand theory that has the merit of accommodating contemporary plurality and complexity. Within the genealogy of the theory of practice, the French author developed a series of research projects and eventually proposed a programme based on the plural actor. The plural actor is exposed to multiple socialisation principles, differently updated throughout one’s pathway and strongly related with areas of activity, situations and contexts.

Lahire goes as far as to propose that the concept of *habitus* be definitely abandoned and replaced with the notion of *dispositions individual heritage*. This proposal has a particular focus on the repertoires of dispositions, with their different origins, activation degrees and strength.

In fact, extensive research work has shown that dispositions are transferred under a given number of conditions. Some situations activate and mobilise them, while others inhibit or make them dormant. The dispositions themselves have uneven degrees of robustness, highly dependent on their origin (the particular way how the socialisation process – which is always plural, more or less contradictory and activated by multiple agents, even within the family – has developed in a specific individual). This way, it is important to understand the details of intra-individual variations, how each individual unfolds into multiple commitments and metamorphoses along their different areas of action. This is the scope in which Lahire proposes sociological portraits as a methodological device.

The idea is not to consider an autonomous individual, able to exercise free will, or otherwise fragmented. Quite on the contrary, the intention here is to analyse the individual’s complex social production. After all, the individual is multi-socialised and multi-determined. Individuals, as socialised and socialising bodies, draw paths that mirror the invisible architecture of the social forces, by developing ways of relating with themselves and with their surrounding contexts and situations. This form of self-production incorporates the heaviest social constraints and does not fall short to any magic and illusive theories of free will. Lahire refers to this process as the constitution of singular social folds, arguing for the complementary autonomy and pertinence of an

observation scale and an analysis level that mustn't be abandoned by sociologists, or their analysis will be inescapably short-sighted.

However, the individual observation scale does not exclude others: at a medium level, interaction frameworks and institutions (Lopes & Costa, 2014); at a macro structural level, positions in social space. In a way, the "interior" is nothing more than a folded "exterior". Says Lahire: "No existence is possible for individuals out of the social fabric (...) the fibres of that fabric, as they interweave, are the constitutional elements of each individual" (Lahire, 2013, p. 16), thus forming a kind of singularity coefficient. That coefficient is precisely what we intend to put under our magnifying lens, by applying this methodological device.

Three major goals were defined: i) to apprehend the plural heritage of dispositions that forms the *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1983) of these subjects; ii) to establish a relation between unequal origin systems and unequal pathways; iii) to promote biographic reflexivity. To be noted, however, that in this research, portraits were at all moments centred on the migratory experience(s). This is not about writing a life story, but rather drawing the line that led to emigration.

Therefore, the sociological portrait can then be considered as a technical device at the service of a theory of practice based on the plural and contextual origin of dispositions, as guidelines to thinking, perceiving the world, feeling and acting.

The provisional conclusions, the evidence and the gaps resulting from the data analysis (of the focus groups and, more particularly, of the survey-questionnaire) provided the guidelines to prepare the interview script¹ for the sociological portraits (Lahire, 2002).

In order to gather a contact base for interviews and sociological portraits, a call for participation was prepared (using an *online* form), and sent to groups and associations of qualified Portuguese abroad, to the contacts previously gathered in the survey-questionnaire and to the project research team's contacts.

Twelve individuals were interviewed in each of the four type-profiles defined from the beginning of the project. This number would allow to portray biographic diversity and, at the same time, show regularities in decisive and defining aspects of the migratory path.

Based on the comparative study of the four type-profiles, it was looked for comparison, translation and transfer factors and processes. The resulting generalisation is not based on statistical probability and representativeness, but rather on analysis depth, intensity and density.

¹ See Annex III for the interview script of the sociological portraits.

A total of 53 people were interviewed, resulting in 53 sociological portraits of qualified Portuguese who migrated to other European countries. The interviews were face-to-face, and over Skype in some cases, when a second face-to-face interview proved impossible.

A set of criteria has been taken into consideration in selecting the interviewees, to ensure diversity of gender, age, host country and professional area within each type-profile. Yet, some countries are predominant, which is not only the result of the contact base gathered but also a reflex of the greater numbers of qualified emigrants in certain countries, according to official estimates.

1.1. Characterisation of the portrayed

Similarly to the focus groups, a pre-interview form was also filled in at this stage. The goal was to collect social and demographic data and to generally characterise the individuals' migratory paths, so that interviews could be more focused on the relevant matters.

The sample is mostly comprised of women (64.2%), young people (88.6% are under 40), single (50.9%), with no children (80.8%) and highly educated (66.1% have a Masters or a Ph.D.), matching the basic characteristics of the focus groups' sample.

For the majority of the respondents, the highest qualification (72.5%) was obtained in Portugal. The remaining respondents qualified abroad, some in their current country of residence: 7.8% of the respondents qualified in Germany, 3.9% in Spain and in the Netherlands, and next, with lower figures, in the United Kingdom, Norway, Belgium, Italy, and also in Portugal-Germany and Portugal-United Kingdom combined systems.

Table 1.1 – 1: Social and demographic characterisation of the interviewees

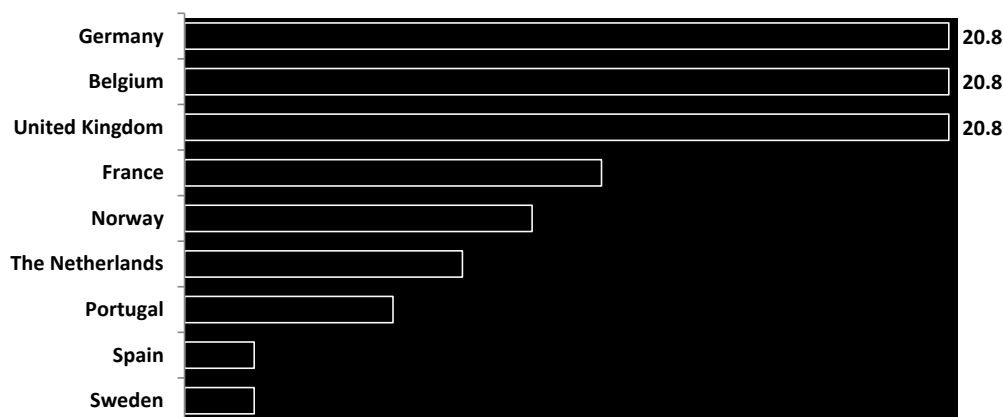
		N	%
Gender	Male	19	35.8
	Female	34	64.2
Age groups	Up to 25 years old	5	9.4
	26 - 29 years old	12	22.6
	30 - 39 years old	30	56.6
	40 - 49 years old	6	11.3
Marital status	Single	27	50.9
	Married	11	20.8
	Unmarried partner	15	28.3
Children	Yes	10	18.9
	No	43	81.1

	N	%	
Academic qualifications	Bachelor's degree	15	28.3
	Postgraduate studies	3	5.7
	Masters	25	47.2
	Ph.D.	10	18.9

Among the respondents who were married or unmarried partners, only two were not living at the time with their partners, who were then living in Portugal. The decision to leave Portugal was for the most of them (75%) their own initiative and only 25% of the respondents state that the decision was motivated by their partner's initiative. Emigration was planned for 76.5% of the respondents, whereas 15.7% left the country on invitation and 7.8% state that departure was unexpected.

As for the country of residence, as in Graph 1.1 – 1, highlight goes to Germany, Belgium and the United Kingdom, accounting for 20.8% of the individuals. But our respondents also include residents in France, Norway, the Netherlands, Spain and Sweden. 5.7% of the respondents were living in Portugal, that is, they had temporarily returned to Portugal at the time of the interview.

Graphs 1.1 – 1: Country of residence at the moment of the interview (%)

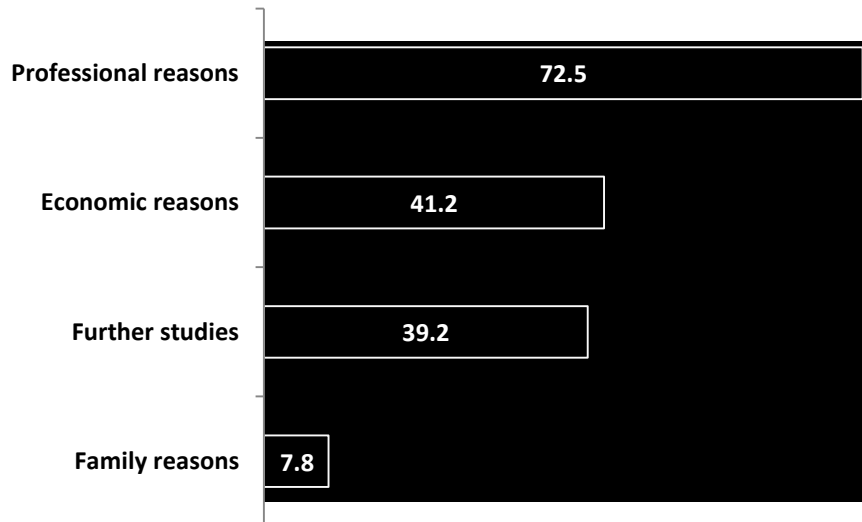


Consistent with the previously obtained data, the date of arrival in the host country was 2011 or later for 66% of the respondents (18% in 2011; 26% in 2012; 18% in 2013; and 4% in 2014), and 60.8% of the respondents had already lived in another country (other than Portugal or the country of residence) for over 6 months. Regarding Portugal, only 7.8% of the respondents stated that they had returned to Portugal for over 6 months.

Among the reasons that motivated the departure of our respondents, highlight goes to professional reasons, pointed out by 72.5% of the respondents (Graph 1.1 – 2)

and followed by economic reasons (41.2%). Further studies is also a significant item, mentioned by 39.2% of the respondents.

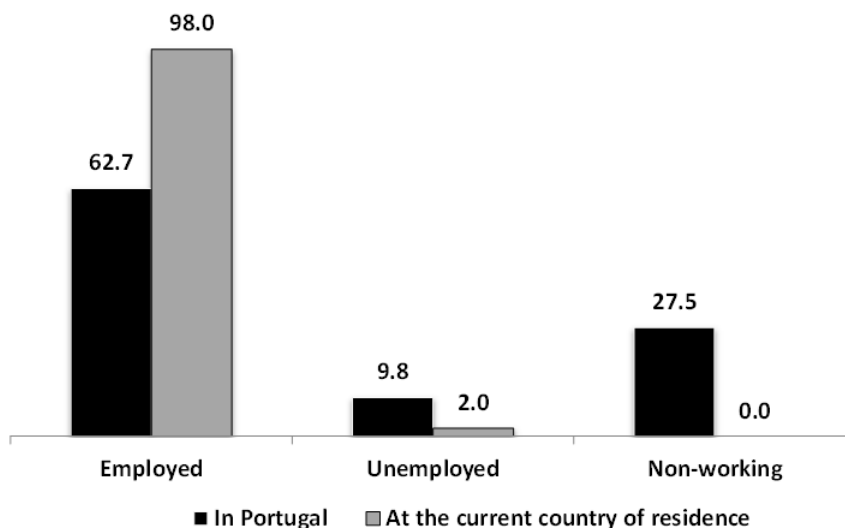
Graph 1.1 – 2: Reasons stated to leave the country



The networks available to the respondents in the host country when they migrated are another important aspect. In fact, 60.8% of the respondents refer that they had connections in their country of residence. From these, 56.7% point out contact with friends and 26.7% mention contact with professional colleagues in the host country. The remaining are divided into 16.7% having contact with Portuguese professional colleagues; 16.7% with business connections; 10% with family connections; and 3.3% mentioned employment agencies.

About their professional situation, the majority of the respondents (62.7%) were employed in Portugal, a number rising to 98% in the host country (Graph 1.1 – 3).

Graph 1.1 – 3: Professional situation before and after migration (%)

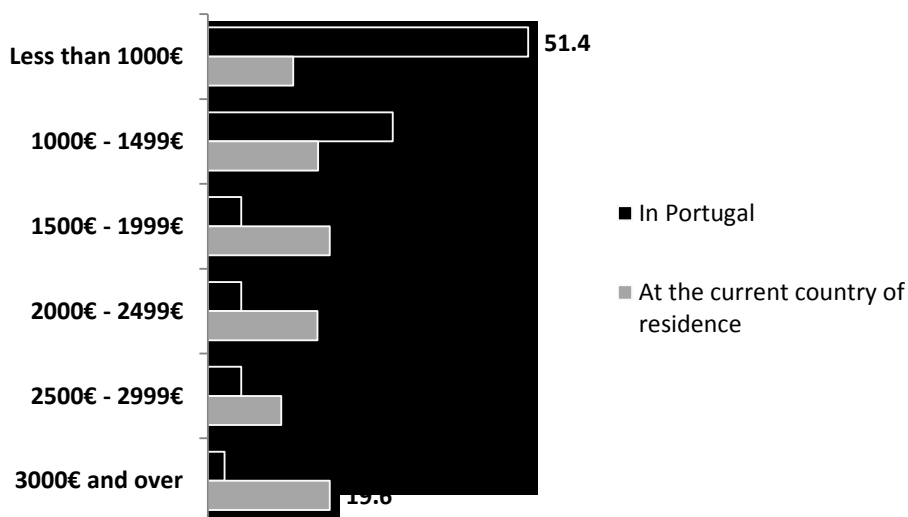


From the respondents who were employed in Portugal, 50% were on an indefinite term contract, and the other 50% are equally divided into respondents on a fixed-term contract and self-employed respondents. If we look at the situation in the host country, the values are slightly changed: 52% are on an indefinite term contract, 36% on a fixed-term contact and 12% are self-employed.

To be noted that 87.8% of the respondents have a job that is compatible with or exceeds their academic qualifications. Still, 12.2% say they are underemployed.

The figures that show the biggest difference in professional situation before and after migration are related with salary (Graph 1.1 – 4): more than half the respondents (51.4%) earned less than 1 000€ in Portugal, whereas an impressive 49% in the host country have a monthly income higher than 2 000€.

Graph 1.1 – 4: Net monthly income before and after migration (%)



About future plans and possible return to Portugal, it is evident that that will not happen in the short or medium term: 51.1% of the respondents say they will stay in the host country for more than 5 years (Table 1.1 – 2). In the long-term, only 25.5% of the respondents admit the possibility of returning permanently to Portugal. As we shall see further ahead, when portraits are analysed, the return, even if it's considered by some, is generally regarded as a remote possibility, projected into the distant future, probably after retirement.

Table 1.1 – 2: Time of permanence in the country of residence and long-term plans (%)

		%
Time of permanence in the current country of residence	Up to 1 year	8.9
	2 years	11.1
	3 years	22.2
	5 years	6.7
	Between 5 and 10 years	22.2
	Over 10 years	28.9
	Total	100
Long-term plans	Emigrate to another non-European country	3.9
	Emigrate to another European country	5.9
	Return temporarily to Portugal and emigrate again	5.9
	Stay permanently in the country where I am living now	7.8
	Return permanently to Portugal	25.5
	No plans yet	51.0
	Total	100

1.2. Analysis of the sociological portraits per type-profile

The sociological portraits drawn originated the publishing of two books: one printed book, published by Bertrand, including 20 portraits (five per each type-profile); and one e-book containing the remaining portraits not published in the previous book.

With a view to account for: the wide diversity of migratory trajectories, reflecting the different life projects of their respective subjects; the multiple social and geographic departure and arrival points, with just as multiple intermediate waypoints; the different levels of success or failure, and several degrees of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the personal and professional situation experienced during the mobility; the analysis carried out on the portraits in each type-profile is presented below, including a

summary of the 20 published portraits. The portraits chosen for this selection were those that, on the one hand, provide greater amount of information on the migratory pathway and, on the other hand, show significant dimensions of trajectory diversity.

1.2.1. Type-profile: migration to a European country to work in the scientific or higher education system

The following portraits narrate the journey of young Portuguese researchers who made a choice to work in the scientific system of several European countries. Their routes show how academic career management is ever more tied with international mobility, as part of a process intended to promote exchange of the ways of doing science and generating knowledge. European science policies are not neutral in this matter. Incentives to individual career internationalisation and to institutional joint projects are increasingly rising. Mobility tends to be strongly encouraged by research and higher education institutions; integrated in European policies, supported by research funding schemes (successive framework programmes and the current Horizon 2020), and training strategies based on programmes such as Life-long Learning (Erasmus, Leonardo Da Vinci, Comenius and Grundtvig, presently Erasmus+).

Almost all of the followed pathways result from international student mobility experiences, except for one researcher aged over 40. This proves that the policies related with the construction of the European space have indeed a significant impact, with the offer of international training opportunities targeting the youngest generation of scientists. Mobility appears as a generational decision, and is perceived, more strongly so in Europe, as an integrate part of the latest generations' educational project, meant to consolidate "European awareness" and "European identity". The increase in the number of individual Ph.D. and post-doctoral scholarships, both mixed and international, granted by the Foundation for Science and Technology [*Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia*], up to the mid-2000s, has equally contributed to enhance the conditions for the mobility and circulation of the new generation of scientists. Most of the portrayed subjects migrated with the purpose of doing advanced studies, with mobility opportunities enlarged by the formal recruitment processes launched by European research and higher education institutions.

Biographies are enriched, and language and cross-sectional skills such as flexibility and cultural eclecticism are improved. These mobile scientists seem to be more receptive to new ideas and concepts, as well as to the establishment and consolidation of weak yet extended social ties. Additionally, they have the potential to

turn social networks into economic resources for research. These subjects are human capital relevant for both the original and the host countries, for the internationalisation and the quality of research and higher education, and also for the development of transnational networks. Trajectories are often made of multiple mobility, with widely variable durations, making it difficult to differentiate between mobility and emigration in our analysis.

Academic mobility is not seen by the majority as inevitable or as a direct consequence of the economic crisis that has taken over the country, but rather as a career strategy, in a country located in the European scientific, economic and cultural semi-periphery. While some refer to the appealing challenge of turning the potential of scientific communities into actual knowledge and technologies transfer, they also acknowledge that national and European institutions do very little to make this a reality.

In contemporary societies, transition to adult life autonomy is a multiple process subject to great diversity, and entails more than the moment when the young leave their original families to start their own. Aged between 24 and 43, most of our portrayed, with the one exception of the person who is now over 40, are experiencing a transition processes into adult life that run parallel with the migratory process. These are transition processes that, in the words of Guerreiro & Abrantes (2007), may be characterised as “professional transitions” and “experimental transitions”. The life experiences of the young scientists show a sequence of more or less temporary and heterogenous settings, such as living alone, sharing a house with co-workers and friends, living in student houses, living with a partner, having children outside marriage, getting married and having children.

Nevertheless, these young adults tend to consider that their lives are divided into two different periods: the first, when they have no major responsibilities, is dedicated to experimenting the surrounding world (five of our respondents are not involved in any romantic relationship), even if the majority of the subjects does not have major family projects (from the 12 interviewees, only two have children and one mentions the wish to have them); the second period, when they seek emotional stability – in some cases, there is a romantic relationship, usually in the post-doctorate period – and a professional status able to ensure greater stability. A minority among the interviewees migrated with their families, just like a minority started a family at the destination country, with no significant differences between men and women.

Making their way into adult life, as they go through “professional transitions” and “experimental transitions”, these young people – with prestigious, well remunerated and highly competitive jobs and fast progressing careers – experience academic work

as a *continuum*, in a “long working times culture”. In such a context, it is hard to reconcile professional and personal life, and these two spheres of life tend to overlap. This *continuum* is the outcome of a strong investment made in pursuing studies and making a career in the academic world, in many cases involving precarious dynamics and multiple mobilities. These contribute to postpone the fulfilment of personal, cultural and sports interests, *hobbies* and romantic relationships, and force them to live in “extended presents” or in a “return to adolescence”. Geographic mobility also seems to favour the experimenting of different jobs and the acquaintance with new realities, being at the same time a true accelerator of usually slower transitions. In the process, personal development is enhanced with multiple personal, professional and cultural experiences. The result is maximised individualization and diversification of lifestyles, as well as a considerable increase of weak bonding sociability networks.

Considering the age range comprehended in the portraits, relation with work can assume very different forms, depending not only on the moment when work is started but also on the individuals’ notion of work, partially determined by the fact that they spent most of their working life in Portugal as scholarship holders. Thus, if, on one end of the age range, we find a 24-year old researcher who is currently doing her Ph.D., on the opposite end, there is a 43-year old researcher with a long working background. Collaborations of a precarious nature, not necessarily related with the subjects’ area of study, can be found in practically all cases, and are often related with the respondents’ immediate need to ensure their own resources – also necessary to materialise later options to carry on their studies. Working opportunities related with the respondents’ area of study tend to occur within the scope of research projects and scholarship remuneration.

The working experiences offered by the migratory process are seen differently, because researchers usually work under a contract of employment, pay tax, make social security payments and feel integrated in the labour market while they’re doing their Ph.D. or post-doctoral studies. Recognising mobility as an intrinsic characteristic of research work is to admit that working and living conditions will have to adapt to that characteristic, whether in Portugal or in another country, with or without an economic crisis.

The professional factor seems to be the most determining in leaving or staying in the country where the mobility experience took place. In some cases, this option is justified by the subject’s intention to specialise further in an area for which Portugal offers no sustainable opportunities; in other cases, the precarious nature of the options available in the Portuguese market is what drives people to seek opportunities beyond

the national territory. Even though the financial issue cannot be said to be a minor concern, the possibility of career advancement and recognition of professional merit in the preferred area appear to be more relevant than remuneration or geographic location. Institutional support for the choices made is highly valued by the subjects, which, again, underlines how important the professional factor is. Therefore, it is only fair to say that mobility is further motivated by pull factors at the destination country than by push factors in Portugal.

In an attempt to characterise employability in the Portuguese context, one must consider the specificities of working in the scientific area. The labour market in Portugal is increasingly precarious. Scholarships fail to meet the requirements of a contract of employment and the State has gradually reduced investment in research policies over the latest years. The other conditions offered are also inadequate to a type of work requiring in-depth studies: the organisational model does not value new skills or new ways of working; the companies do not integrate or recognise new skills available in the labour market; selection and recruitment continue to be based on documental curricular tests instead of interviews with objective scenarios presented for problem solving. The impossibility to find an appropriate job gives subjects no alternative but to leave the country.

Academically highly qualified and successful individuals meet a domestic labour market unable to absorb those resources, and shift their attention to the international scene, now perceived as a global market.

General perception is that the existing conditions before the systemic crisis of 2008 were not the best but provided at least encouraging grounds for the development of a scientific career in Portugal. A recent dramatic change in public policies for science resulted in the underfunding of scientific research and this, in turn, became an individualist, unstable and project-based activity. These changes affected individual candidates², and research institutions alike. Reduced funding³ makes it impossible for researchers to consider the possibility of a career in their country of origin, whether in the short or in the long term, as it is generally believed that the former conditions will not be reset before one to two decades from now.

Even if we think that we are players in a global market, and that making a career abroad may have positive consequences for the country – as knowledge and technology tend to circulate – the general perception is that Portugal will always be in

² In 2012, FCT granted approximately the same number of individual scholarships as in 2004. Compared to 2012, the results of the application process in 2013 revealed 40 and 65% reductions, for doctoral and post-doctoral scholarships respectively (FCT/MEC; PORDATA).

³ From the 322 research centres evaluated in 2014, only 11 were rated «Exceptional».

disadvantage, mainly because the country fails to capitalise on the investment made in the education of migrating professionals. Therefore, Portugal tends to subsidise rich countries (that attract and receive Portuguese brains), as their growth relies also on the concentration of human capital.

Some predict an extreme evolution towards underdevelopment. The anticipated scenario features a marked asymmetry between the few who work in well-paid, socially protected economic and cutting-edge technological areas, while the vast majority will be working in unprotected areas, with poor or intermittent remuneration and low or medium qualifications.

The portraits grouped in this profile share a number of specific characteristics that might not be initially relevant to the decision to migrate – since circulation is an integrate part of the scientists' training and professional process – but turn rapidly into a key factor in deciding not to return to Portugal. Seen in this light, mobility can hardly be considered a reversible process.

YARA REIS: “I WAS BORN UPROOTED”

Yara is 34 years old and was born in Maputo. She currently lives in Berlin with her boyfriend and their 18-month old daughter. She had a three-month academic mobility experience and finished her doctorate in 2011, both in Heidelberg.

Geographic mobility and emigration have long been part of her personal, academic and professional life, which makes her say of herself that she is a person “with no roots”. Nevertheless, her concern to teach her daughter to speak Portuguese and her wish to return to Portugal (even if only as a retiree) suggest contradictory feelings and show how much her perspective of past, present and future is conditioned by the cultural aspect.

Her academic and professional background was influenced by her parents' high qualifications and the credentials of other members of the extended family, namely an uncle and an aunt. Mainly a researcher, she has nonetheless been always involved in other professional activities. Her associational activity is closely related with the unequal status of a researcher in Portugal and Germany.

ALEXANDRE FARIA: BETWEEN THE SCIENTIFIC CAREER AND EMOTIONAL TIES IN PORTUGAL

Alexandre Faria is 25 years old and comes from a family with strong academic resources. His father is a Physics professor in a Portuguese public university and his mother is the curator of the Museum of Science in the same university. With a Masters

in Engineering Physics, he has accumulated academic and social capital, drawing a pathway that somehow mimics his father's academic career.

After a student mobility experience in Canterbury, he migrated to the United Kingdom in 2012 to work as a doctorate student and assistant professor in the Physics Department of the University of Kent.

Undecided yet about whether or not he will return to Portugal after his doctorate, he admits that the course of his life will depend on the opportunities for professional fulfilment. Although Portugal is in his future plans – he still feels emotionally attached to the country – State reduced investment on science may eventually doom the project to come back.

ÂNGELA RELÓGIO: “FOR SCIENTISTS, THE WORLD IS OUR HOME”

Ângela Relógio is 39 years old and moved to Berlin in 2006 to start her second post-doctorate. That's where she has lived up to this day, working as principal researcher. She manages a 1.3 million euro research budget funded by the German Ministry for Science and Education (BMBF) and works with her own independent team. Ângela was born in Beja and is an only child. She spent her childhood in Ferreira do Alentejo, and mentions grandparents from her mother's side as key figures in her life. Her mother is an economist and her father, a farmer, used to manage a family flour company but is now retired. After her parents' divorce, when she was seven, Ângela got two sisters from her father's second marriage. In spite of having been an only child for most of her childhood, she remembers her many friends, both boys and girls, and how they used to play out in the street in a highly sociable atmosphere, typical of a small town where everyone knows one another.

Ângela's academic background is rather stable, not only in terms of the options made, but also in terms of her results. According to her, school involved no difficulty up to the secondary level. The challenge was first faced when she started her degree in Engineering Physics, at *Instituto Superior Técnico* in Lisbon. Although Medicine has always had a special place in her heart, her final choice was for Physics, but all optional subjects taken were related with the medical area. She transferred directly into doctorate, in a programme where the first year was to be done in Portugal with the option to do the following years abroad. Ângela took the opportunity and started her doctoral programme in the European Molecular Biology Laboratory (EMBL) in Heidelberg, Germany, where she would later do her first post-doctorate.

The choice to continue along the same pathway also involved emotional reasons, as Ângela got married to a German co-worker she met at the EMBL. She later

decided to live in Berlin, a decision that was highly determined by how well both she and her husband knew the German research system. The two children born in the meantime, as much as a number of concerns that go way beyond professional choices, were eventually decisive for that choice.

Returning to Portugal is not in her plans; she admits it might be an option to consider, but has a critical view of the Foundation for the Science and Technology, saying there is no real strategy in place to capitalise on the investment made in the training of high qualified graduates.

JOANA BATISTA: “IT WAS THE SCARIEST DECISION I HAVE EVER HAD TO MAKE IN MY ENTIRE LIFE”

Joana Batista is 25 years old and migrated initially to London, in 2013, to join her boyfriend. She later settled in Cambridge, where she started work as Research Assistant in haematology. Her mother works in a factory and her father, who has recently migrated, is a construction foreman. An only child, Joana was born and spent all her childhood and youth in Alcochete, where she built strong friendship ties. Her economically stable household changed dramatically “when the crisis set in”. Facing a whole new situation, she was forced to work since she was 17, as she realised that her projects wouldn’t materialise unless she could provide for her own needs.

For Joana, school was a relatively stable experience until university. From a very early stage, Health was her favourite area of study. In secondary school, Medicine was her focus – also because she was unaware of other alternatives –, and research became a goal to pursue when she was about to enter university. Joana applied for a degree in Biomedical Sciences in Histocellular Pathology, but failed admission “by two decimal points”, which filled her with frustration. Then, she decided to do a degree in Clinical Analyses and Public Health, at Lisbon School of Health Technology. Her plan was to transfer to Anatomical Pathology at the end of the first year but, finally, she decided to carry on her training.

She lived through a difficult post-degree period, finding it hard to access the labour market, particularly in her area of training. She had a number of different professional experiences, although she does not consider them as proper work. She was self-employed, doing precarious, low-paid, part-time jobs. A professional experience in a laboratory in Sweden, during the last year of her degree, within the Erasmus programme, gave her the chance to compare entirely different working and organisational models. This experience confirmed her growing feeling that finding a job and a remuneration compatible with her qualifications would be challenging, and made

her realise she didn't identify with the structure and the working organisation in the companies she worked for.

The stable situation she now has in Cambridge, working on a contract, in her area of interest, motivated her to join a Masters Degree. She admits that returning to Portugal is not part of her plans as long as her current situation offers the potential to grow professionally and as a person. She claims: "At this moment, I feel self-fulfilled and I've got short and medium-term projects that give me the stability I need to make my stay possible."

MANUELA ALCOBIA: "PORTUGAL IS A GREAT PLACE TO LIVE AND BE ON HOLIDAY, BUT IT IS NOT A GOOD PLACE TO WORK"

Manuela Alcobia is 43 years old and she migrated to London in 2013, opening the door to family reunification at the destination country. Married and mother of three children, this civil servant with a stable career views this as a moment to take stock of her life, and to consider a "new start". She embarked on the adventure after she had to endure a major cutdown in income, a result of the economic reforms affecting the wages of civil servants. Her husband, with a job in the private sector, also experienced some instability and, at some point, it was obvious the household wouldn't be able to keep their intended living standard.

Manuela's trajectory in school shows an early preference for her area of study – biochemistry. The only moment of doubt was after she finished her degree and had to find compatible job opportunities. In fact, the area of chemistry was first chosen in the 9th grade and followed in secondary school until she started a degree in Biochemistry. After finishing, she started a second degree in Pharmacy but dropped out in the third year. She had a compatible job offer and was pregnant of her first child. She later finished her Masters, as a working student and a full-time mother.

Mobility didn't come into her life as a top priority option, but rather as the only alternative. Being co-responsible for a five people household, putting an end to a 13-year old professional relationship with an unpaid leave required thorough consideration and careful planning, in order to ensure a relatively smooth transition, considering all the variables at stake; after all, not only her own future, but also her husband's and, mainly, her three under aged children's is on the line.

Today, Manuela believes that the final balance is positive, but says that, as a couple, they take only baby-steps. Their everyday life is more determined by the need to provide children with certain opportunities, and more personal projects are pushed

into the long-term. Returning to Portugal is clearly not an option because, as she says, Portugal “is not a good place to work”, which in itself limits the quality of life.

1.2.2. Type-profile: long-term emigration to a European country, to work in the primary or secondary sectors of the employment system

The portraits included in this group have working experience and professional integration as their common background, both before and after the migratory experience. The subjects' trajectories and experience in the Portuguese working reality left them a feeling of disappointment and discontent, regardless of their respective working areas. Although the working conditions in Portugal were among the factors that motivated departure, these workers tend to see them less as the causes that made them leave and more as the reasons that make them stay. Particularly in the artistic or scientific areas of work, the two major fields of the so-called creative societies – where flexibility is seen as a plus, certainly a consequence of the contemporary capitalistic rhetoric –, the perception of precariousness is very intense in Portugal.

There is a tension between what is claimed to be a source of social and economic development, and also an opportunity to reinforce citizenship, and the precarious situation of employment experienced by many professionals in this sector. An emergent *cluster* of working precariousness and poorly remunerated occupations seems to be the counterpoint to the rhetoric of the creative classes.

All the subjects in this case had past working experiences in Portugal before they migrated. Some were unemployed or had precarious, little motivating and unsatisfying jobs, both financially and in terms of their personal and professional development.

This set of portraits shows a negative view of how the country's social and economic situation will evolve in the future and offers an enraged critique of the governments who, instead of making good use of highly qualified manpower as their most valuable asset, encourage workers to go abroad and seem unable to call them back. Alternatives and support to the young people who have just finished their degrees are considered to be absent but necessary. Promoting economic recovery, fair treatment of citizens and maternity support are the measures advanced by a generation of young people who felt pushed away by a country that couldn't make good use of them. Even when the decision to leave was the response to a professional challenge or when it was motivated by the wish to experience and know other cultures and realities, the feeling that Portugal is wasting highly qualified human resources seems to be unanimous. A murmur of anger runs through these portraits. For this

group, emigration is less an option than a need. The country's situation and, particularly the employment situation of young people was, for most of them, the decisive reason to migrate.

Whether they will return or not is the question they all ask themselves at some time of their migratory trajectory, and the answer is not always the same. For some, return is seen as something temporary or remote in time (returning for a holiday or when they retire); for others, return is only a matter of wishful thinking and depends on whether Portugal can offer them the right conditions to achieve professional fulfilment. The decision to return is linked with a number of other factors, particularly family related. The existence of a romantic partner is key to consolidate the emigration experience and can obliterate or delay the possibility of returning to Portugal, in the short or medium term. On the other hand, starting a family is a factor that might promote new mobilities.

Being available for future mobilities has so much to do with the search for better professional conditions as it has with the search for better living conditions and family and children friendly environments. Literature on emigration demonstrates that professional adaptation and the integration of children in the host country dissuade people from returning and break emotional ties with their homeland. As years go by, the idea of not returning to a country where one has increasingly fewer family relations and stay where one's children are and one's grandchildren will be, is highly present in the new emigrants, as opposed to the Portuguese emigrants of the 60's and the 70's.

One might ask whether such different academic qualifications between the two groups might be the determining element for such different strategies. However, we mustn't forget that many poorly educated Portuguese in the emigration flows of the second half of the 20th century never actually returned. The unfolding of family life, together with the opportunities for professional integration seem to be decisive in making the return possible. When comparing present and past migratory flows, the striking difference is that now, even when the wish to return is present, it is nothing more than a mirage.

In the case of the families with no children, starting a family in the host country is a highly considered possibility, even if the family supporting networks are absent and missed. The advantages offered to maternity and child upbringing in the recipient countries favour this decision and may contribute to extend the mobility, with subjects moving to a different country.

Emigration is no longer linked with economic cycles, it is now structural. The decision to return is continuously postponed. Return is not considered but as a long-

-term project. Building a house in Portugal, sending remittances home or doing anything similar to what used to be the standard of former generations of substantially lower qualified Portuguese emigrants is not part of the equation. Even in those cases where the migratory experience hasn't had any satisfactory results yet, the wish to return is a small one. On the other hand, the shared unshakeable feeling is that the experience will eventually pay off, be it in the current country of residence or in a different country, and that it will always be better than the existing alternative in Portugal.

The Portuguese education system is not seen neither as the origin of the migratory drive nor as a source of dissatisfaction. Quite on the contrary, subjects rate it as good quality, when compared with education systems in the host countries. The importance of education and better qualifications as a way of achieving intergenerational social upward mobility is a notion shared by parents and children and sets their hopes up. Family incentive and investment towards a higher education degree is present, even in lower-educated families. Emigration is then seen as an unexpected turn of events, in the eyes of both. Which does not mean that it is not faced with an adventurous spirit or seen as an exciting challenge. Anyway, the idea prevails that the investment was justified, in spite of the discontent and the frustration felt after graduation. Of course, better adequacy between the job and the training or education level will mean a more acute perception that it was worth the effort.

There are, however, less successful situations in the host country, where expectations of social upward mobility fail to be met. This situation tends to be regarded as temporary and likely to be overcome in the near future. The expectation is sustained by subjects who compare their actual situation with what they would be facing, if they hadn't migrated. But, again, it is also rooted in the belief that higher education is a factor for success. In other words, inadequacy between job opportunities and qualifications is the problem, rather than education. Therefore, there is a cross-sectional effort to learn the language of the host country and do vocational training courses, in order to increase the opportunities for better professional integration.

The decision to leave is justified with two main reasons: the lack of perspectives in Portugal to find a dignifying job, build a career and obtain professional recognition; and the frustration felt before an employment market that fails to value the skills acquired by the young graduates (bachelor's degree, masters, Ph.D.). The choice of the host country is also more justified by the perspective to find professional integration in their area of study than by the existence of any contact networks.

Emigration has been part of the Portuguese history and has been addressed for many centuries. Current emigration flows take us back to the 1960's, when a great migratory wave was started. Could this sort of migratory tradition, that has once made us cross the sea and go beyond borders, have some kind of inspiring influence in the young qualified migrants' decision to leave the country? After all, we live next door to neighbours, friends and relatives who left and have been leaving the country. Being acquainted with the emigrant community, in the family or in the cultural environment, may work as a trigger or a deterrent to leave. Positive experiences will motivate departure while negative experiences will be discouraging.

On the other hand, this is a generation that has always lived in and known a "borderless" and free circulation Europe, where international experiences are encouraged in the academic world. For this reason, in some cases, mobility is hardly seen as emigration. Student mobility experiences as part of the Erasmus programme, among others, promote a taste for the overseas and a craving for other cultures, and contribute to establish a contact network that becomes useful when the decision is made to migrate.

At a time marked by "translocality", transnational movements are increasingly more intense and borders are the object of a different understanding: they are more permeable, more *fluid*, and especially influential in the construction of collective and individual identities. Thinking global is thinking of the flows and yet, rooted is another aspect of the broader concept of globalisation. When subjects talk about the "right to one's roots", we realise this is not only a question of *globalisms*, it is also a matter of *localisms*, of regional and local identities.

National identity, the so-called "being Portuguese", is often highly praised in this context. Missing your home country doesn't only mean missing your family and friends but also the country itself – the people, the culture, the hospitality, the food, the sun, the beach. These are the elements remembered in nostalgia and that somehow represent what is good about this country and set it apart from all the others.

Nonetheless, emigration may also trigger isolation and, in many cases, people develop different ways of keeping social contact with their original country. They keep contact with family and friends previous to migration ; are up-to-date with the main events in the home country; use social networks, a tool that has greatly contributed to shorten distance; establish friendship ties in the host countries, mostly Portuguese but also other foreigners who share the emigrant condition. Generally, subjects think that building a friendship with nationals of the host country is difficult, mainly because of the language barrier, the attitudes and the culture.

Under these circumstances, everyday sociability practices are often limited to Portuguese people met before migration, Portuguese people met in the host country after migration, and other emigrants. Solidarity bonding is powerful. Because this is a distinctive trend in migratory flows, a comparison between this and the migratory flows of the 20th century is believed to yield more similarities than differences. In some cases, social, leisure or associational activities carried out in Portugal are maintained after migration, showing a link with the country that is not totally broken, only shifted away.

National identity is also strongly updated through consumption: the demand for Portuguese daily consumption products (for own consumption, or as a gift); the purchase of food (codfish, coffee, etc.), clothes and footwear, medical and beauty and cosmetic services – both in the host countries and in their travelling to Portugal – brings individuals closer to their visual and emotional references. A widespread speech centred on “being away”, “missing home” and on the praise of what is no longer near sharpens national identity in the migratory context.

The following portraits, a selection of all the equally relevant portraits drawn, will contribute to illustrate and express what has been stated above.

ALEXANDRA VERÍSSIMO: “I THINK I’VE BECOME EVEN MORE PORTUGUESE AFTER MIGRATION”

Alexandra Veríssimo is 30 years old and comes from Cantanhede. She is the daughter of a primary school teacher and an office clerk in a trading company. She lived with her parents and older sister until she left home to move in with her boyfriend. She graduated in Marketing and Communication from the Coimbra Education School, in 2006. This was her preferred option for a degree but nowadays it is not what she sees herself doing. She has done no further studies in the meantime. Her first professional experience was a work placement in the external relations department of a pharmaceutical industry, a period that left no satisfactory memories.

Although there’s a long history of emigration in her family, especially to Brazil, migration has never been in her plans. The only reason she did it was to be with her boyfriend. She never had any international student mobility experience, but travelling was part of the family holidays, who often travelled in Portugal and abroad. Thus, she admits that migrating wasn’t that difficult, because she already had the habit to “pack her backpack” and go.

Emigration was an option and not a need. She wanted to be with her boyfriend, and had no initial perspective to get a job, something that didn’t happen until she

arrived in London. She is now underemployed but has had some career development opportunities. She is professionally fulfilled and feels no need to find another job.

Alexandra plans to start a family at a later stage. She has friends in Portugal, who she contacts frequently. For the time being, friends in London are only a few but they are important. They are essentially Portuguese, her boyfriend's friends or new friends she occasionally meets in the "Portuguese" area of the city.

She hopes she'll be back to Portugal one day, when she's "retired". In London, she feels like a "Portuguese from Cantanhede". Whenever she can, particularly at work, she makes a point in stating that she is Portuguese, and "offers" traditional products and food. Emigration has made her more aware of her nationality.

LILIANA SILVA: "RETURNING AND LIVING IN PORTUGAL FOREVER IS NO LONGER AN OPTION"

Liliana Silva, 30 years old, was born in Lisbon. She holds an integrated Masters in Psychology, from ISPA, in Lisbon, obtained in 2012.

She was born to a middle class family, and lived with her parents and a younger sister in a flat. Her parents paid for her higher education, masters and Erasmus programme. In August 2013, Liliana left to Belgium to join her boyfriend, an architect, who migrated a few months before. They now live together in a house.

The option to migrate has always been present in Liliana's life. She moved to Belgium (initially, her destination could have been Germany, where her uncle lives) with the expectation of starting a doctorate in Psychology at Ghent University, because she was interested in doing research. However, the professor in charge – who she had contacted from Portugal and was interviewed by – didn't support her research project, and she suddenly found herself unoccupied and disappointed. In face of this situation, she grabbed the opportunity as it presented itself, and she has been a cleaner for several months now. She sees it as a temporary situation, but her family regrets her decision.

She decided to learn Dutch, believing and hoping that improved language skills might earn her a better job, even if it's not in her academic field. But she naturally prefers professional areas related with Psychology.

Liliana feels disappointed with the investment made in Portugal to train people who can't then find compatible opportunities and are forced to migrate.

At the moment, Liliana has no intention to return; that is no longer an option, because she and her boyfriend, who have been living together for seven years now, are thinking of starting a family. However, she clearly says that returning to her country

would be the obvious choice if she could have the same working conditions and pay, and the type of social support she can find in Belgium.

BRUNO AZENHA: “EXPERIENCE LONDON AND RETURN IF I DON’T LIKE IT”

Bruno Azenha is 30 years old and migrated by himself. He arrived in London in May 2011. He left his girlfriend in Portugal. That relationship was ceased later because they couldn’t handle a long-distance relationship. A Computer Engineer graduated from *Instituto Superior Técnico*, he finished his Bologna Masters in 2008, despite the fact that his degree, started in 2001, was still in the former format.

He started work in September 2007, at NovaBase, as a product consultant, and had to travel abroad frequently for relatively short periods of two weeks up to one month, to follow up the configuration and testing of contact centre software. In early 2010, he decided to continue the international experience, and started a placement within the INOV Contacto programme, in Madrid. After returning to Portugal, he found it hard to get a job that was both interesting and in line with his salary expectations. He eventually got a job but it wasn’t stimulating enough. He was then offered two job opportunities: one in London and another in Warsaw, and Bruno opted for the first one. His solid technical skills and the Madrid experience, as well as reports of international experiences by former university colleagues were at the heart of his decision to resign.

Bruno has been with the same company for three years. This exceptional stability, in an area so prone to mobility, was strongly motivated by his job description, a recent promotion and, mainly, the possibility to balance his personal and professional life. Weekdays are spent out of London, to assist in different projects and clients, and he frequently travels around Europe. He met his current Polish girlfriend when travelling to visit friends.

The long-distance relationship lasted for some time but his girlfriend’s recent transfer to England presented him with a new challenge: they will move in together for the first time, in London, something that threatens to put Bruno’s single dweller routines to the test, but will be at the same time an opportunity to rethink how long they want to stay in England. For the moment, he admits that starting a mixed family out of Portugal might be the decisive factor that will extend the emigration period.

INÊS CABRITO: SEARCHING FOR ECONOMIC AND PROFESSIONAL STABILITY, TO REACH (CONSEQUENT) FAMILY STABILITY

Inês, born in Lisbon and aged 39, comes from a family with high academic and cultural capital. Her parents and her brother, two years her senior, have higher education qualifications.

She graduated in Applied Chemistry from *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, and accessed directly her doctoral studies in the same institution with a FCT scholarship. Later, she started post-doctoral studies in France, with a Marie Curie scholarship. That was, in fact, the first time she has left her parents' house to live in Nantes for two and a half years. That's where she met her current partner, a French national, and returned after giving birth to her first child.

An interest in research and the lack of employment opportunities in her area of study were the main reasons behind her choice.

Although she started a family in France, she has always intended to return and, when her scholarship ended, she came back to Lisbon and was unemployed for three months, applying for "all possible positions". She was then selected to integrate a three-year project as a post-doctoral fellow, but she left the project one year later to work in the Oporto branch of a biopharmaceutical company. Her motivation was to attain greater employment stability and the wish "to break out of the scholarship world and enter the true labour market". With the later closing down of the company branch in Oporto, anticipating that finding a job in Portugal wouldn't be easy, Inês accepted a job offer and transferred to the parent company in Belgium, where she has been working up to this moment. She moved in 2012, together with her partner and their two children.

The family (both original and current) and their support have always been an important element in her life. The family sphere is the one Inês values and dedicates the most to, as a complete and extremely important supporting network.

She has never wished to migrate but now plans to move to another European country "where English, French or another Latin language is spoken". This plan is a way to overcome her current language problems (with Dutch), a factor that has limited her integration in Belgium. Portugal is not in the list of possible destination countries. The precariousness pointed out by Inês in the scientific area prevent her aspiring to have a job in the near future that might ensure "a minimum living standard".

MARISA FERREIRA: "I'M NOT AN EMIGRANT, I SIMPLY WORK ABROAD"

Marisa Ferreira is 31 and migrated to Norway in 2008, immediately after finishing her higher education in Portugal. She has a Masters in Fine Arts, started a Masters in Art

and Design for the Public Space, but dropped out and decided to travel to Stavanger, a city that would be her home until 2011, when she moved to the Norwegian capital.

She comes from a family with strong migratory traditions: her mother was an emigrant in Germany up to the age of 21 and her only sister has also chosen to migrate, in her case, to France. Although Marisa acknowledges that the family legacy had significant influence in her decision to migrate, it was mainly her wish to experience other cultures – something she has always thought of as a personal and professional goal – that prompted her to leave the country. Also due to her early and permanent contact with culture, books, travelling and art, she felt a growing need to broaden her perspectives and explore new avenues and opportunities.

She now lives with her husband and son in Oslo, and fully dedicates herself to visual arts. She has had considerable success in the professional field, which, in her opinion, wouldn't be possible in Portugal, at least at the present moment. Her medium-term plans do not include returning to Portugal. The fact that her career – in her area of study – is unfolding successfully, combined with the belief that Portugal fails to provide artists (as well as workers in other areas) with the necessary conditions to retain them in the country rule out the possibility of returning in the near future.

She is extremely critical about the situation in Portugal. Her opinion is that policies haven't been put in place that can retain national human resources. However, she also blames the attitude and behaviour of a large part of the Portuguese for the country's poor employability. Low motivation to work, lack of career investment and reliance on social assistance schemes turn Portugal into a country seen in Europe and by the Europeans as having no entrepreneurship. A view that will ultimately aggravate Portugal's vulnerable employment situation.

1.2.3. Type-profile: European student mobility leading to integration in the primary or secondary sectors of the employment system

This section presents an anthology of the sociological portraits of European student mobility experiences that led to integration in the primary (qualified, stable and with contract of employment) or secondary (typically unqualified and unqualifying, precarious and with less social and labour protection) sectors of the employment system in the country where the subjects studied.

The first aspect worth a note is that incentive to student mobility is now a common practice in higher education institutions. In fact, most of the respondents had an Erasmus experience, whereas a small minority received Leonardo Da Vinci grants or were involved in some sort of work placement. For the subjects, the experience was also an opportunity to compare between the scientific systems in Portugal and the recipient country, and a

chance to know people (teachers, colleagues, friends) who would later be crucially important in their decision to migrate. Recent research (Neto, Lopes e Costa, 2010) shows that institutional support, under the form of career guidance offices, employment opportunities or mobility, is extremely important. Such a large and varied array of specialised aids to integration means that more mediation is offered between students and their future. Trajectories can be rectified, new options can be sustained and, generally, access to target-oriented information means that subjects can make better informed decisions.

On the other hand, being a student elsewhere, being in touch with research possibilities and having an actual liaison with the labour market in a different setting inevitably triggers comparison. Destination countries are often praised for better consistency between higher education and job opportunities, with permeable well-equipped R&D systems that offer sustainable careers and perspectives. Most respondents consider that their basic training in Portugal prepared them to meet the highest standards, from a scientific point of view, but are unanimous as to the shortage of actual opportunities.

However, we found that, even before their training experience abroad, respondents showed an inclination for non-linear trajectories, were open to a certain degree of improvisation, embraced mobility and cosmopolitan contact, as opposed to expecting or wishing for a rapid settling of their academic and professional careers.

Also to be highlighted is that a part of these subjects worked in Portugal while they were university students. This has not only prepared them to the need to reconcile different spheres of life (work, study, family), but also unveiled the difficulties of achieving career advancement in our country.

Unlike what might be assumed, not all of them enjoy a stable professional status. Some are experiencing situations of contractual uncertainty and insecurity. Still, living on incomes much higher than what could be expected for similar positions in Portugal, and drawing great satisfaction from their current jobs, for the time being, they don't seem to be any less optimistic about their future. Surely they are part of an "adaptable generation", socialised in the assumption that fixed and taken for granted careers are no longer available, as widely conveyed by a variety of political forces. Hence, no existential issues arise, as long as "one is doing what one likes to do" and a certain standard of living and consumption can be provided for.

Another integration facilitating aspect is related with sociability networks. With rare exceptions, pathways were strongly motivated by the contact with "significant others" who opened the door to academic and professional opportunities. Meaningfully, Portuguese are widely known for their qualifications, dedication to work and "flexibility". Partly due to

that, the time gap between graduating and leaving the country was relatively short, as integration in the destination country had been previously arranged. If we look at the social capital of the interviewees, we will find, with only rare exceptions, a variety of social roles and nationalities: Italians, Romanians, French, Iranians, Norwegians... Workplaces turn into international contact platforms, where some co-workers become friends.

Leisure practices also promote diversity, as they offer occasions to mobilise contacts and friendship ties around conversation, going-outs, dinner parties, travelling and in some cases civic activism activities. To be noted however that, in cases of longer working hours, the time available for this type of activity is clearly short.

As it can be seen, some respondents have partnered up with people of other nationalities, forming mixed couples. Apart from having the potential to reinforce integration at the destination country, this may also suggest that multiple transitions into adult life, marriage and work intertwine and reinforce one another.

In contrast, the emotional sphere in the original country is gradually limited to lifelong "friends", even more so because face-to-face contacts tend to lessen with the passing of time, and because a big part of the friendship network is also spread across multiple destinations. Even if family ties remain solid in most cases, visits to Portugal vary, on average, from one to two a year, generally for Christmas and on holidays. Long-distance interaction (over mobile phone, chat, Skype, social networking) play an important role in keeping up those ties.

Time, of course, is expected to take its toll and produce the corresponding effects. These portrayed left Portugal not a long time ago. Many of them admit they will pursue their careers in other countries and none considers an upcoming return to Portugal. That is, in fact, one of the most striking features in this set of portraits. In abstract, they wish to return to Portugal but none of them places that option in the near future, and for all of them the decision is dependent on many factors: finding a stable job in Portugal; returning only to the cosmopolitan atmosphere of a big city, never a small town; returning only when their children are grown-ups; or only if their partner can also find a job.

Generally, these subjects foster ties with their country of origin, they keep updated and some take part in associations related with the Portuguese culture. But criticism seems to grow along with the distance. They cast a sceptical look at Portugal; they suspect the quality of the dominant elites and the politicians, in particular; they despise decisions meant to produce immediate results and the lack of strategic moves towards qualification, innovation, sustainable development, diversified production, and investment in solid R&D systems. Because they believe nothing will change in the short and medium term, they are more prepared to keep on their journeys, particularly in cases of precarious employment, than to face a dim future in Portugal.

We're in the presence of respondents with high academic credentials and high professional qualification, who value work as a form of self-fulfilment and certain post-materialistic aspects, like quality of living. In the selected sample, social origins are relatively privileged, although the extended sample also includes examples of clear social mobility, where parents didn't go beyond 4th grade and have jobs like "worker in a cellar", "caretaker", or "cook". Some mention the existence of migratory experiences in the household, but they don't see them as especially important in their decision to leave the country. Their cultural and symbolic framing sets them apart from the traditional image of the diaspora.

The factor that seems to have been the "trigger" for certain trends and predispositions was actually the chance to experience short duration mobility in other countries during higher education. Once it has been experienced, contacts, emotions and calculations converged to make departure possible, with no return anticipated in the near future.

MARTA AMARAL: BERLIN IS NOT GERMANY (YET) – FROM EMOTIONS TO DIVERSITY

Marta Amaral, the daughter of a laboratory technician and a bank clerk, was born in Covilhã 35 years ago. That's where she lived until she was 18. She left Covilhã to study in Lisbon and never returned as a resident ever since then.

A trainee in the Vatican museums, with a Leonardo Da Vinci scholarship, she invested in conservation and restoration sciences, the area of her doctorate (in Florence, on a Marie Curie scholarship and one from the Gulbenkian Foundation), after finishing in Rome a degree she started in Lisbon, in Technological Chemistry.

Marta says that, even though she's working in a precarious part-time job, she wouldn't leave Berlin easily. For her, Berlin is a "special" city within the German context. The city's social and ethnical diversity inspire a cosmopolitan atmosphere that favours social activism.

While looking at Portugal with sceptical eyes, Marta wouldn't refuse a qualified job in her area of study, in Lisbon or in Oporto, as she can't see herself living in a small town again.

FRANCISCO FERNANDES: PROVING HIMSELF IN THE FRENCH ACADEMY (THE EFFECTS OF A SHORT-SIGHTED MERITOCRACY IN PORTUGAL)

Francisco, aged 35, comes from Guimarães. His father was born in the North of the country, and his mother was born in the Portuguese province of Beira. The father's side of the family has granted him the wealthy tradition of the industrial middle class. His

mother comes from a long lineage of farmworkers that valued schooling as an asset. His parents met and got married in France, but he claims that he has no special fascination about that “legacy”, even if now he is following in their footsteps, although with other reasons and under very different circumstances.

He was socialised from an early age to pursue higher education studies, and lived in Braga until he finished his Masters, except for the time spent in France, as an Erasmus student. He graduated in Applied Chemistry from the University of Minho, in the variant of plastic materials, and did a Masters in Environment Sciences, at the same institution.

Strongly affected by his parents’ divorce, he soon learned the advantages but also the demands of emancipation. He worked and studied at the same time and had an early informal experience of living with a partner.

Francisco was an average student during the 1st cycle of higher education and has gradually developed an interest in research. He has more than once been denied a FCT scholarship, but the will to pursue a career in research was so strong that he managed to prove the old saying wrong⁴: good winds blew from Spain and Francisco finished his Ph.D. in Madrid, a moment that is proudly remembered as a milestone.

In the meantime, he moved along international networks and mobilities and finally went to Paris to do post-doctoral studies. The return to Portugal has been postponed over and over again, due to the fragility of the national R&D network, offering few and little attractive opportunities.

The stability of his job in the French academic world has become a strong competitive edge. *Et voilà*, Francisco is now a college professor in a reputed French university, living with an Iranian partner, who also works in the academic world. He has fulfilled his lifelong dream.

JOANA CAMPOS: WE PREPARE THE RETURN BY BEING A WINNER IN BOTH CAREER AND LIFE

Joana Campos is 25 years old and graduated in Anatomical Pathology with an average mark of 16 out of 20, in a successful path marked by an early choice and “hard-working” secondary education. The family tried to persuade her to do a degree in Medicine, but she gradually felt attracted towards an area of Medicine where she didn’t have to deal directly with human suffering. Instead, through friends and placement experiences, she realised she greatly enjoyed practical laboratory work.

She was born to an aviation pilot and an English teacher. Her family, particularly her strongly influential mother, have always supported her decision to pursue an international path. The decision was made after a work placement under the Erasmus

⁴ There’s a Portuguese old saying stating that no good winds blow from Spain.

programme, in a laboratory where scientific research was the core activity. Her supervisor at the laboratory, the working environment focused on research, her friendship network and the meeting of her current English boyfriend, all these factors converged to help accelerate the process of becoming independent from her family.

A mix of chance and good timing earned her approval of her application for a Ph.D. in the University of Birmingham. There, she earns a salary that allows her to provide for herself with no parental support and has developed some self-managed working habits, while she continues to be a student.

She saves money, avoids any extraordinary expenses, and acknowledges her mother's influence in being frugal. She was brought up in a safe financial environment, grew up in a big house, and was from an early age taught to share and make good use of the available resources. The hardships her mother and grandparents had to endure while they lived in Germany as immigrants have always been in the back of her mind.

The wish to return to Portugal, together with her English boyfriend, is alive and vibrant, as Joana intends to raise her future children in this country. She hates the sight of planes full of young emigrants and nurtures a love for national references. She will come back holding a greater capital (after finishing a doctorate and, quite possibly, a post-doctorate), ready to carry on the social upward mobility path initiated by her parents.

TIAGO FRANCO: HE WILL RETURN ONE DAY, WHO KNOWS, WHEN HIS SON IS INDEPENDENT

Tiago Franco, who is currently 37, has never had an easy life. With separated parents, he has lived in a number of different locations, depending on the professional requirements of the parent he was living with at the time. Used to the Azorean landscape, where he spent childhood, free and close to Nature, he hates the concrete in the South bank of the Tagus river, where he eventually moved to, to live with his mother. The school is remembered as low quality and confusing. However, with a Portuguese subject teacher, he gained a taste for the mother-tongue that has accompanied him all his life.

He finished a degree in Electronics Engineering, and had an Erasmus experience in Finland, in 2000, that triggered a thirst for travelling and for the unknown.

Tiago obtained a degree (in the pre-Bologna format) while he was working for AutoEuropa. Later, in 2006, he grabbed the opportunity to work in Sweden in the automotive industry, and since then he has had numerous well-paid jobs, that made him grow a strong sense of autonomy and responsibility.

Father of a boy, his main concern is his child's future. Tiago lives near his son, in Gothenburg (he separated from his child's mother years ago), and tries to instil in him the feeling of being a Portuguese child in Sweden.

He is a fan of cycling and football, two interests that have earned him friends of many different nationalities. His free time is mainly spent in a Portuguese association, where he is trying to prepare a programming that goes beyond the traditional vision of the culture.

Tiago is permanently updated with what is happening in Portugal, and is a severe critic of the political priorities (highways instead of education), the corruption and the political party elites.

He wants to return some day and has thought of starting a business in Portugal, but he is aware that the conditions are unfavourable for the time being. He has got a son to raise and he can't forget how scared he was of losing his job when the 2008 crisis hit Sweden and he was one of the few survivors to a wave of layoffs-off.

SÓNIA MACHADO: “I WOULD LOVE TO GO BACK TO PORTUGAL, BECAUSE I MISS IT, I MISS EVERYTHING”

Sónia is 28 and has lived in Berlin since 2010. She graduated in Architecture from *Universidade Técnica de Lisboa*, and went to Berlin for the first time as an Erasmus student. The city was again her choice when she later had to decide where to do her end-of-degree work placement.

Studying Architecture wasn't an immediate decision – she was more interested in cinema, dance or maths –, but Sónia doesn't regret her degree, although she recognises this is not really her favourite working area. Her interest in urbanism and intervention in the public space grew gradually over the years spent in higher education. Her preference was then confirmed in the working context. Although she is now working in an architecture office where she feels her work is valued (the same place where she did her placement and where she was offered an indefinite term contract), she would like to get a new job, or maybe resume her studies, in an area more closely related with urbanism and public space.

She was born in the Algarve, in Vila Real de Santo António, where she lived with her parents (her father was an accountant and her mother was a beautician) and her ten year younger brother, until she accessed university. She says she has always felt supported by her family in her decision to go abroad (first, as an Erasmus student and then as an immigrant). She currently lives in Berlin, and shares a flat with her boyfriend, who she met there. He is also an architect who, just like her, travelled from Portugal to Berlin for a work placement after his degree and then got a job.

Being an immigrant is, in fact, a reality shared by many of her friends and university colleagues. Sónia underlines that only two of her closest colleagues, in the

same area, are in Portugal working in architecture. All the others work in something other than their area of study or left to work in different countries.

Sónia feels “angry” at the precarious employment situation in Portugal, mainly for the lack of consistency and responsibility in the political speech. Thus, although she wishes to return to Portugal within three or four years, because she “misses everything”, this wish is nothing but a wish.

1.2.4. Type-profile: temporary or pendular mobility and circulation in the European networks of science, industry, services or culture

The five portraits in this type-profile depict lives in transit, both because of their constant spatial mobility and because they correspond to life projects undergoing transition. The two aspects combine to make them ambiguous experiences, “sour as many, yet liberating as few”, in the words of Eduardo Lourenço, who knows too well what it is like to spend a considerable number of years abroad.

The life experiences captured in these portraits are built on a new type of nomadism facilitated by the contemporary societies and driven by the world’s space and time compression. These are the stories of people who have been through several emigration experiences, including short periods when they returned to Portugal, although they hardly identify themselves with the figure of the emigrant. Firstly, because the European space is perceived as a common house, and secondly because they have experienced transitory emigration. This transitory nature, however, does not mean they wish to return to Portugal soon or that they have been socially excluded; on the contrary, they set out on a constant search for inclusion through new itineraries, new forms of looking at work, different life rhythms and unusual ways of overcoming obstacles.

The striking feature in the working experiences of some qualified emigrants is their great flexibility and adaptability. Qualified emigrants are flexible in their working hours and in their job descriptions; they feature spatial flexibility and cognitive and personal adaptability to deal with a short-lived and yet challenging working setting. Even if these trajectories are, for the great part, successful and take place in segments of the labour market with some level of protection, the choice for a consistent well-structured professional career has become a scarce commodity. The creation of a permanent identity based on work is only accessible to a part of the qualified workers. Life fragmentation is the result of a work organisation that relies on flexible specialisation to respond to the variety and speed of the markets. But it is also often a choice of the workers themselves who use flexibility as a way of building apparently freer biographies. The logic of free choice of employment, just like the free choice of any commodity, is now

present in some highly dynamic labour markets, such as London, and forces workers to rapidly move between jobs.

In this universe where imposed or sought after flexibility is the rule, there are those who win, those who lose and those who resist. Among the winners, predominant life narratives are the ones that focus on vocation and professional engagement as a way to achieve self-fulfilment. Losers, on the other hand, see work as an instrument to ensure the means of living necessary to build a life project. For resisters, life is centred off work, and the expressive and reflexive dimensions of life are considered a greater good in terms of personal fulfilment.

The former embody what Bauman (1998) refers to as the aestheticisation of work. For those who assess work against aesthetic criteria, a line is drawn between interesting jobs and regular tedious jobs. Work is not perceived as an obligation, but rather as an activity from which a variety of experiences, challenging projects and exciting results can be expected. When all these fail, the focus is then set on the adventure and the risk of trying to find another job, another city or another country.

But not all have the privilege of perceiving and living work as art. In the tumultuous process of changing and adapting to a new job description, a new occupation or an unknown country, skills acquired in initial training are lost and an attempt is present to obtain new ones. The will and the responsibility of reinventing oneself become character traits that overtake any other more or less magic representations of work. Self-production becomes a project involving the demands of the immaterial production contexts they work in, the symbolic analysis present in problem solving and the effort to manipulate and control the subject's own emotions.

In this self-production process, expressions can also be found of what we refer to as resistance. These assume typical forms of separation between private and public life, family and work, emotional and cognitive overinvestment in individual artistic or cultural projects, against underinvestment in the immaterial production demanded by the working contexts. In other words, the dominant logic of power that places subjects as social production machines, where work congregates all essential relationships of life, physical or intellectual, is confronted with the subjects' refusal to submit reserved parts of their lives to work.

Greater or lesser difficulty in drawing a guiding line for life is present in all cases. Pendular change of jobs or job descriptions very often hinders full integration in all types of career. Though wages abroad are more attractive than in Portugal, they cannot always be taken for granted. Consequently, some who take part in the new wave of qualified emigrants shape themselves to what seems to be the worker profile preferred by the contemporary flexible economy: they are permanently open to new experiences, they are

able of questioning themselves and they can adjust to short-term working experiences, even when they are little rewarding.

Spatial flexibility often brings transitory and pendular emigrants to a crossroad where it is not only a matter of changing jobs, cities or countries, but rather accepting the mobile character of life as a whole. Coming and going, being today in a Portuguese city and in a foreign city tomorrow is more than just changing places. It requires permanent cultural mediation. Multilocalism is certainly enriching for those who experience it, but it is also challenging in terms of the subjects' ability to identify themselves with people and places. The very concept of place is now versatile. When life itself unfolds in multiple locations, reference to airports or other transit and mobility "places" becomes an indirect way of asking: where do I belong? Where am I after all?

Notions of belonging and identity are no longer tied with a specific territory and local processes. The idea of one's own culture doesn't make sense anymore for those who have long translocal learning and working experiences. The plurality of cultures is easily accepted, but managing plurality implies multiple localisms in the majority of cases.

The fragmentation of working trajectories, added with frequent relocations, creates equally fragmented subjectivities. This is, in fact, an indispensable condition to decipher the fluid conditions under which work and social relationships take place. Fragmentation is a form of social adaptation to the extreme uncertainty of life and not a process of psychological disruption. Under these conditions, long-term commitments associated with the working ethics inherited from the parents' generation are replaced with short-term responses; the difficulty in maintaining face-to-face relationships with older friends is compensated by electronic long-distance relationships. In this multifaceted adaptations, fleetingness is dominant, yet no more extreme forms of absent mutual commitments are visible.

Generally, qualified emigrants are not physically or socially close to the traditionally less qualified Portuguese emigrants. As a consequence, there is no evident empathy with those experiences. The biographies we follow narrate academically successful subjects, who see themselves as competent people, with a comfortable middle class status. Even when they are familiar with less qualified emigrants, mainly through relations that go back to the parents' or grandparents' generation, the comparison between the two only sets them apart. The invisible frontier is drawn by their different class status, mutually exclusive lifestyles and work and friendship networks that rely on quite different resources and strategies. The first reason is that the latest emigration wave is generally the outcome of previous academic mobility experiences that consolidate friendship networks close to middle class typical codes. Not by chance, social downward mobility trajectories involving

underemployment – though transitory and reversible – show greater empathy towards the unqualified emigrants' experience.

Romantic relationships play quite an important role in driving emigration or consolidating the decision not to return. Family or romantic reunification motivate migration, by creating or facilitating the emotional conditions that support the decision-making. The establishment of romantic bonds in mixed couples consolidates the decision not to return. Mixed couples incorporate multicultural world contradictions in the family life or the circle of friends and turn life in the host country into a true topopolygamy (Beck, 1998). One of the most typical and homogeneous characteristics of qualified emigration mixed couples is the fact that relationships follow a principle of reciprocity. Subjects try to find the basic link for the establishment of strong love or friendship ties in the emigration experiences of identical "others". Social networks built this way are a form of enlarging and confirming the validity of a globalised biography, where no one has to do special effort or develop a specific strategy to achieve that purpose. The globalisation of many lives allows each individual subject to locate his or her own life and stop seeing his or her nomadism as a form of uprooting. Just like more instantaneous and faster means of transport and communication compressed distance and time, multicultural relationships also turned into translation biographies. They concentrate the plural contradictory reality of barely known local cultures in small families or friendship and working networks, thus accelerating the process of mutual knowledge and recognition. In the process of biographic translation, the logic of nationality gradually loses ground as the traditional symbol of each individual's roots and partners involved in a mixed couple are less likely to return to their home countries.

However, the stage of the lifecycle when people meet also plays an important part in how people face the decision to migrate or to return. The largest part of the subjects represented in this set of portraits is in one of two very different stages of their lifecycle. Some are in the *stage of young adult* who has met a part of the traditionally set criteria to access that status: they earn a salary and live independently on their own. But not all of them have stable romantic partnerships, with or without marriage, or children. At this stage, the career occupies a central role in the life of the young adults between 25 and 35 years old. They are still quite open to explore new career possibilities, they value the contents of their work, they represent emigration as a personal discovery adventure and consider returning in the medium-term, to start a family. A second group, aged between 35 and 45 years old, maintain the same characteristics but have started a family and have children or plans to have them in the short term. This is obviously a *family stage*, and the criteria are changed. Family wellbeing plays now a decisive role in career options and the search for job and city stability is more evident here. Emigration is no longer viewed as an

adventurous process involving some emotional disruption with the original family and is seamlessly integrated in the emotional upbringing of children. The comparatively more advantageous conditions of the welfare state in the host countries outweigh any nostalgic considerations of national belonging. In this context, return to Portugal is viewed as an impossibility or something to do after retirement.

ANA BAIÃO: MIGRATE TO EXPERIENCE AND IMPROVE, NOT TO STAY

Ana Baião is 29 and migrated to London in 2010 with her partner. She holds a degree in Archaeology and is now finishing a Masters in Museology, in London. She comes from a family with low schooling resources but high cultural aspirations. The family's economic standing was unstable and the initial support provided by her grandmother, an emigrant in London since the late 1980's, was the anchor that facilitated her decision to migrate with her boyfriend.

Archaeology was a choice made during secondary education, but Ana soon realised she wouldn't be able to cope with the field work pace in the area. In Portugal, she worked as a solicitors' clerk; in London, she continued to be underemployed, in jobs not the least related with archaeology. Her working experiences include client support in an online casino, secretary in a lawyers' office and, more recently, freelancer in small museology projects and related tasks. Five years after finishing her degree, Ana has lost part of her acquired skills. But she is not worried about her trajectory. Although she has professional ambitions, her professional fulfilment doesn't depend on them. She only wants a job that allows her to do what is really important in her life: starting a stable family relationship with everlasting values.

Involved in an unmarried partnership with no children, Ana wishes to return to Portugal in the short or medium term to have children and raise them near her family. She can't see herself raising her children in a country other than Portugal. She has a critical view of the country's situation but considers that the Portuguese public education system is more reliable than the English one.

Ana admits that returning to Portugal involves negotiating with her partner, who has reached a rather stable and challenging professional position over the last four years and has no intention to return to Portugal soon. Anyway, Ana will try to use her Masters in the short-term to start a career in local museology.

CARLOS AZEREDO MESQUITA: TRAVELLING AS A STRATEGY NOT TO STAY IN PORTUGAL

Carlos Azeredo Mesquita is 26 and he has been living in Berlin since 2011, while he is constantly travelling to different countries as a result of his professional occupation. He doesn't see himself as an emigrant but rather as a "citizen of the world".

If, as Susan Sontag put it, travelling is a strategy to collect pictures, Carlos Mesquita has found the perfect way of living to do what fulfils him from a professional point of view. He graduated in Graphic Design from the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Porto, in 2011. He was an Erasmus student in Budapest at MOME – Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design – where he specialised in an area that particularly interests him: photography.

The choice for arts was an early one, and has somehow followed a family tradition. His father and his uncle both specialise in that area, and his mother, who Carlos lived with in Oporto, has strongly encouraged his interest in arts.

He has had different jobs, in both graphic design and more specifically in photography. He is currently self-employed, and most of his income comes from a collaboration with an art gallery in Oporto, where he sells his work to collectors, museums and institutions. He shows his pictures in exhibitions, in different countries, all around the world: Germany, the Czech Republic, The United States, among others where he has had a presence.

Not romantically involved with anyone at the moment, and with no children, Carlos believes that his situation facilitates constant travelling around the world, just like it favoured his decision to leave Portugal. However, he claims he is starting to feel a growing need to have a more permanent base.

Returning is not anticipated, because he no longer feels at home. The city he now identifies with is Berlin. He lost part of the friends he had in Portugal and his new circle of friends is mostly made up of people who share the same "nomad" condition.

He thinks that Portugal doesn't offer the right conditions to develop the kind of work he wants to do and the experiences reported by his Portuguese colleagues working in precarious distressful jobs with limited expectations cannot but confirm his belief.

DANIEL BARRADAS: "I PHYSICALLY LIVE IN NORWAY, BUT WORK IN AN INTERNATIONAL BUBBLE"

Daniel Barradas is 41 years old and he migrated for the second time to Norway in 2008. He had been in Oslo between 1999 and 2003, but the emotional drive was then decisive to leave Portugal. The country's economic situation and the unsuccessful business experience he had in Portugal for three years were the grounds for his decision

to return to Norway. He graduated in Graphic Design from the Faculty of Fine Arts of the *Universidade de Lisboa* (1996), and currently works as a designer for a small company in Oslo. Having started musical studies as a child, he was also a student at the Conservatory, but didn't graduate. He attended two medium duration courses: Art Management in Portugal, and Design Management in Norway.

In 1996, Daniel started work in small offices in Portugal. He knew labour exploitation was the rule in major design companies. Until 1998, he had a series of little rewarding professional experiences. After attending a cyber-dance workshop at Gulbenkian and the Art Management course, he applied to the Pratt Institute in New York, for an international experience. The application was successful but Daniel had then started a romantic relationship with a Norwegian who challenged him to live in Norway. The high living standard of the Nordic countries did the rest and he moved to the new country. After six months of a trying period, applying for different positions, he got a job at the State TV Station. Up to 2003, he worked as a graphic designer, and was unemployed when the company went bankrupt.

The opportunity to start a business with a former colleague of the Art Management course made him return to Portugal. All went well at the beginning, but the economic crisis set in and the lack of liquidity caused by several clients' default soon forced the partners to close down the company, in 2006. His boyfriend's return to Norway opened a new opportunity to migrate. The economic crisis was fully settled in by then. He easily got a job in the small design company where he currently works. Relying on a small client base, the company has come vulnerabilities, but Daniel doesn't anticipate that he'll return to Portugal before retirement.

Meanwhile, he broke up with his partner in 2011 and started another relationship that resulted in recent marriage. The couple is now planning to open a Portuguese café within some months. The traditional "pastéis de nata" [*custard pastries*] will be the secret ingredient of the new project.

JOANA ANTUNES: "IF IT HADN'T BEEN FOR THE CRISIS, I WOULD STILL BE IN PORTUGAL. I'VE ALWAYS SAID I DIDN'T WANT TO LEAVE PORTUGAL"

Joana Antunes is 30 years old and she has just arrived in London with her husband, coming from Malaysia. Joana was there since early 2012 and her husband since a little before, in 2011. She studied Geological and Mining Engineering (2008) at the *Instituto Superior Técnico* and finished with a Masters-equivalent degree, although she started the course in the pre-Bologna format. She is now finishing a distance learning Masters in Civil Engineering and Project Management at the Heriot-Watt University, in Scotland.

During the last year of her degree and for another six months after finishing it, Joana worked in image analysis at *Instituto SuperiorTécnico*, as a research fellow. In April 2009, she was hired by a mining consulting company (Sínese), and travelled a few times to Angola on business. Looking for a new experience, she sent out CVs to the few civil construction companies that were recruiting at the time and in 2011 she joined Ferconsult, to work in the Mondego light rail system. The project, just like many other public works, was suspended as the economic crisis set in, and Joana didn't have her contract renewed at the end of 2011.

The year 2011 started and ended without major changes to her life: her boyfriend, a mining engineer, moved to Malaysia, hired by a client of the American company he had started working for in January. They got married in June and, in January 2012, Joana joined him in Malaysia and tried to find herself a new job. Four months later, she started working for a Spanish company. The company eventually lost the contract that justified their presence in Malaysia and Joana was a job-seeker again. She finally landed a contract with a small consulting company owned by an English man, and she worked part-time in several projects.

In 2013, the couple decided to move closer to Portugal. Her husband got a job in London and Joana started sending out CVs again. She was glad about this new opportunity. Being a woman working in a Muslim country, she didn't have great career expectations. They returned to Portugal for a month to prepare the move. Joana had then a phone interview with a London company and started working two weeks after the couple settled in the big city.

Right now, she is a Geotechnical Assistant Engineer at Mott MacDonald, a leading multinational company, and is happy about her job. She wants to stay at least enough time to become a Chartered Engineer. Joana wishes to return to Portugal in three years but fears that the country's situation might not favour her plans.

RITA RODRIGUES: A LIFE IN TRANSIT BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH

Rita Rodrigues is 31 years old and is currently living between Portugal, Germany and Finland. She works and lives for the most time in Lisbon, travels frequently to Germany, where she did her Ph.D. and was granted a one-year research scholarship. At the same time, she regularly visits her Colombian boyfriend, Ph.D. in Material Engineering, who she met in Germany but has been working in Finland for two years now.

She graduated in Veterinary Medicine from the *Universidade Técnica de Lisboa* (2007). In 2013 she finished her Ph.D. in Virology at the Freie Universität, in Berlin, with a FCT scholarship, after a two-month work placement in the United States, where she met the professor who would later supervise her dissertation. After finishing her Ph.D., she

came back to Portugal and started working as an assistant lecturer in a private university in October, on a service rendering contract. At the same time, she travelled frequently to Germany to continue her work at the Freie Universität, where she applied for and won a scholarship in the same period.

Reconciling her work at the Portuguese university with her scholarship in Germany is a way of keeping her future opportunities in research open. Rita's goal is to spend one year preparing an application for a different type of funding. The Portuguese institution where she works is interested in developing joint projects with the German university. Because she now has a job in Portugal, her initial grant was reduced by 50% and only pays for the rent of her flat in Berlin. As for the romantic relationship started in Berlin, everything is more difficult now that she has returned to Portugal and her boyfriend is living in Finland. Keeping her scholarship is a facilitating strategy. Finland is only two hours away from Berlin by plane and the cost of travelling is substantially lower.

The globalisation of biography creates a situation shared by other mixed couples who met at some point of the migration process: love no longer implies that both live permanently on a common location. They see each other once a month when things run smoothly, once every two months when something goes wrong. In between, they compress time and space using long distance communication. This can be distressful at times but they might have an opportunity to work in the same country, after her boyfriend's contract cease. For the time being, they live in total transnational emotional mobility.

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