

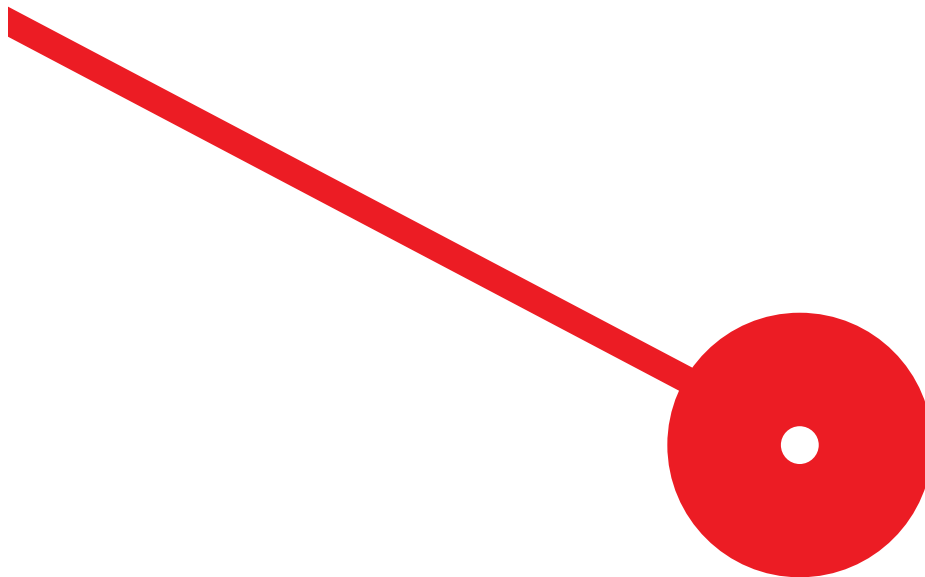


# The new Portuguese wave of emigration: A case study in the canton of Vaud (Switzerland)

Juliana Reis Ferreira

This version contains the jury's input and suggestion

10/2021

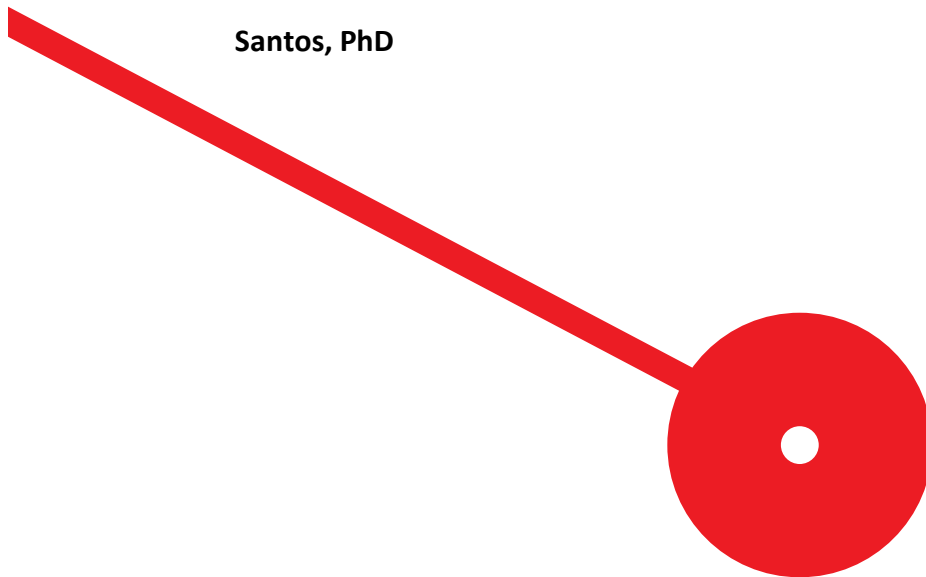




# The new Portuguese wave of emigration: A case study in the canton of Vaud (Switzerland)

Juliana Reis Ferreira

**Master Degree Dissertation  
presented to Instituto Superior de Contabilidade e Administração do Porto to obtain the Master Degree in Intercultural Studies for Business under the guidance of Clara Maria Laranjeira Sarmento e Santos, PhD**



## **Acknowledgements**

I want to start by saying thank you to my mother and father. You have always supported my choices throughout all my life, and you have created a safe place for me to grow and become the person I want to be. Thank you for believing in me, especially when I did not.

I want to say thank you to my sister, Salomé, the better version of me. Thank you for your patience and support. You are more than a sister or a friend to me, and I could never imagine my life without you.

Thank you to Sónia, Luana and Diogo, my companions these last two years. Thank you for all the pep talks through Zoom, humour and companionship. You will always have a special place in my heart.

I also want to say thank you to professor Clara. Thank you for your guidance and tough love throughout this journey. Your advice and ideas were fundamental for this dissertation.

Lastly, I want to say thank you to everyone who agreed to be interviewed by me for this dissertation. Thank you for trusting me with your journeys and stories. It was a pleasure meeting you and a truly humbling experience.

Thank you for everything.

Juliana Reis Ferreira

October 2021

**Resumo:**

Atualmente, as migrações são um dos temas mais debatidos globalmente. A migração é um conceito complexo que pode ser examinado através de várias perspectivas e áreas de estudo. A emigração e a necessidade de sair do país por diversas razões é um elemento importante de Portugal e da sociedade e cultura Portuguesa. Deste modo, esta dissertação tem como objetivo compreender melhor a emigração de Portugueses com estudos superiores para a Suíça, especificamente para o cantão do Vaud. Também tem como objetivo compreender melhor a evolução e as alterações da comunidade Portuguesa que vive nesta região da Suíça. Esta dissertação também quer procurar entender melhor se e como é que a adaptação desta nova geração de emigrantes Portugueses é distinta da adaptação das gerações anteriores de emigrantes Portugueses.

Assim, para alcançar estes objetivos, foi feita uma revisão da literatura sobre o tema da emigração Portuguesa para a Suíça e sobre outros temas similares e relevantes para a dissertação. Também foram realizadas entrevistas com emigrantes Portugueses com estudos superiores que vivem atualmente no cantão do Vaud. Com a ajuda destes dois métodos, foi possível chegar à conclusão que ocorreram mudanças na comunidade Portuguesa que vive no cantão do Vaud. Esta nova geração de emigrantes Portugueses tem um novo conjunto de qualificações e perceções em comparação com as gerações anteriores. Eles também têm novas expectativas, projetos e ideias para as suas experiências como emigrantes na Suíça.

**Palavras chave:** Emigração Portuguesa; globalização; adaptação; aculturação

**Abstract:**

Nowadays, migration is one of the key topics being discussed worldwide. Migration is a complex concept that can be evaluated from different perspectives and areas. Emigration and the necessity to leave the country for a variety of reasons is an integral part of Portugal and of the Portuguese culture and society. Thus, this dissertation aims to better understand the emigration of highly skilled Portuguese people to Switzerland, more specifically to the canton of Vaud. Moreover, it aims to better understand the evolution and alteration of the Portuguese community living in this part of Switzerland. It also has the purpose of understanding if and how the adaptation of this new generation of emigrants differs from the adaptation of past generations.

Therefore, to achieve its purpose, a literature review about the topic of the Portuguese emigration to Switzerland and similar subject matters was conducted. In addition, interviews were also carried out with Portuguese emigrants with higher education currently living in the canton of Vaud. With the help of these two methods, it is possible to conclude that alterations have occurred in the Portuguese community living in the canton of Vaud. Thus, this new generation of Portuguese emigrants has a new set of skills and perceptions that previous generations of Portuguese emigrants did not have. They also have new expectations, projects and ideas for their experiences as emigrants in Switzerland.

**Key words:** Portuguese emigration; globalisation; adaptation; acculturation

## *Table of Contents*

<b>Chapter - Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter I – Portuguese Migration and the Case of Switzerland .....</b>	<b>6</b>
1    Globalisation and Human Migration .....	7
2    Portuguese Emigration .....	12
2.1    Portuguese emigration to Switzerland.....	20
2.2    Canton Vaud – Context .....	30
2.2.1    History and evolution of the Portuguese community in Lausanne.....	32
<b>Chapter II – Swiss Legal Procedures encountered by Portuguese emigrants .....</b>	<b>34</b>
3    Switzerland’s Political and Economic Stances.....	35
4    The arrival to Switzerland .....	44
4.1    Swiss Immigration Laws .....	44
4.2    Work permits: .....	46
4.3    Language requirements.....	48
5    The adaptation to the country and its culture .....	50
5.1    Swiss social insurance system .....	52
5.2    Healthcare in Switzerland.....	54
5.3    Swiss Education System.....	56
5.4    Requesting Swiss citizenship.....	58
6    The return to Portugal.....	59
<b>Chapter III – The new Portuguese outlook on the experience of emigrating to Switzerland.....</b>	<b>62</b>
7    The process of interviewing highly skilled Portuguese emigrants .....	63
7.1    Motives for conducting interviews .....	63
7.2    Context of the interviews and methodology used .....	65
8    Discussion of the results .....	68
8.1    Drivers of emigration – the choice of Switzerland.....	68

8.2	Challenges to the integration and bureaucratic issues .....	72
8.3	Integration and the idea of belonging .....	77
8.4	Return and new set of ideas and expectations .....	82
<b>Chapter IV – Conclusion .....</b>		<b>86</b>
<b>References.....</b>		<b>90</b>
<b>Appendixes .....</b>		<b>98</b>
Appendix I – Subject 1 .....		99
Appendix 2 – Subject 2.....		100
Appendix 3 – Subject 3.....		102
Appendix 4 – Subject 4.....		104
Appendix 5 – Subject 5.....		106
Appendix 6 – Subject 6.....		107
Appendix 7 – Subject 7.....		108
Appendix 8 – Subject 8.....		110
Appendix 9 – Subject 9.....		113
Appendix 10 – Subject 10.....		115
Appendix 11 – Subject 11.....		117
Appendix 12 – Subject 12.....		118

## Figure Index

<i>Figure 1 Changes in the Portuguese emigration from 2000 to 2011</i> _____	19
<i>Figure 2 Number of Portuguese women and men that emigrated to Switzerland from 1980 to 2007</i> _____	20
<i>Figure 3 Number of Portuguese people per canton</i> _____	25
<i>Figure 4 Portuguese community according to age and gender</i> _____	26
<i>Figure 5 Distribution of the Portuguese community in Lausanne.</i> _____	32
<i>Figure 6 Portuguese unemployment rate according to age group and academic background</i> _____	64

## **Table Index**

<i>Table 1- Overview of the interviewees</i>	<hr/>	<i>67</i>
--	-------	-----------

## **List of Abbreviations**

- IOM – International Organisation for Migration
- SEM – State Secretariat for Migration
- FSO – Federal Statistical Office
- FSIO – Federal Social Insurance Office
- FDFA – Federal Department of Foreign Affairs
- FOPH – Federal Office of Public Health
- DFJC – Département de la formation, de la jeunesse et de la culture (canton Vaud)
- DGSS – Direção-Geral da Segurança Social
- DGACCP – Direção-Geral dos Assuntos Consulares e das Comunidades Portuguesas

## CHAPTER - INTRODUCTION

---

Globalisation has completely changed all the different elements of the world. The rapid technological advances that accompanied globalisation revolutionised the way people communicate, purchase goods and services and how they travel for both personal and professional reasons. Nowadays, it is easier and cheaper to use many different types of transport. Hence, globalisation has also influenced and completely changed human migrations.

Migration has always been present throughout the history of Humanity. However, migration is a complex topic that can be analysed from different perspectives. For instance, it can be observed from the country of origin's point of view; therefore, it is called emigration. In addition, it can also be examined through the perspective of the country of destination and, consequently, it is called immigration. Throughout history, people had the necessity to migrate for a variety of reasons. From escaping poverty, natural disasters to even family reunification, there are several motives that trigger migration. In spite of being a common experience for many people from all around the globe, migration has become a current topic for several international organisations and governments. Nowadays, migration has become a relevant subject for the international agenda because of the different waves of refugees that have asked for asylum in various Western countries.

In Portugal, throughout the country's history, people have always had the necessity to migrate to other countries. Consequently, emigration has been a prevalent experience for Portuguese people from different generations. Furthermore, emigration has been seen as the solution for multiple problems for the Portuguese society: to escape the dictatorial regime and political persecution; to solve people's financial and economic problems; to search for better living and working conditions, or even – more recently – as a personal challenge. Consequently, emigration has always been a constant element in the Portuguese culture and society.

Throughout the Portuguese history, people have emigrated to several countries, such as France, the UK, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Brazil and the USA. However, considering Portugal's geographical position, wealthier countries have always been the top choices for Portuguese people when deciding to emigrate. Moreover, with time, different communities of Portuguese emigrants established themselves in those countries, creating a support system for the Portuguese who recently arrived in the country. The size of those communities varies from country to country and even from city to city. For instance, in

some cases, the Portuguese community is the largest foreign community in some European cities.

One country that since the 1970s has attracted a considerable number of Portuguese emigrants is Switzerland. Although Switzerland is not a part of the European Union, they have created several agreements with the EU, facilitating the entrance of people from member nations of the EU. Switzerland has always been a popular destination country for the Portuguese community, because of its political and economic stability when facing internal and external economic and financial crises. Recently, Switzerland continued to be a popular destination after the 2008 financial crisis. Portugal started to feel the negative impacts of the financial crisis in the beginning of the 2010s, much later when compared with other countries. While other European countries, such as Germany and France, had already been through the financial crisis, Portugal was facing a serious economic, political and social turmoil. Portugal plunged into a deep economic recession that exacerbated other issues, such as increase of the unemployment rate, loss of purchasing power and rise of political and social discontent. However, while other European countries struggled for a long time with the negative consequences of the crisis, Switzerland was able to recover quicker when compared to the rest of Europe. Consequently, Portuguese people saw in Switzerland the solution for the issues that the crisis brought to Portugal. In addition, Switzerland and the UK became the solution for several young highly-skilled Portuguese individuals, that were unable to find employment Portugal after finishing higher education.

In spite of being geographically close to Portugal, Switzerland has a distinctive society and culture. The political system is different since Switzerland has two distinct political systems: federalism and Direct democracy. Therefore, their services, companies and organisations operate in a unique way when compared to Portugal. In addition, there are cultural features particular to Switzerland. For example, they have four official languages that are not evenly spoken throughout the different cantons. Moreover, there are also political, organisation and cultural differences between the various cantons. Thus, when Portuguese emigrate to Switzerland, they have to adapt to all these changes and to a new reality with different circumstances and challenges.

In addition, the Portuguese community has been slowly changing throughout time. For a long time, the majority of Portuguese that emigrated to Switzerland were people with a lower level of education, below the university level. They went to Switzerland to perform

unskilled jobs that did not attract the attention of the Swiss community. However, as the Portuguese society became more interested in investing in higher education, the characteristics of Portuguese individuals who wanted to emigrate shifted. This came to be even more apparent with the 2008 financial crisis, when Portugal saw a growing number of highly skilled Portuguese people becoming unemployed. Furthermore, at the time, highly-skilled Portuguese people were even advised by several members of the Portuguese government to emigrate, as a way to solve their problems. This feeling of abandonment by their own government and outrage also contributed to more people wanting to leave Portugal. However, the emigration of highly skilled emigrants to Switzerland and other countries has not attracted a great deal of widespread attention in Portugal. Even though it is such a common experience for the Portuguese society, it has not attracted much attention from the academic community.

Although it marks an important shift in Portuguese emigration, this new generation of Portuguese emigrants, as mentioned before, has not attracted much attention from the public in general. It is an important topic because it showcases new dynamics, perspectives and experiences that exist inside the Portuguese emigration to Switzerland and other countries. Thus, a relevant component of this dissertation is the interviews conducted with some highly-skilled Portuguese emigrants living in Switzerland. Although it is a small sample, this group of 12 long and structured interviews provides an insight into this new generation of Portuguese emigrants, their goals, perspectives and ideas about their experiences as emigrants in Switzerland.

The choice of this theme for the dissertation was also influenced by personal reasons. As the granddaughter, daughter, niece, cousin and friend of several people that have chosen to emigrate to different countries (Spain, France, Luxembourg, U.K. and Switzerland), emigration has always been present in my life since I was born. I was born in Portugal, but I lived several years in Switzerland when I was younger, since my father has worked there since the 1980s. Even today, it is a country that I am acquainted with, because my father still lives there. Thus, throughout the years, I have become particularly aware of the topic of emigration and the different realities that exist within it.

Therefore, this dissertation will focus on the emigration of highly skilled Portuguese emigrants to Switzerland after the 2008 financial crisis, more specifically to the canton of Vaud and the city of Lausanne. The dissertation is divided into three chapters. The first chapter will focus on the historical and geographical evolution of the Portuguese

emigration in general and the Portuguese emigration to Switzerland in particular. The second chapter will focus on the bureaucratic and other issues that the Portuguese community may encounter throughout their experiences as emigrants: from the arrival, to the adaptation to the country and culture, and the return to Portugal. The third chapter will focus on the analysis of responses collected from interviews to highly skilled Portuguese emigrants that moved to the canton of Vaud.

The goals for this dissertation are to assess if the Portuguese emigrant community in Switzerland has changed recently. In addition, the dissertation also has the objective of determining if highly skilled Portuguese emigrants, with their unique set of skills, have adopted different approaches for their adaptation to the Swiss society and culture.

**CHAPTER I – PORTUGUESE MIGRATION AND THE CASE OF  
SWITZERLAND**

---

# 1 Globalisation and Human Migration

Globalisation has shaped the world, its cultures and societies. With the help of technological advances, it has become possible to establish connections between different parts of the globe, faster and more efficiently. Travelling has become more accessible, cheaper and quicker. Moreover, without leaving one's home, it is possible to connect with people from different countries and even buy products and services worldwide. Globalisation is a complex concept since it can be seen from different perspectives and fields. Thus, according to Jan Scholte, "globalisation is best understood as a reconfiguration of social geography marked by the growth of transplanetary and supraterritorial connections between people." (Scholte, 2005, p. 8) This concept has gained more attention in recent years, as the people and goods' movement has grown exponentially and became more mainstream.

Consequently, nowadays, human migrations are intertwined with the concept of globalisation. As mentioned before, people's movements are now facilitated by the numerous forms of travelling available and the lowering costs of transportation. According to a UN's report conducted in 2019: "The current global estimate is that there were around 272 million international migrants in the world in 2019, which equates to 3.5 per cent of the global population." (McAuliffe & Khadria, 2019, p. 19) However, for centuries, human migration has existed. People have been reallocating to different places for numerous reasons – to find a better life and better work conditions; for academic purposes; to escape wars, conflicts or natural disasters; or even to be closer to family members. Considering the numerous elements that could influence migration, this movement can be voluntary or forced by external factors. Migration could be understood as the movement of one individual or a group of people from one place to another – it can be to a different region, city, or country. (Adler & Gielen, 2003, pp. 9-11)

Migration is a complex concept when considering all the different flows that have existed throughout history, the causes and effects of migration, and the political, social, and economic changes associated with it. When analysing the concept of migration, it is essential to consider the push and pull factors embedded in this concept. On the one hand, "Push factors are those that force the individual to move voluntarily, (...). Push factors may include conflict, drought, famine, or extreme religious activity." (Krishnakumar & T.Indumathi, 2014, p. 9) On the other hand, pull factors are the characteristics of the new

residence, which attract people to that particular place. Usually, the working conditions, better job opportunities and the expectation of a better life are some of the pull factors that migrants take into consideration. It is also possible to divide the concept of migration into two separate notions: immigration and emigration, which analyse the migration's phenomenon from different points of view. While immigration addresses migration from the viewpoint of the country of destination, emigration adopts the perspective of the country of origin.

In recent years, immigration has gained more attention from the media and society, in general, because of the flow of migrants coming from Syria and other areas where conflict has appeared. According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), immigration is - from the point of view of the host country – the arrival of people from a different country or region. Thus, the host country becomes the immigrant's new residence or country. (Sironi, Bauloz, & Emmanuel, 2019, p. 103) Although immigration is not a recent concept, it has gained more attention and controversy recently, as it was mentioned before. The growth of the number of people escaping conflicts or natural disaster has increased while, at the same time, some wealthy countries have adopted stricter immigration laws. Consequently, this global issue and the policies implemented by some countries have triggered controversy and a global debate about migration, with some people agreeing and others disagreeing with the laws. Thus, each country (or even different regions of the world) have different approaches to immigration. These different approaches reflect on how different societies view and treat immigrants and their future generations.

In addition, another perspective on the concept of migration is emigration. While on immigration, the focus is on the receiving country, emigration takes the point of view of the country of origin. Thus, emigration could be described as: "... the act of moving from one's country of nationality or usual residence to another country, so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence." (Sironi, Bauloz, & Emmanuel, 2019, p. 64) Moreover, these two notions - immigration and emigration - are evidently distinct, but it is possible to determine some points in common and similar concepts attached to both notions.

Thus, since this dissertation focuses on Portuguese emigration in the canton of Vaud and the city of Lausanne (Switzerland), this section focuses more on emigration than on immigration. The purpose is to understand how emigration could potentially change the

individual/group of people and its consequences for the country of origin and the country of destination.

Emigration – even migration, in general – can be the response to several causes and factors, both internal and external. Furthermore, emigration can be a voluntary act in which the individual decides to leave the country or region to reside in a different location. Alternatively, external factors could be the trigger that would force the individuals/groups of people to flee. It is possible to identify some common causes that lead to emigration in general. Nevertheless, it is also essential to take into consideration that when analysing particular cases, new, specific, even conflicting reasons to emigrate might come across. Thus, the reasons to emigrate could be to escape impoverished areas and find better work and living conditions, which would give more financial and social stability to the emigrants and their families. (Davin, 1999) With the rise of climate changes, the environment has become another reason for people to leave their country. It could also be for academic purposes - to do a Master or PhD – or even enhance their chances of finding a job. Moreover, emigration has become more frequent between member countries of the European Union since the EU allows free labour mobility and facilitates the procedures to move to another member country (European Parliament, 2020):

The individual's decision to migrate involves a process of weighing up potential costs and benefits. Migrants have to consider general factors such as the cost of travel and accommodation, the chances of finding work and the prevailing wage rates in the destination are compared with those in the home area. They will also be swayed by individual factors such as contacts with relatives or friends in the destination areas, or the potential effect of their absence on the household behind. Knowledge of conditions elsewhere is important in migration decisions and therefore modern communications play a significant role. (Davin, 1999, p. 49)

The decision to emigrate can bring both positive and negative consequences to the individual and respective family household: “Migration has many positive effects, such as a style and a better standard of living, and a relationship of quality in relation to public institution, access to education, to new values and social and cultural practices that promote openness, equal opportunities...” (Pîrvu & Axinte, 2012, p. 195) Moreover, emigration can be a reliable source of income to the household, consequently creating financial security that they would not find if they had stayed in their country. (Fackler, Giesing, & Laurentsyeveva, 2020) Financial security is fundamental since it could bring

substantial advantages to the family unit, such as improvements in living conditions, better education and academic opportunities, and mental and physical health improvements.

Although emigrants leave their own country, emigration could also bring benefits for the country of origin. In some cases, emigrants' families choose not to emigrate; instead, they decide to remain in the country of origin. Subsequently, emigrants send financial support to the families. This phenomenon is also known as migrant remittances: "transfers of money and goods made by migrants to the family members back home; henceforth, remittances." (Ivlevs, Nikolova, & Graham, 2019, p. 115) Furthermore, since emigrants are in contact with different cultures and systems of beliefs, they can also bring new ways of thinking and new perspectives over conflicts in their home country. After being in contact with a different culture, emigrants may change some of their belief systems, which will, eventually, bring new points of view, tolerance, openness, and respect for new ideas in their families or even hometowns. Emigration from rural areas is seen as a negative consequence of emigration since it increases the desertification of those areas. However, emigration could also bring more investment, entrepreneurship and innovation because, often, emigrants choose to invest their money in their hometowns. (Pîrvu & Axinte, 2012) Thus, it would boost and dynamize the local economy:

In the world of incomplete markets, typical of rural settings in developing regions, this migration-remittance nexus can provide channels for insurance and access to credit. In turn, these provisions enable greater risk-taking and investments, both of which can enhance rural incomes. (Lucas, 2007, p. 108)

Nevertheless, emigration could also trigger some negative repercussions for the individuals and their families. In many cases, emigrants leave their family in the country of origin, such as wife/husband, children, siblings, parents or elderly relatives. As a result of the separation, people may develop mental health problems, such as depression and anxiety. (Ivlevs, Nikolova, & Graham, 2019) The stress and the fear of the unknown lead people to feel negative emotions towards the whole situation, even though they may have better living conditions. Even the psychological well-being of children is disturbed as a consequence of the distress of their parents. In general, families will have multiple and conflicting feelings towards emigration and its positive and negative outcomes.

Furthermore, recently, emigration has changed, with more highly-skilled people choosing to leave their country. Thus, the term 'brain drain' has appeared as a consequence of this new phenomenon. Brain drain could be described as: "... in the context of developing countries generally refers to the permanent or long-term international emigration of skilled people who have been the subject of considerable education investment by their own societies." (Zagade & Desai, 2017, p. 424) This concept has concerned the society and the governments of several countries lately. Brain drain is seen as the escape of talent, innovation and entrepreneurship from the countries of origin. This decline of highly-skilled people could cause potentially severe consequences to those countries' social, economic and political stability.

Nonetheless, it has also been observed that it could be positive for the country if highly-skilled individuals emigrated. Nowadays, because of globalisation and free mobility for the European Union citizens, this phenomenon has become more visible. This movement means that it is easier to share information, concepts and skills between people from different nations:

International migration increases the flow of ideas and knowledge across borders as migrants share knowledge about technologies, processes, and products with former colleagues and friends at home. This increases the stock of knowledge in the source countries and, through the recombination of ideas, positively affects the production technology. (Fackler, Giesing, & Laurensyeva, 2020, p. 2)

The emigration – and consequently the emigration of highly-skilled individuals - has become intertwined with the concept of transnationalism. Transnationalism represents a "... range of practices and institutions linking migrants, people and organisations in their homeland or elsewhere in a diaspora...". (Vertovec, 2009, p. 13) It indicates that emigrants will maintain some type of connection with their homeland and their culture. Thus, globalisation and technological devices (computers, smartphones, tablets), combined with the internet, have facilitated transnationalism and, consequently, the movement of information and ideas between highly skilled people worldwide.

Migration (and consequently immigration and emigration) is a complex concept that often generates conflicting notions and opinions. Although it is not a recent phenomenon, migration has become a pressing issue for the world since society faces more and more problems and challenges triggered by migration and globalisation, in general. However, as it was mentioned before, migration is a broad concept. Considering this dissertation's

primary theme, the following subchapter will focus on the phenomenon of Portuguese emigration.

## **2 Portuguese Emigration**

There are several Portuguese communities spread across the globe, which creates different circumstances and experiences for each Portuguese community. Each receiving country has particular characteristics that will, consequently, shape the individuals/communities that choose to reside there. When addressing Portuguese emigration, this could be divided into two different emigration types: temporary workers, who only stay in the destination country for less than a year, and emigrants who have permanent residence in the destination country for an extensive period.

When considering the many Portuguese communities spread across the world, it is possible to conclude that emigration has shaped Portuguese society and culture in a deep and continued way. However, emigration does not seem to attract much interest from society, government and researchers. In recent years, immigration has become a much more prominent problem worldwide (including in Portugal). A possible explanation for this occurrence is the fact that, during the 1990s and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Portugal experienced a rise in the number of Brazilian and Eastern European immigrants moving to Portugal. (Justino, 2016) Thus, it led to the idea that Portugal was no longer a country of emigration, rather a wealthy country that was attractive to immigrants. Consequently, even though emigration continues to be a central topic for Portuguese society, it has not received a great deal of attention from journalists, academics or government members:

While the number of publications on research on immigration has increased almost exponentially in the last 15 years, studies on migration abated. For example, it is significant that the literature on Portuguese emigration kept at the Emigration Observatory points to the publication of only 17 books on this subject in Portugal, while just at the Immigration Observatory, about 40 works on immigration to Portugal were published in just half of that period. (Malheiros, 2011, p. 128)

As a whole, Portugal does not have extensive data and information about Portuguese emigration. There has been a more significant focus on immigration and issues and policies related to it in recent years. Even though emigration has always been present in

Portuguese society (even during Salazar's dictatorship and other moments of economic, social and political adversity), this phenomenon has not received much attention from the media, Portuguese society and scholars. The exception to this lack of awareness would be during the Summer when emigrants usually return to Portugal and the period of time after the 2008 crisis, which caused many young and highly-skilled Portuguese persons to emigrate. (Malheiros, 2011)

The reasons and circumstances for Portuguese people to emigrate have evolved throughout time. Even the choice of destination country has also evolved, which is visible in the number of Portuguese communities spread across the world. When analysing, in general, the reasons for Portuguese people to migrate, it is possible to pinpoint some similar issues: the economic and political instabilities present in several moments of Portuguese history, for example, during the dictatorship of the Estado Novo (1933-1974) and more recently after the financial crisis of 2008. Moreover, the high unemployment rates and the lack of career development opportunities present during those periods of economic and political instability resulted in Portuguese people emigrating to find better living conditions, improve their purchasing power, and find better job opportunities: "These drivers are reinforced, in the Portuguese context, by positive attitudes toward mobility and opportunities abroad and experiences of mobility (either personal or family members and friends)." (Justino, 2016, p. 6)

Although Portuguese society has a positive attitude towards emigration, leaving the country during the dictatorship was a problem. The Estado Novo's dictatorship was a particularly challenging period for people to leave the country. As part of the regime's policies, it was created the Junta da Emigração (Committee for Emigration) that was in charge of supervising emigration. This meant that it was extremely difficult to leave the country legally since the JE would undoubtedly not authorise the person to leave the country. (Galvanese, 2014) Consequently, emigration during the dictatorship was often conducted illegally, which translated into not having reliable data about emigration during this period of time.

Portuguese emigration has brought consequences to the country's economy and the Portuguese identity. One of the most visible consequences of emigration is the fluctuation in Portugal's population. According to a report conducted by the Secretário de Estado das Comunidades Portuguesas (Secretary of State for Portuguese Communities), Portugal has been experiencing a decrease in population for the past few decades. (Secretary of State for

Portuguese Communities , 2014, p. 52) This decrease is caused by several factors: an increase in emigration, a decline in immigration, a low birth rate and an ageing population. (Justino, 2016) When younger generations chose to emigrate massively during the economic crisis of the early 2010s, demographic ageing became a critical issue for society and the government, that had to find tools to tackle this issue. Another element that came arose with emigration during this specific moment was an alteration in the perception of Portuguese identity:

Economic decline and associated emigration have profoundly affected the sense of Portuguese identity. Two decades ago, Portugal was seen as an attractive economy for foreign labor, with a remarkable capacity to absorb and integrate labor migrants. By 2010, Portugal's economy could not guarantee a decent standard of living either immigrants or its own citizens. As a result, the Portuguese public has begun to see the past several years as a reversal of the progress made in previous decades and a return to the mass emigration of the 1960s. (Justino, 2016, p. 8)

Another controversial consequence of the emigration for Portugal is the 'brain drain'. It is controversial because, as mentioned before, there is a division between people who believe it to be a huge problem for the country and others who argue that the number of highly skilled Portuguese individuals that leave the country is not alarming. Highly qualified individuals started to leave Portugal in mass primarily after the financial crisis of 2008. Thus, the scope of the problem is not entirely established by researchers and the government.

Portuguese people have chosen to emigrate to different regions of the world for various reasons throughout history. Thus, it is important to analyse the different emigration waves. Although there are some reports and information provided by the Secretary of State for Portuguese Communities and even some research by scholars, information about emigration is still not substantial. As a consequence, it prevents a deeper analysis of Portuguese emigration. Thus, this subchapter will focus on the emigration waves of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century to four regions/countries: Brazil, North America, Europe and Angola.

Even though there are not much data concerning Portuguese emigration to Brazil, before the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century, this former colony has been the destination for many Portuguese emigrants, even after Brazil's independence in 1822. (Baganha & Góis, 1999) Until the end of the Second World War, Brazil continued to be one the favourable countries for

Portuguese emigration. (Galvanese, 2014) The flow of Portuguese emigration to Brazil was influenced by the First and Second World Wars, which caused a decrease during this period of time. During this period, several countries experienced political, economic and social instability, which triggered widespread poverty and high unemployment rates. Due to this climate of uncertainty, people choose not to leave Portugal. In addition, the policies created by both Portuguese and Brazilian governments influenced the flow of Portuguese emigrants to Brazil. On the one hand, Brazil's new policies facilitated the entrance of Portuguese emigrants who wanted to move to Brazil. (Pereira, 2009) On the other hand, the dictatorship imposed stricter migration laws to prevent people from leaving Portugal. Thus, Brazil became an essential destination for those who wanted to escape the regime.

Considering that Brazil shared the same language as Portugal, this was an advantage for Portuguese individuals who wanted to emigrate, because the linguistic barrier did not exist. The inexistence of a linguistic barrier is a crucial element because it can jeopardize the adaptation to the new residence, triggering a set of negative consequences for the emigrant. Moreover, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, emigrating to Brazil was seen as a positive economic change for the Portuguese society because it would translate into achieving financial stability in a short period of time. Additionally, emigrating to Brazil was also seen as a possible way to achieve social promotion in the Portuguese society (Pereira, 2009, p. 25): “The former Portuguese colony of Brazil was the main destination for Portuguese emigrants attracted by the image of “a land of opportunities. The *Brasileiros*, former emigrants who returned wealthy and socially ‘respectable’, reinforced this perception.” (Justino, 2016, p. 9) Furthermore, for a short time after the end of the Second World War, Brazil continued to be a preferred destination country because the Brazilian Constitution simplified the acquisition of the Brazilian nationality for Portuguese individuals, which many people used to escape Salazar's dictatorship. (Galvanese, 2014, p. 396)

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the choice of destination countries diversified, with Portuguese people choosing less Brazil and preferring other countries of the North and South American continents, such as Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay, Canada and the USA. (Secretary of State for Portuguese Communities , 2014, p. 14) Although Brazil did not continue to be one of the most important destination countries for Portuguese emigration, the reverse started growing to this day. Nowadays, a growing Brazilian community has chosen

Portugal as the destination country since they see Portugal as a place where they can seek better living and working conditions. (Pereira, 2009)

For a long time, the United States of America (USA) have attracted emigrants from different parts of the world who wanted to pursue the ‘American dream’. The trans-Atlantic Portuguese migratory flow was particularly characterised by the flow of Portuguese emigrants coming from the Azores’ islands. One of the reasons for this connection between the USA and the Azores’s community is the presence of the American Air Base in Lajes, in the Terceira Island of the Azores. This meant that the community in these islands was in closer contact with American culture and society. The USA became a preferable choice for many migrants from several countries because this country, after the Industrial Revolution, became a very wealthy nation with a stable economy – except during the Great Depression during the 30s. Due to the Azores being located in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, people from this group of islands, in general, chose to emigrate to the USA, where it was possible to earn higher wages than in Portugal. The Portuguese communities settled in mostly in Rhode Island, Massachusetts and in the state of California. (Pinho, 2010)

European countries became key destinations for Portuguese emigrants after the end of World War II, namely the countries in Central and Northern Europe, because they underwent a sharp economic recovery. (Góis & Marques, 2018) Thus, they became more desirable because there was a vast demand for unskilled labour force to assist in the reconstruction of those countries – for example, Germany, France and Luxembourg. Moreover, better wages were also available in those countries, which would translate into better living conditions. Consequently, Portuguese people started to shift away from countries such as Brazil to closer nations, which had less restricting migration policies. (Secretary of State for Portuguese Communities , 2014) Finally, after Portugal entered the European Union in 1986, the unrestricted mobility of people, goods and services between country members of the EU continued to assert the European countries as favoured destinations for Portuguese emigration.

Throughout the years, the number of Portuguese people living in France grew steadily, especially after the 1950s. The high demand for unskilled workers, as mentioned before, triggered a considerable flow of Portuguese emigrants moving to France. For Portuguese people, France was an opportunity to escape poverty, Salazar’s dictatorship, political persecution and the colonial war. Consequently, during this period, Portuguese

emigration was, in general, conducted illegally, which translates into the difficulty of finding reliable sources about the percentage of Portuguese people living in France during the dictatorship and the period after 1974. According to Baganha, M. and Góis, P., in 1961, of the total of immigrants who entered France, the Portuguese percentage was only 10,5% of the total. However, in 1970, less than a decade later, the percentage was 53%. (Baganha & Góis, 1999, p. 238)

There was a decline in the number of Portuguese people living in France and some other European countries during the 1970s due to the economic stagnation caused by the energy crisis.<sup>1</sup> As a consequence of the crisis, countries started to put into practice stricter migration policies that prevented massive flows of immigrants from arriving. This was an attempt to counteract and fix the economic recession by countries such as France and the UK. (Secretary of State for Portuguese Communities, 2014, p. 15) The situation reversed during the 1980s, consolidating France as one of the key destination countries for Portuguese emigration:

The largest Portuguese diaspora resides in France (...). According to consular data, Portuguese residents in France number about 1 million. In addition, Portuguese residents in France are the largest contributors to remittances, providing more than one-third of the total sent to Portugal. (Justino, 2016, p. 17)

After the 1980s, Europe continued to attract the majority of Portuguese emigrants, with other European countries becoming gradually more important for the Portuguese diaspora. As mentioned before, this was in part the outcome of Portugal's entry into the EU. During the 1990s and early 2000s, Spain attracted a significant proportion of Portuguese temporary workers – approximately 66,7%, while a small percentage chose this country as permanent residence (33%). (Secretary of State for Portuguese Communities, 2014, p. 16) However, this tendency started to shift after the financial crisis of 2008, when Spain suffered an economic decline as a consequence of the crisis. Thus, it became a less

---

<sup>1</sup> In the 1970s, Arab members of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) reduced production and blocked oil shipment to Western Countries, such as the USA and European countries (France included). This was seen as retaliation to Western Countries because they supported Israel in the Yom Kippur War. (Ross, 2013) Western nations, at that moment, relied entirely upon oil and petroleum derivatives. Hence, the shortage of oil was a major setback for Western countries' economies, which had been thriving after the end of WWII. Oil prices rapidly increased, and wealthy nations, such as the UK, the USA and France, fell into a deep economic recession: "The oil shocks cast up insidious problems – issues of energy security, economic adjustment, and leadership and cooperation within the industrial world." (Ikenberry, 1988, p. 2) Wealthy nations that were experiencing economic, political and social stability until that moment went through an economic crisis in the 1970s.

popular country of destination for Portuguese emigration. Other countries, such as Germany, Luxembourg and Belgium, also have large Portuguese communities, thus proving that Portuguese individuals have a diverse range of choices when they decide to emigrate:

Portuguese emigration has undergone a reconstruction process that simultaneously takes advantage of geographic and historical-cultural proximity (Spain, Angola) and regional economic dynamics within a globalization and facilitation of worldwide mobility framework. (Malheiros, 2011, p. 132)

The number of Portuguese emigrants who have chosen the UK has increased since the early 2000s. The UK's popularity boosted exponentially after the 2008 financial crisis because it was seen as a possibility for better wages and living conditions for Portuguese individuals. The Portuguese emigration flow grew from 10 000 between 2006 and 2010 to more than 30 000 in 2013, only three years later. (Justino, 2016, p. 16) Nowadays, the UK continues to be one of the critical destination countries for Portuguese emigration.

Moreover, in recent years, Angola has also attracted the interest of many Portuguese emigrants. Historical and cultural ties, as well as the fact that both countries share the same language, have been factors that explain this new dynamic between Portugal and Angola. It is estimated that 10% to 12% of the total of Portuguese emigrants have chosen Angola as their destination. (Secretary of State for Portuguese Communities , 2014, p. 34) This flow has not attracted a lot of media attention, even though it marks a reversion between countries and their former colonies (Justino, 2016, p. 18):

The emergence of Angola as a growing destination of Portuguese emigration after 2005/2006, is the best example of the present process of reorganization of the international mobility destinations of the Portuguese, who can take advantage of emerging countries with high economic growth rates, especially those that have Portuguese, Spanish or English as their official languages and have shortages of workforce with the intermediate or higher qualification in sectors such as construction, public works and tourism. (Malheiros, 2011, p. 130)

Portuguese emigration, in general, has been in constant evolution throughout the years. Firstly, at the beginning, the people who emigrated were commonly young men with no qualifications, and they usually emigrated alone. Over the years, female family members (usually their wives or daughters) started to follow their husbands/fathers passively to the destination countries. Nowadays, it is possible to see an increase in the number of women

that independently choose to emigrate. (Góis & Marques, 2018) The percentage of men who emigrates (52%) is similar to the women's percentage (48%). (Secretary of State for Portuguese Communities , 2014, p. 65) Moreover, the age range of Portuguese people emigrating has expanded, meaning that younger people are no longer the only ones to emigrate. As Portuguese society becomes more qualified, the number of highly-skilled individuals has also increased, bringing a new dynamic to the Portuguese diaspora. (Góis & Marques, 2018) Thus, Portuguese emigration change throughout, depending on the economic, political, social and cultural situation of Portugal and the countries of destination. For instance, as illustrated in the figure below, it is possible to see how Portuguese emigration has fluctuated in just ten years:

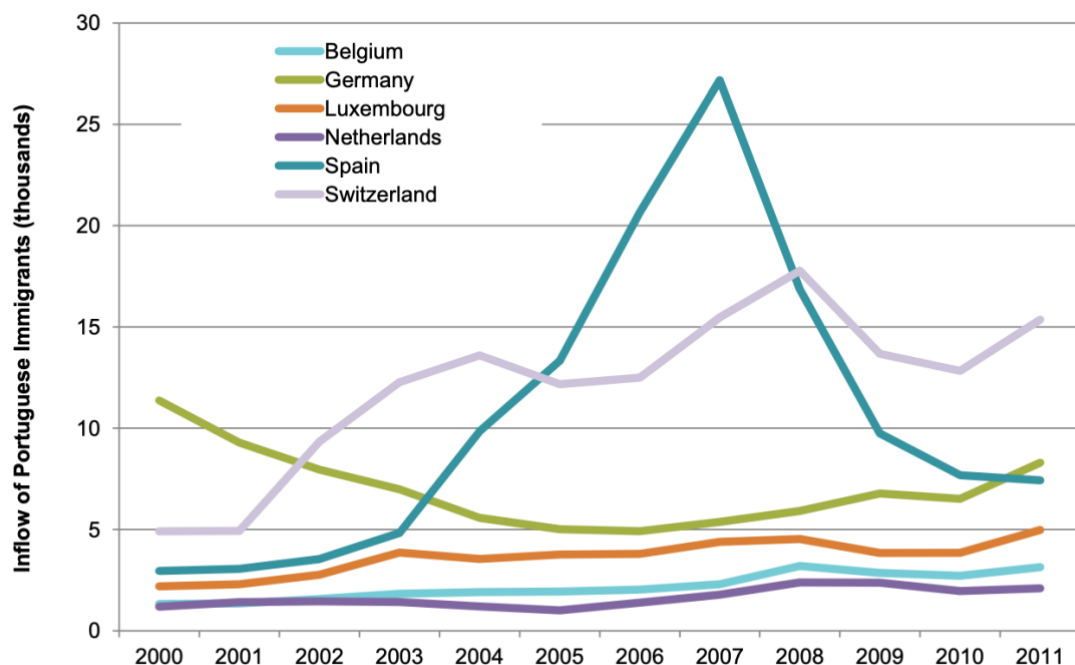


Figure 1 Changes in the Portuguese emigration from 2000 to 2011<sup>2</sup>

Thus, Portuguese emigration is a complex phenomenon, which has evolved and changed throughout the years. Considering the diversity of destination countries that have attracted Portuguese emigration over time, it is necessary to analyse each individual case in order to understand this topic. This is because each country brings a new set of circumstances, cultures, and challenges for the Portuguese community who resides there. Considering

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted from “Emigration from Portugal: Old Wine in New Bottles?” by Justino, 2016, Migration Policy Institute, page 5

this dissertation's main topic, the next section will focus on the Portuguese community residing in Switzerland. Switzerland has become a key destination for Portuguese emigrants. Even nowadays, Switzerland is still one of the European countries that receive a large percentage of Portuguese emigration. Thus, the next section will focus on this topic.

## 2.1 Portuguese emigration to Switzerland

Switzerland has approximately 8 million residents, and 24% of the population is foreign individuals. (Hoti, Heinzmann, Müller, & Buholzer, 2015, p. 86) When considering the history and evolution of Portuguese emigration and the diversity of destination for Portuguese emigrants, one of the countries of destination that stands out in Switzerland. Switzerland has become one of the key target locations not only for the Portuguese communities but also for migrants from different nations, such as Italy, Spain and Eastern European Countries.

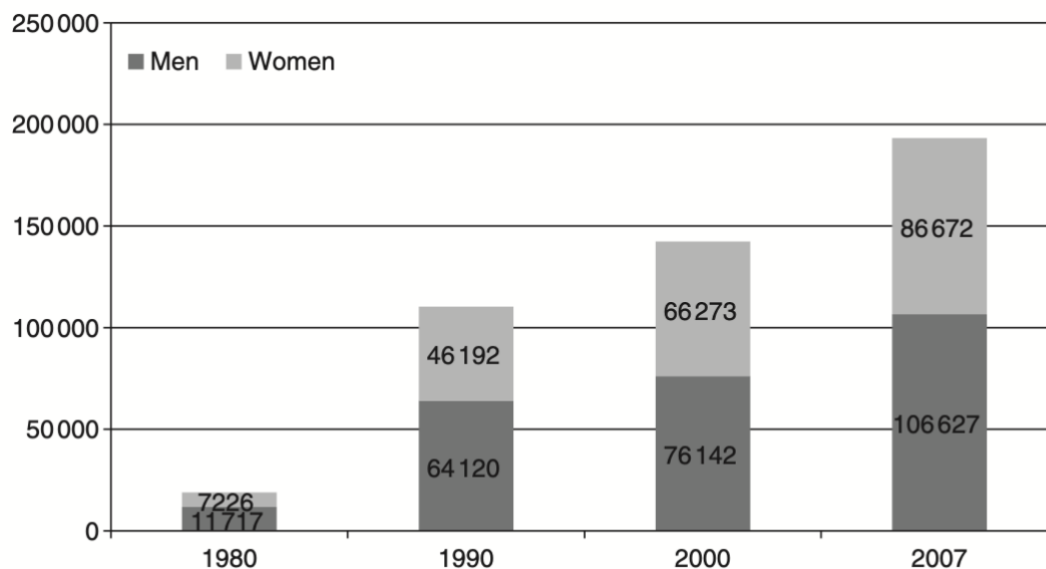


Figure 2 Number of Portuguese women and men that emigrated to Switzerland from 1980 to 2007<sup>3</sup>

For years, the number of Portuguese residents in Switzerland had been constant, with approximately 135,000 Portuguese residents. However, in 2008, around 18,000

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted from “Permanently Provisional: History, Facts & Figures of Portuguese Immigration in Switzerland” by Afonso, 2010, 53:4, page 125

Portuguese individuals arrived in Switzerland, which was a record number. After this year, the numbers continued to grow each year and, in 2014, the Portuguese community became the third-largest foreign community established in Switzerland. (Justino, 2016, p. 16) Thus, nowadays, one of the largest Portuguese communities outside Portugal lives in Switzerland. Even though it is an essential destination country for Portuguese emigration, the relationship between the Swiss society and the Portuguese community went through some adaptation and changes in order to coexist together:

In 1964, an experts' committee commissioned by the Swiss Government strongly advised against the recruitment of foreign workers in so-called "distant areas" that included, among others, Portugal. Workers from these areas were considered too different culturally and socially, would be unable to get used to Swiss ways and customs, and above all, would generate hostile reactions among the Swiss population. (Afonso, 2010, p. 120)

As mentioned before, during the 1950s and 1960s, France was one of the leading destinations for Portuguese emigration. During this period, Switzerland did not attract the attention of this group because of their policies and guidelines. According to the Swiss Census, in the 1950s and 1960s, the exception to this tendency was some students and political refugees who emigrated to Switzerland to escape the dictatorship. (Fibbi, et al., 2010, p. 18) During this period, Portugal was considered – in a quite arbitrary manner - to be culturally too distant for the Swiss government. Thus, Portuguese people's adaptation would be a challenge, or they would even be incapable of adapting to the environment and to the Swiss culture and customs. In 1960, according to the Swiss census, only 373 Portuguese individuals were living in Switzerland, which represented less than 0,1% of the total of foreigners living there at that moment. (Marques J. C., 2009)

However, this tendency changed because France imposed stricter migration policies as a consequence of the 1970s energy crisis, since the country was deeply affected by the oil shortage. Controlling the entrance of migrants to the country was seen as a way to repair the French economy. Thus, there was a decrease in the number of Portuguese individuals who emigrated to France. Furthermore, Switzerland had migration agreements with Italy and Spain, which allowed individuals from these countries to emigrate more easily to Switzerland. The agreement was beneficial for both parties since it allowed Spanish and Italian emigrants to seek better jobs and wages in Switzerland, where immigrants were necessary to fill job positions that natives were not interested in. The job positions were

essentially concentrated in the following sectors: construction industry, agriculture and restaurant and hotel industry. (Marques J. C., 2018, pp. 4-5) Thus, after a decrease in the number of immigrants from these two countries, Switzerland had a shortage of unskilled workers. Thus, the search for workers shifted to countries such as Turkey, former Yugoslavia and Portugal.

Hence, at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, Portuguese people started to go to Switzerland. In order to help recruit more people, the Swiss government created recruitment agencies in Portugal to spread more easily the information about job opportunities that existed in Switzerland. (Marques J. C., 2018, p. 5) The job opportunities were essentially concentrated in the sectors mentioned above. Moreover, another critical element of this wave of emigration was the fact that it was, in the majority of cases, composed of job offers for seasonal workers. Seasonal work permits to restrict the length of the stay and the area of the region in which immigrants were allowed to work:

Up to the late 1990s, seasonal work permits allowed an immigrant to work in Switzerland for nine months a year, mainly in sectors such as agriculture, construction, and the hospitality trade without right to family reunification. Workers holding this type of permit were not allowed to change their activity or move from one canton to another. After 36 consecutive months of work in Switzerland, seasonal workers could eventually obtain renewable annual permits which allowed family reunification and permanent residence. Finally, resident permits, which were given after five or ten years of stay in Switzerland – depending on the worker's country of origin – gave immigrants the same rights as Swiss citizens, with the exception of political rights. (Afonso, 2010, pp. 121-122)

Therefore, in the beginning, the Portuguese emigration was a more seasonal emigration that eventually evolved to permanent residence. Seasonal emigration that evolved to permanent work permits prevailed during the 1980s and the 1990s. This short period of time was also characterized by an intensive flow of immigrants coming from Portugal (Fibbi, et al., 2010, p. 25): “It is striking to note that half of the total Portuguese immigration to Switzerland between 1970 and 2000 took within a period of 6 years, between 1989 and 1994. During this period, around 100,000 Portuguese entered Switzerland.” (Afonso, 2010, p. 124) Nevertheless, there was an economic stagnation in Switzerland that caused a crisis in the construction industry between 1991 and 1997. (Marques J. C., 2018, p. 12) Since the construction industry was one of the sectors that employed the most Portuguese people,

it caused a slight decline in the number of Portuguese residents in Switzerland. After this period, the number of Portuguese emigrants started to increase again:

During the 1990s, the Swiss government also adopted a new set of policies towards migration. One of the policies was referred to as the ‘three circles’ policy. It assembled people from countries and regions from the globe on three different levels, according to how much immigrants from those areas were desirable or undesirable were for Switzerland. While in the 1960s, Portugal was considered to be culturally distant, this time it was regarded as “on the good side of the “cultural barrier””. (Afonso, 2010, p. 124)

The beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century saw a rapprochement between Switzerland and the European Union that brought positive advantages for Portuguese people that wanted to emigrate to Switzerland. In 2002, the first of two bilateral agreements between Switzerland and the EU was put into practice. With this agreement, it became more accessible for people, services and goods to move between Switzerland and the EU. The second bilateral agreement was put into practice in 2005. The creation of these two agreements facilitated the entrance into the Swiss labour market, educational programmes, research positions and internships for citizens of EU member countries. (Ryser, 2009, p. 5) The bilateral agreement also meant that the elimination of the seasonal work permit. Hence, it was created a new programme that allowed emigrants to work in Switzerland for a short period of time, between four and twelve months. Although very similar to the seasonal work permit, this new programme also allowed emigrants to bring their relatives to the country. This programme also allows immigrants to find employment in any sectors of the Swiss economy and not only in construction, agriculture and hospitality, which was a positive adjustment for Portuguese emigrants. (Marques J. C., 2018, p. 9)

Consequently, the number of Portuguese people emigrating to Switzerland continued to increase in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, as a new emigration began with the bilateral agreements. Another factor that influenced this increase was the financial crisis of 2008. This financial crisis was a turning point for the Portuguese emigration. Portugal felt deeply the negative economic, financial, social and political consequences of this financial crisis As the Portuguese economy plunged, on the one hand, the unemployment rate started to rise, especially among younger people and people with higher education. On the other hand, the employment opportunities and purchase power steadily declined.

Thus, the country went through several years of not only economic and financial instability, but also political and social instability. In 2011, the prime-minister José Sócrates announced to country that the government was going to ask financial assistance to the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This necessity for external help meant that the country saw the implementation of more restrictive measures, such as tax increase, reduction of wages/pensions and reduction of government welfare. (Lusa, 2021)

In addition to the economic instability, at the same time, Portugal also went through a period of political and social instability. After the Portuguese Parliament did not accept the set of measures (also known as the Program of Stability and Growth) created by the government of José Sócrates to overcome the consequences of the financial crisis, the prime-minister resigned in March 2011. (Lusa, 2011) In June 2011, a new government was elected, after two right-wing parties (PSD and CDS-PP) established a deal to form a new government. Thus, Pedro Passos Coelho became the new Portuguese prime-minister.

This new right-wing government drew negative severe criticism for the way they handle the crisis. The social discontent grew exponentially among the Portuguese society as a result of the governments' measures to combat the financial and their lack of empathy towards the difficulties that the society was dealing. One striking example of this was their responses to the dramatic increase of the unemployment rate among young highly-skilled Portuguese people. As more and more young people struggled to find employment after finishing their higher education, they were advised by the prime-minister to consider emigration as the solution to their problems. (Lusa, 2011) Although Pedro Passos Coelho has considered this statement to be a 'urban myth', the reality is that several members of the government (including himself) alluded that the only solution to the problem of high unemployment rate was only emigration. (Vieira, 2015) This lack of empathy and support by their own government increased even more the social and discontent and the general feeling of anger and distrust in the government's ability to overcome this crisis. Thus, after the financial crisis, Portugal saw each year increasing numbers of highly-skilled people living the country.

Since the Swiss economy could maintain an economic equilibrium, Switzerland continued to be a fundamental destination for Portuguese emigration. In 2008, more than 14,000 Portuguese individuals arrived in Switzerland, which translates to an increase of 8% of the Portuguese population in Switzerland. There were approximately 196,000

Portuguese people. (Fibbi, et al., 2010, p. 24) According to a statistical report from the Observatório de Emigração (The Emigration Observatory), in 2015, there were more than 210,000 Portuguese individuals residing in Switzerland. Thus, nowadays, the 2<sup>nd</sup> biggest Portuguese community outside Portugal is located in Switzerland (Pires, Pereira, Azevedo, Santo, & Vidigal, 2016, p. 239)

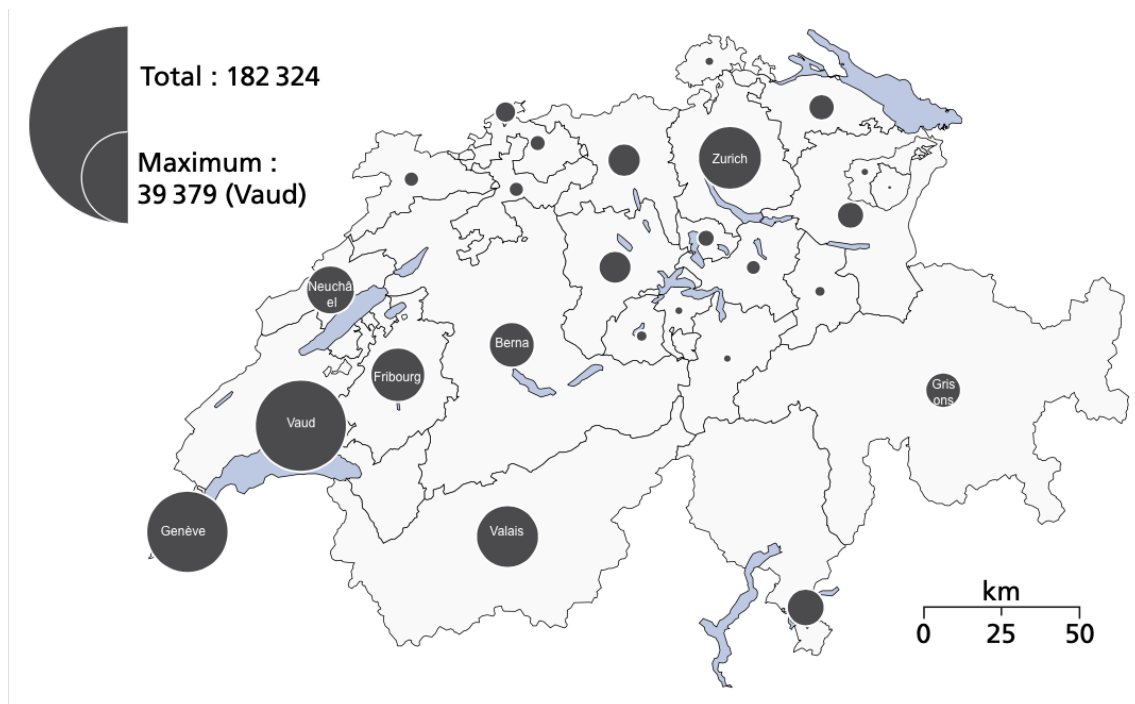


Figure 3 Number of Portuguese people per canton<sup>4</sup>

Although there are Portuguese emigrants spread across Switzerland, a large proportion of the Portuguese community is located in cantons, whose official language is French, also known as ‘Suisse Romande.’ According to Fibbi et al. (2010), two-thirds of Portuguese emigrants, approximately 63%, reside in Suisse Romande: “This can be possibly explained by a greater cultural and linguistic proximity, and notably the similarities with France, which has exerted a strong attraction for Portuguese migrants.” (Afonso, 2010, p. 125) The cantons where the Portuguese presence is more noticeable are: Geneva, Vaud, Valais, Neuchâtel and Zurich. The latter is the only canton that has German as the official

<sup>4</sup> Reprinted from "Les Portugais en Suisse", by Fibbi, et al., 2010, Office fédéral des migrations (ODM), page 33

language. Vaud is the canton where there is the largest Portuguese community in Switzerland, with more than 40,000 residents, approximately 20%. Only the commune of Lausanne - on the canton of Vaud - has nearly 8,000 Portuguese residents, creating one of the prevalent Portuguese agglomerates in that country. The canton of Geneva has around 31,000 Portuguese residents, with the city of Geneva having the largest Portuguese agglomerate in Switzerland. The canton of Zurich has approximately 19,000 Portuguese residents. (Fibbi, et al., 2010, pp. 33-38) Furthermore, the cantons of Valais and Grisons have also attracted Portuguese emigrants because tourism is one of the most critical sectors of the regional economy, which has attracted Portuguese workers for positions in hotels and restaurants.

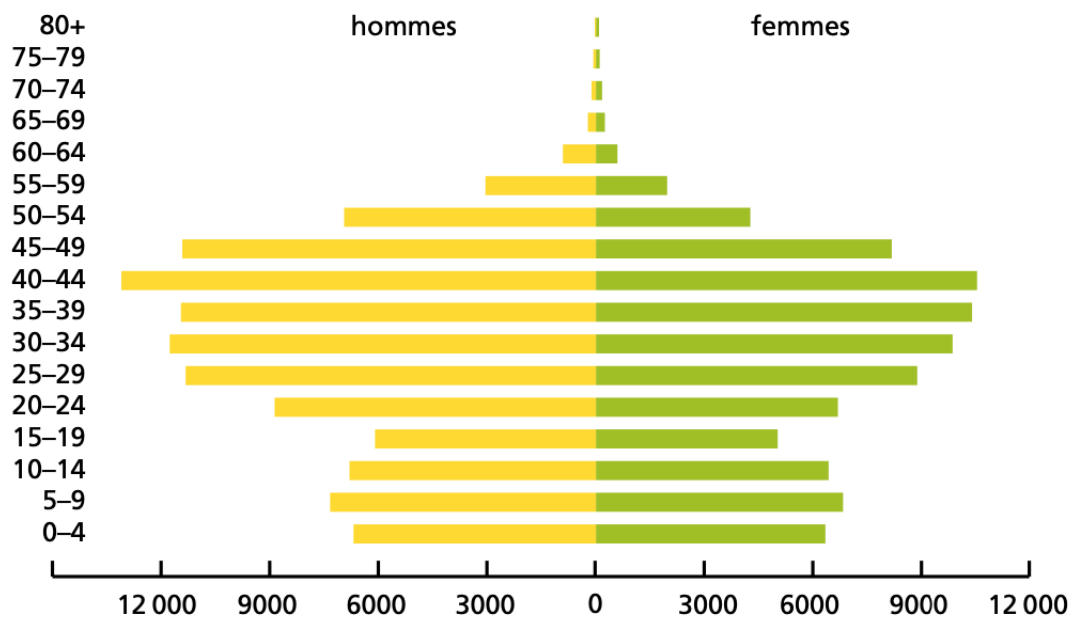


Figure 4 Portuguese community according to age and gender<sup>5</sup>

As previously mentioned, in general, Switzerland has attracted mainly young Portuguese migrants with few qualifications. Nevertheless, this tendency has changed after the 2008 financial crisis, which saw a rise of highly-skilled people migrating to Switzerland. Another distinctive element of the Portuguese emigration to Switzerland is that the percentage of men is similar to the percentage of women who emigrate to this country. The emigration's wave during the 1950s and 1960s to France was predominantly male,

<sup>5</sup> Reprinted from "Les Portugais en Suisse", by Fibbi, et al., 2010, Office fédéral des migrations (ODM), page 29

with the exception of women who followed their male family relatives passively. However, when analysing the Portuguese migration wave to Switzerland, women often emigrated independently and not only for the purpose of reuniting with their families. An explanation for this phenomenon is the fact that there was (and still is) a significant demand for labour force for positions in restaurants and hotels. Thus, women's emigration became more discernible in this country, bringing new dynamics and distinctive elements to the Portuguese emigration in Switzerland since Portuguese emigration has been typically male. (Marques & Góis, 2008)

Another distinctive feature of the Portuguese emigration to Switzerland is how job opportunities in the country are guaranteed. During the 1980s, there were Swiss companies based in Madrid that conducted the recruitment of people in Portugal. Job opportunities were, in general, in the construction industry, agriculture and hospitality. Those companies had bilateral agreements with the Portuguese government to facilitate the recruitment process. Thus, the bilateral agreements also helped to ease the legal procedures associated with migrating to another country. (Marques J. C., 2018) However, the most common situation was that people emigrated because a member of their family, a friend or acquaintance, who already lived in Switzerland, helped them find a job: “The grand scheme of entrance in Switzerland is the friend who brings another friend, the brother who brings another sibling, the cousin who brings another cousin, etc. A smaller portion enters the country with the help of the government.” (Marques J. C., 2008, p. 305. My Translation) This form of emigration means that Portuguese emigrants know people who are already living in the country, consequently providing them with a support system to help them access basic needs and adapt to the country. Moreover, since Portuguese people tend to emigrate to places where they already know someone, this explains why it is possible to see small Portuguese communities in Switzerland who originate from the same Portuguese town. In large Swiss cities, such as Geneva, Lausanne and Zurich, there are Portuguese communities who mostly come from the same Portuguese region. (Marques J. C., 2008)

The adaptation to the destination country's culture is not linear and straightforward. It will always depend on the culture's specificities and on the individual and his/her customs and beliefs. The concepts of identity and assimilation are controversial, with multiple opposite definitions and opinions associated with them. Thus, when addressing the Portuguese

community's adaptation in Switzerland, the findings should always be taken into consideration with caution because the adaptation is a subjective process. According to (Afonso, 2010), the Portuguese community is well-accepted by the Swiss society: "An opinion poll conducted in 2002 showed that 82 per cent of respondents had a rather positive or very positive image of the Portuguese. In comparison, (...) east-European immigrants were the subject of rather hostile sentiments from the Swiss population." (Afonso, 2010, p. 128) One of the factors that have helped create this positive image is that the Portuguese community has one of the country's highest employment rates.

Nevertheless, the number of Portuguese migrants who choose to make the naturalisation application is low when compared to the number of Italian, French and German immigrants. The adaptation to the Swiss society and culture is different for Portuguese emigrants because they usually return to Portugal after they retire. For the Portuguese community, in general, emigration is a temporary process. They eventually desire to return to their hometown. This fact translates into a low percentage of naturalisations. Another element that prevents the application for naturalisation is that it is a complicated and complex process. The applicant has to fulfil a set of criteria, to prove that he/she identifies with the Swiss culture and that he/she speaks one of the official languages proficiently. (Marques J. C., 2018, p. 14)

Additionally, in Switzerland, the Portuguese community is a cohesive group found in a small number of Swiss cities. Consequently, the Portuguese language is still used daily, even in the workplace. In 2000, according to a government survey, 60% of the Portuguese population still considered Portuguese to be their first language. French was considered the main language to 31% of the Portuguese population, and only 5% considered German to be their primary language. (Fibbi, et al., 2010, p. 87) There are two reasonable grounds for these conclusions: firstly, a large share of Portuguese emigrants is established in cantons where the main language is French; secondly, French is more similar to the Portuguese language, which stimulates proficiency in this language. Furthermore, it was also observed that emigrants' children, who were integrated into the Swiss education system, were more prone to use one of the country's official languages.

Another noteworthy element of the Portuguese emigration to Switzerland is the difference between Portuguese and Swiss governments and (in some cases) scholars. A clear example of this phenomenon is the difference between how Portuguese and Swiss authors

have written about the beginning of the Portuguese emigration in this country. In the Swiss version, Portuguese emigration only gained more visibility after the 1970s because of external factors and not because of their discouraging migration policies. In contrast, the Portuguese authors addressed the fact that those migration policies were one of the main factors that shut away Portuguese emigration. In addition, even Portuguese and Swiss statistical reports have different conclusions. They use distinctive ways to collect information, and even the elements they take into consideration are different. On the one hand, Portuguese authors acknowledge two distinctive factors that have influenced Portuguese emigration to Switzerland: internal and external factors. The internal factor was the political, economic and social instability felt at the time in Portugal, that influenced people's decision to leave the country. The external factor that also influences their decision was the fact that some countries were more receptive to immigration than other countries. This also affected Portuguese emigration. However, when addressing the Portuguese emigration, Swiss authors only acknowledge the external factors. The general idea is that Portuguese immigrants stopped coming to Switzerland because they chose to go to other countries. The problem with this explanation is that it does not mention the fact that Swiss discriminatory migration policies also played an important role in preventing Portuguese people from going to Switzerland. Hence, both countries created different narratives towards migration, in general, and Portuguese emigration, in specific. This information demonstrates how migration is still such a complex, subjective and debatable concept.

Thus, the Portuguese emigration to Switzerland, even though it is relatively recent, has evolved considerably throughout this short period of time. Moreover, due to the surrounding environment, the Portuguese community in Switzerland is distinctive from other Portuguese communities settled in different regions of the globe. The reason is that each canton in Switzerland can adopt different sets of policies and rules, creating singular experiences for the Portuguese community. Hence, people (and immigrants) who reside in the canton Vaud and the city of Lausanne have different life experiences from people living in other cantons.

## 2.2 Canton Vaud – Context

Switzerland has a total of 26 cantons. A distinctive and significant feature of Switzerland is the fact that each canton has some autonomy from the others. This situation is similar to the different states in the USA, which have a degree of independence in the policies and rules they implement in their jurisdiction. Hence, each canton has their own legislative and executive authorities and judiciary branch. The city of Lausanne is the capital city of the Vaud's canton, which is close to another prominent Swiss city, Geneva. The canton of Vaud and Lausanne are two central geographical regions for the Portuguese community in Switzerland. A significant proportion of Portuguese emigrants chooses to reallocate in this area. Consequently, as previously stated, one of the largest Portuguese communities is located in this canton.

According to a 2019 report conducted by the FSO (Federal Statistical Office), the population of the Vaud's canton was approximately 805,098, of which 66,9% were Swiss residents and 33% were foreigners. Roughly one-third of the population in this canton is immigrants. It was also reported that this canton had one of the highest percentages of young people, with the average age being below 41. (FSO, 2020, pp. 9-10) Furthermore, there are five central foreign communities established in this canton: Kosovo, Spain, Italy, France and Portugal. Portugal has the most significant foreign community, representing 7% of the total of immigrants (33%). (Statistique Vaud, 2020)

Considering it is one of the cantons where there is a solid Portuguese presence, some elements of the Portuguese community have been introduced into the society. For example, French is the primary language used in the workplace and society, in general. Nevertheless, because of the strong Portuguese presence, the Portuguese language is also used in the workplaces where Portuguese employees are present. According to regional statistics, more than 52,000 people considered Portuguese to be one of their primary languages, which means that Portuguese is the third most used language in the canton of Vaud. (FSO, 2019) However, the Portuguese community in Vaud has one of the lowest rates of naturalisation, with only 7% of Portuguese people having double citizenship. Subsequently, this Portuguese community follows the general tendency of not requesting double citizenship. (Statistique Vaud, 2020)

In terms of religion, similar to Portugal, the Roma Catholic Church has a strong presence, with 35,1% of the population belonging to this religion. The second most present religion

in the canton of Vaud is the Protestant Reformed Church (27,1%). The canton of Vaud also has a considerable percentage of people who do not have a religious affiliation, approximately 28%. (FSO, 2021) Moreover, in smaller proportions, other religious affiliation, such as Islamism, Buddhism, and Hinduism, exist in this canton. This is a direct consequence of the significant presence of immigrants in the Canton of Vaud.

Tourism is an important sector for the Canton of Vaud since it has quite a few cities and small towns along the lake Léman. Thus, in cities such as Lausanne, Vevey and Montreux, the hotel and restaurant sector and companies are essential because they stimulate the local economy and create workplaces. Moreover, because of the lake, there is also a market for companies who offer activities related to the lake, for example, boat trips, boat rental and water ski. The canton of Vaud also has a strong tradition of wine-making, making viniculture and agriculture key sectors. In 2007, the vineyards (also known as Lavaux) in this canton became part of the UNESCO World Heritage Programme, adding a new component to the region's tourism. (Lake Geneva Region Tourist Office (LGRTO), n.d.)

The canton of Vaud has a high employment rate, with the canton's gross domestic product (GDP) continuing to be slightly above the national rate. The primary sector, in 2017, in accordance to a statistic report, was responsible for only 2,6% of the total job positions in the Canton of Vaud. The manufacturing industry has a percentage of 18,9%, with the manufacturing industries being responsible for 11,7% of the job positions, and construction representing 7,6% of this portion. The service industry was the most important sector of the regional economy since it was responsible for 78,5% of the total of employed people. Inside this sector, the division responsible for supplying administrative and technical services had the most significant percentage with 16,5%. Furthermore, the trade industry, the healthcare sector and the educational sector are also meaningful branches of the regional economy. Solely the city of Lausanne has two of the most important universities in the country – the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Lausanne (EPFL) and the University of Lausanne. Moreover, in Lausanne, it is also located one of the best hospitals in the world, the Centre Hospitalier Universitaire Vaudois. (Newsweek, 2021)

The residents of the Canton of Vaud have elected a centrist political party, the FDP. The Liberals govern the National Council. This political party is well-established in the Swiss

political landscape, being one of the political parties with more representation, both at the regional and state level.

### 2.2.1 History and evolution of the Portuguese community in Lausanne

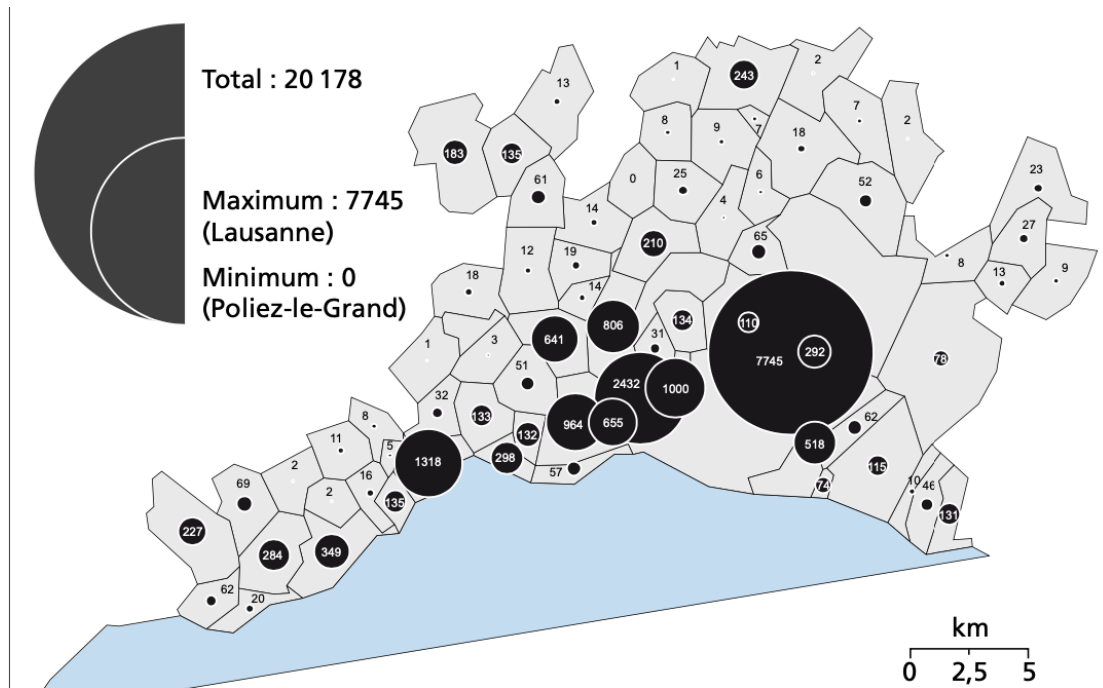


Figure 5 Distribution of the Portuguese community in Lausanne.<sup>6</sup>

The Portuguese community in Lausanne has an essential role since it is one of the foreign communities with the highest presence. It is a community well-accepted by the Swiss society. Nevertheless, the Portuguese community in this region presents a paradox. Even though the canton of Vaud has one of the largest Portuguese communities in Switzerland and the city of Lausanne has one of the biggest Portuguese agglomerations (as mentioned previously), there is not much information about Portuguese emigration to this region. Moreover, there is not trustworthy information and data about the beginning of the history of the Portuguese emigration to this particular canton/city.

<sup>6</sup> Reprinted from "Les Portugais en Suisse", by Fibbi, et al., 2010, Office fédéral des migrations (ODM), page 36

In “Les Portugais en Suisse” (Fibbi, et al., 2010, pp. 94-95), it is introduced an idea that could help explain the lack of reliable information about the history of the Portuguese community in Lausanne. The authors explain that when foreign communities settle in the country of destination, they adopt different strategies to ensure their successful adaptation. For the Portuguese community in Switzerland, there is a conscious effort to project a positive image in order to be accepted by the host society. Discretion and the ability to not cause disturbances and controversy are essential strategies for the Portuguese community in Switzerland in order not to trigger negative emotions and opinions among the Swiss community. As a consequence of maintaining a discrete and quiet existence, there was not a great deal of interest for the Portuguese community by the media, academics, and government officials.

However, while the Portuguese community attempts to be discreet, there has been a strong attempt to maintain their connection to Portugal and the Portuguese community. Since the Portuguese emigrants have the tendency to create close-knit communities, there are several Portuguese organizations spread across Switzerland. These organizations serve several objectives, such as helping emigrants navigate the legal system and assisting people with administrative proceedings. Additionally, most of these organizations aim to promote the Portuguese culture and customs in an informal way. These organizations are also an opportunity to establish contact and relationships between emigrants that otherwise would not have the possibility to connect. There are approximately 250 Portuguese organizations spread across Switzerland. Solely in the canton of Vaud, 25 organizations were created. (Fibbi, et al., 2010, pp. 94-95)

Thus, the Portuguese community in Switzerland is exposed to a different environment compared to communities established in other countries. Although Switzerland is geographically close to Portugal, not being a member of the European Union creates a new set of challenges and experiences for immigrants coming from European countries. The next chapter will focus on the legal procedures and constraints the Portuguese community encounters in Switzerland and on the consequences for the success of their adaptation to the Swiss society and culture.

**CHAPTER II – SWISS LEGAL PROCEDURES ENCOUNTERED BY  
PORTUGUESE EMIGRANTS**

---

### 3 Switzerland's Political and Economic Stances

Switzerland, also known as the Swiss Confederation, is a federal country. It is considered to be a federal republic because it is composed by 26 cantons, which have some level of political independence from each other. Thus, each canton has their own local authorities and communes. Although internationally Bern is regarded as the capital city of Switzerland, in reality, the Swiss federal government is more complex. Bern is considered to be the 'capital' because it was chosen as the place where the seat of government would be located. However, the judicial centre is located in Lausanne. Thus, federalism and the distribution of powers and responsibilities are a key element for the Swiss government and society.

Switzerland adopted a federal constitution in 1848, but it had already incorporated some federal elements into its society centuries ago. (Church & Dardanelli, 2005) Throughout time, the Swiss confederation had undergone major transformations (for example, wars, clashes of different political views and cultural changes) before 1848. These transformations, allied to the concept of confederation that was already present in the country, helped to transform Switzerland officially into a federal state. Thus, federalism is still currently a core concept for the Swiss government and for the identity of the Swiss society. It has even become one of the most distinguishable and important characteristics of the Swiss government, and the country is seen as an example of the successful implementation of federalism. Federalism is a complex concept that has evolved over time, and different areas have different definitions:

'Federalism' has different meanings in economics, politics and in the vernacular. The various interpretations range from real *decentralisation* (where local and regional governments have their own competences), over *delegation* (where lower level governments act as agents of the central government) to *deconcentration* (where the central government is dispersed to regional branch offices) and to the nebulous concept of subsidiarity. (Eichenberger, 1994, p. 404)

Federalism usually is seen as the decentralisation and the distribution of powers between lower-level governments and entities. In Switzerland, the power is distributed between the federal government, the 26 cantons and the more than 2,000 communes. Moreover, similar to other European countries, in Switzerland, there is a separation of powers in three branches: the Swiss parliament that is in charge of the legislature, the Swiss

government that represents the executive, and the judiciary (courts). (Federal Chancellery, 2021) Nevertheless, the federal government that operate in Switzerland is more complex than these three branches. The Swiss government and society are oriented towards ensuring the distribution of powers and responsibilities among the different levels of government. They also want to ensure that the Swiss people's will and viewpoints are taken into consideration in the decision-making of important issues. Considering this particular feature of the Swiss government that has led to creating unique systems and elements, the Swiss political branch is more complex when compared to other democratic nations.

Thus, the executive branch is controlled by the Federal Government. The Federal Government is also known as the Federal Council. The Federal Council is composed by seven members (from different political parties), and they are elected once every four years by the Swiss parliament. All the seven members are in charge of one of the seven departments that form the Federal Council. The presidency has to rotate every single year. The Federal government is responsible for tasks that concern the entire country, such as international relations, defence, national road network and nuclear energy. Moreover, they prepare new legislation to be sent to the Swiss parliament and they are also responsible for creating suitable conditions to implement the decisions and laws approved by the parliament. (Federal Chancellery, 2021) The Federal Council is an essential element of the Federal state and of the political branch of the country. However, the extension of the Federal Council's powers and importance is slightly unclear, even in the Federal constitution. This ambiguity results from the evolution of the Swiss political system that has sometimes pushed for the decentralisation of powers, while others endorse the opposite. Even the Swiss constitution is not straightforward about the role of the Federal Council:

At some points, the federal constitution implies that the 'Confederation' – i.e. the federation – is synonymous with the whole Swiss political system, including cantons and communes. Elsewhere, it refers to the 'Confederation' as the federal level of government – essentially the federal institutions – as distinct from, if not sometimes opposed to, the cantons and communes. (Church & Dardanelli, 2005, p. 173)

In Switzerland, the parliament is also known as the United Federal Assembly. A distinctive element of the Swiss parliament is the existence of two separate chambers, similar to the British parliament. However, in contrast to the British parliament, where

the House of Commons is more important than the House of Lords, in the Swiss parliament, both chambers have equal powers on the decision-making procedures. The two chambers are the National Council, also known as the People's Chamber, and the Council of States, commonly known as the Chamber of Cantons. The National Council – which represents the people of Switzerland – has 200 seats. The seats are distributed according to the size and the population of each canton – cantons more populated have more seats than the smaller ones. Nevertheless, all cantons have at least one seat to ensure the inclusion of everyone. The Council of States, which represents the 26 cantons, has a smaller chamber with only 46 seats. Twenty cantons have two seats, while the rest has only one seat. The Swiss parliament is responsible for creating new laws (legislation), and they are also in charge of controlling the national budget. Different political parties from both the left-wing and right-wing are represented in the parliament, with more than eleven parties having at least one seat at the United Federal Assembly. (Federal Chancellery, 2021) Lastly, another key characteristic of the Swiss parliament is that there is no political party that has the majority in parliament. There is no permanent opposition (for example, left-wing parties against right-wing parties, or vice-versa) because the opposition will shift depending on the issue presented.

As a federal state, cantons are a key element for all the economic and political ecosystem, and they are considered to be the 'middle-level' between the Federal government and the communes. Cantons are a group of states that have come together to create a single country - Switzerland. (Confédération Suisse, 2017) Since the Swiss government and society emphasise distributing power and responsibilities between different levels of government, cantons have some degree of autonomy and sovereignty to manage the canton's political, administrative, and financial entities. (Debela, 2020) Although the cantons have to obey and follow the Swiss constitution, they are independent in their policy-making and how the laws and rules approved by the Federal Council are put into practice. Consequently, different cantons have the ability to adapt their laws and regulations accordingly to the particular needs and characteristics of each canton. (Church & Dardanelli, 2005) For instance, while some cantons such as Neuchâtel, Jura and Ticino have imposed a minimum wage, other cantons (Geneva and Vaud) have refused to implement such measure. (Frey & Schaltegger, 2020) Cantons also have the freedom to impose and manage the canton's taxation in order to meet the necessities of the people better. Another particular element of the cantons in Switzerland is that, in order to make amendments to the Swiss

constitution, the majority of cantons have to agree. This is a good example of how cantons, which are lower levels of government, are also as important as the central government (Federal Council). Furthermore, cantons are not rigid states. They have evolved and mutated throughout the years, with some cantons splitting into two, or with smaller cantons merging together to become a bigger state. In the instance of a canton separating into two smaller cantons, the new cantons have the same rights and responsibilities as the other cantons, but they only have one seat at the Council of States instead of two seats.

The Municipal Councils in Switzerland are known as communes. Similar to what happens with cantons, since Switzerland is a Federal State, communes are given more power and even some level of sovereignty. Nevertheless, they have always to follow the guidelines provided by the cantonal government: “Community local governments (local authorities) are part of the cantons but, as is the case with US municipal governments, they are independent and self-sufficient institutions.” (Schedler, 1994, p. 36) Communes can implement their own policies and adapt the laws given by the cantonal government to meet the needs of each commune better: “The 1999 constitution also gives formal recognition to communes and requires the federal institution to take into account when formulating public policy.” (Church & Dardanelli, 2005, p. 173) Moreover, communes also collect taxes. They are also entrusted with managing local infrastructures from different areas, such as healthcare, education and cultural institutions. (Debela, 2020)

A unique dynamic has been created between these three levels of government: The Federal Council, the different cantonal governments, and the communes. In addition to the dynamics between these three different structures, there is also a clear hierarchy created by the Swiss constitution: the federal government oversees the cantonal governments that, in turn, supervise the communes’ activities. Thus, the core objective is to decentralise political and economic power and give more autonomy and decision-making authority to the cantons and the communes. It is an effort to create a space where everybody’s opinions and stances are taken into consideration when making important political and economic decisions:

Two general points should be made about Swiss Federalism. First, it is not a fixed entity but an evolving affair marked by constitutional change and driven by political dynamics. Secondly, its contemporary form and how it functions are not only matters of institutional mechanics and of formal division of powers. They are also intimately linked to political

culture in a much more organic and behavioural way. (...) Moreover, beyond the formal institutional arrangements, it is a way of working and thinking, shaped by history and rooted in an organic bottom-up conception of the state. In such a context, informal institutions and procedures are as (or more) prominent than formal ones. (Church & Dardanelli, 2005, p. 171)

A consequence of the adoption of a federal government in Switzerland is the establishment and development of distinctive political mechanisms that allow ordinary citizens to showcase their viewpoints on several subjects. In Switzerland, two essential mechanisms are direct democracy and referendums or initiatives, which are features brought by adopting a direct democracy system: “Direct democracy is perhaps the most noteworthy characteristic of the political system in Switzerland. It gives the electorate—the people—direct legislative powers independent of the Swiss parliament or cantonal legislative bodies.” (Schedler, 1994, p. 37) Direct democracy has been presented in Switzerland since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the beginning, all the cantons had assembly meetings, where all the qualified citizens (men) discussed and decided all the legislative issues. Nowadays, this type of assembly only exists in two cantons: Glarus and Appenzell Innerrhoden. (Frey & Schaltegger, 2020) Furthermore, these assemblies are “typically held in a town square in the open air once each spring, of all cantonal citizens where they proclaim their will on proposed items by a show of hands.” (Schedler, 1994, p. 37)

In general, direct democracy in Switzerland is implemented through initiatives and referendums: “The initiative is a petition demanding the introduction or amendment of a law by means of a popular vote. It enables an active form of direct democratic participation of the people in political events. The initiative may begin in parliament or after collecting signatures, 100,000.” (Schedler, 1994, p. 37) The initiatives proposed by the citizens are frequently rejected because they are vaguely outlined, which makes it difficult for them to be put into practice. From 1980 to 2015, only 15 of 125 initiatives were approved. (Dibiasia, Abbergera, Siegenthalera, & Sturm, 2018) Moreover, referendums are another method to put into practice direct democracy: “Referendums allow citizens to reverse decisions made by legislatures and even initiate new laws that legislatures are unwilling to pass, and to bring topics on the political agenda that would otherwise not have been dealt with.” (Leininger & Heyne, 2017, p. 84) In Switzerland, people vote four times a year on a certain number of issues. (Federal Chancellery, 2021) The creation of referendums and their results gives valuable insight into people’s opinions and preferences towards

specifics topics and issues. In addition to this, it also pressures the different levels of government to shape the laws and regulations accordingly to people's requirements and necessities. (Frey & Schaltegger, 2020)

Although Switzerland is internationally regarded as a successful example of implementing a federal state, Federalism and direct democracy can also provoke conflicts and problems. Since there is a distribution of powers between the Federal Council, the cantons, and the communes, miscommunication could potentially lead to disputes and misunderstandings, consequently hindering their coordination. (Eichenberger, 1994) Furthermore, referendums and initiatives have the ability to cause impact, but they rely on the voluntary participation of eligible voters. According to Leininger and Heyne (2020), the involvement in referendums can range from 30% to 80%. The low turnout could imply that a small proportion of the population is deciding important issues that will affect the people, in general: "Low voter turnout means unequal and socioeconomically biased turnout. (...) A large number of studies have shown that citizens with low income, less education, the young and also ethnic minorities display a lower propensity to vote." (Leininger & Heyne, 2017, p. 85; Schedler, 1994) Nevertheless, this article also claims that only a fifth of the population never votes on referendums. Many people choose to vote on a set of referendums, which they considered to be more interesting for them. Thus, for referendums to succeed, it is necessary to have a high turnout.

Neutrality in the face of foreign conflicts is also a core value and characteristic of the Swiss society. Throughout history, Switzerland consistently remained neutral concerning major international conflicts. One of the most well-known examples of Switzerland's neutrality policy was during WWI and WWII. While neighbouring countries, such as Germany, France, Italy and Belgium, were central pieces in both wars, Switzerland chose to remain neutral, which spared Switzerland from the mass destruction of both wars. As a small country surrounded by influential countries, the adoption of a neutral policy can be seen as an attempt to protect Switzerland from foreign threats:

Neutrality was the political response Switzerland devised to counter its vulnerability among European greater powers: it allowed the country to protect its sovereignty and placed the principle of non-interference, the fundamental mantra of small-state diplomacy, at the core of Swiss foreign policy. Some have argued that neutrality stood

for the absence of foreign policy. But Goetschel was probably more accurate when he underlined that “neutrality was actually a strategy for survival.” (Persoz, 2018, p. 78)

The adoption of this type of foreign policy has had a positive outcome for Switzerland. Since the country is internationally known for not participating in foreign conflicts, several international organisations have chosen Switzerland to install their headquarters. According to the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) official website, more than forty international organisations are based in the country. (FDFA, 2020) A large number of those institutions are based in the city of Geneva, for instance: the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Organization for Migrations (IOM), the United Nations (UN), and NATO are all based in Switzerland. Moreover, as a consequence of globalisation, Switzerland signed several agreements with several foreign powers, such as the EU, as a way to create a bridge between the country and the external world.

Globalisation has forced people to change how they travel, how companies are created, their purchasing and consuming habits, and more specifically, it has changed how people migrate. Thus, one of the most important advantages of creating the European Union is the mobility of people, services and products among member states of the EU, with few restrictions. This means that citizens from the 27-member states do not have to apply for visas or other similar legal documentation to move to one of those countries. The free movement in these 27 countries is a clear advantage for migrants because citizens from any member state can easily search for better job opportunities and better living conditions in other member states.

The Swiss society has consistently refused – through referendums - to enter the European Union. Moreover, Switzerland’s entry into the EU has been regarded as improbable because of the country’s firm stance on neutrality and direct democracy, which would clash with some positions of the EU. (Hanke, Wieruszewski, & Panizzon, 2019) Thus, Switzerland is not a state member of the EU. Nevertheless, as a consequence of globalisation and of the fact that member states of the EU surround Switzerland, the country has established a connection with the EU through bilateral agreements. Nowadays, the EU is Switzerland’s most important trading partner. Since the 1970s, Switzerland and the EU have signed approximately 20 main agreements and roughly 100 secondary agreements on a wide range of subjects. However, there are three essential

agreements that modified the relation between Switzerland and the EU: The Free Trade Agreement, in 1972, and the Bilateral Agreement I and II. (FDFA, 2016)

The first Bilateral Agreement between Switzerland and the EU – then the European Economic Community (EEC) - was the Free Trade Agreement in 1972. This agreement gave Switzerland access to the EU market, facilitating commercial exchanges of industrial products between the two parts: “Switzerland and the EU therefore form a free-trade area of industrial products but, unlike customs union, they are free to determine the external tariffs in respect of third countries. Customs inspections also continue to take place on either side of the border.” (FDFA, 2016) This was the first crucial agreement between Switzerland and the EU, because it was the first step towards creating a relationship that has evolved, but most importantly, has persisted until today.

In 1992, in contrast to other European countries, such as Austria, Norway, Sweden and Liechtenstein, a large majority of the Swiss society voted against joining the European Economic Area. (Linder, 2013) Thus, the Swiss government chose to discuss and establish a set of arrangements about a variety of subjects with the EU. In 2002, after a few years of debate, the Bilateral Agreement I was put into practice after being accepted by referendum (two-thirds majority) in Switzerland. The agreement covered a large number of topics, such as agriculture, overland transport, research, trade and the free movement of people. After 2002, people with health insurance and an employment contract (financially independent) were allowed to move from Switzerland to EU member states, and vice-versa. Moreover, it became easier for Swiss companies to recruit immigrants, and the procedures for family reunification also became simpler, which was a problem, as mentioned in chapter 1. (FDFA, 2016)

Shortly after the Bilateral Agreement I came into effect, Switzerland and the EU continued the negotiations for another settlement. There were two main reasons for Switzerland to seek out another deal with the EU: firstly, due to its geographical location (neighbouring countries that were also EU member states), tourism and even companies were experiencing negative repercussions; secondly, Switzerland did not have access to all the information collected in the Schengen Information System. (Hanke, Wieruszewski, & Panizzon, 2019) Thus, the Bilateral Agreement II, also known as the Schengen/Dublin Association Agreement, was put into force in 2005. This new agreement tackled other issues, such as the food industry, tourism (simplifying travelling and border controls), international crime and justice, taxes and pensions. Moreover, there were further

agreements and protocols – for example, in education and vocational training - signed between the EU and Switzerland, in order to strengthen the relations between the two. (FDFA, 2016)

Thus, all these agreements were the solution found by Switzerland in order to avoid joining officially the EU, but at the same time still be able to profit from the positive economic elements that come from having a closer relation with the EU: “from a Swiss perspective, the treaties’ rationale was to constrain relations with the EU on topics of common interest and to maintain utmost national autonomy.” (Linder, 2013, p. 191) Furthermore, it gave Switzerland access to the EU trading market, which is one of the biggest trading markets in the world, since it encompasses a multitude of countries. Additionally, industries – pharmaceuticals, technology and global service industries – have greatly benefited from these agreements, since they can be more competitive. An interesting element of these agreements is that, although Switzerland is not a member of the EU, they can still issue opinions and suggestions about EU legislation. Yet, they do not have voting rights on the matters, since only EU member states can vote. (Hanke, Wieruszewski, & Panizzon, 2019) However, this closer connection between Switzerland and the EU has also brought some negative impacts. For example, the access to a larger and more competitive market has caused the disappearance of smaller Swiss companies in the areas of agriculture and craft industries that were incapable of maintaining such competitive prices. (Linder, 2013)

Although the Swiss society accepted all the bilateral agreements created between Switzerland and the EU through referendums, the relation with the EU is still not consensual in the country. The agreements have had a positive impact on the Swiss economy, but some elements of the deals have raised criticism, especially about migration. On the one hand, the simplification of the entry process of immigrants has caused controversy, with people resisting the idea of free entrance and movement of people from the outside to Switzerland. On the other hand, the Swiss immigration policies have also created friction, because Switzerland can still impose immigration quotas that restrict the number of immigrants that enter the country. Moreover, “the free movement of persons is not automatically extended to new EU member states but must be negotiated and set out in an additional protocol specific to each new state with every EU enlargement.” (FDFA, 2016, p. 29) Thus, Switzerland can still impose new immigration laws and restrictions, which will have a direct impact on immigrants.

## **4 The arrival to Switzerland**

### **4.1 Swiss Immigration Laws**

Although the majority of immigrants will not dwell on the immigration laws of the countries of origin, immigration laws will affect their lives the moment they arrive in the country. Immigration laws directly impact the migrants' lives, and they will shape the people's arrival and adaptation to the country of destination: "Immigration policies are a fundamental aspect of modern states: they regulate who is permitted to enter a country under what conditions, as well as how immigrants are treated once they are settled in the country." (Ruedin, Alberti, & D'Amato, 2015, p. 5) Each country tackles this subject from different angles. Consequently, each country will come up with distinctive solutions, strategies and immigration laws. In recent years, immigration laws became a key topic for several countries because of the refugee crisis triggered by the Syrian civil war. While some countries received Syrian refugees, other countries implemented stricter immigration laws to prevent the entrance of immigrants, even those seeking asylum. Moreover, the implementation of immigration laws in the USA that were deemed inhuman and a clear violation of human rights also helped to maintain the attention and concern surrounding the issue of immigration laws. Thus, the immigration laws of each country give a lot of insight into the country's opinions and stances about immigration.

Switzerland's immigration laws have changed and evolved throughout time to keep up with the social, cultural, political and economic changes in the world and, most specifically, with the changes experienced within the country. Nevertheless, Switzerland has always been reluctant to characterise itself as a country of immigration, even though it has a large foreign community currently living there. It only started to see itself as a country of immigration in the 1990s. At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was possible to see that the Swiss government had outlined a more concrete plan concerning immigration, with several immigration policies being implemented. (Fibbi, Lerch, & Wanner, 2006) Some policies implemented in Switzerland that have been mentioned before were: the policy of 'desirable/undesirable' countries implemented by the Swiss government in the 1960s (chapter 1); policies that would prevent immigrants with seasonal working permits from leaving the canton, changing job or reunite with their family (chapter 1); and the immigration laws implemented after the Schengen/Dublin agreement (chapter 2). These three examples created different challenges and environments for the Portuguese

emigrants. Thus, since this dissertation focus on Portuguese emigration after the 2008 crisis, the focus will be on the main immigration laws introduced after this year. Instead of an extensive analysis of all the immigration laws, the aim is to analyse and understand how a small number of immigration laws have shaped the arrival of Portuguese emigrants and what conclusions can be drawn about the Swiss society and their views about immigration, in general.

In 2014, a controversial referendum was approved by the Swiss society (with 50,3%): the MEI, also known as the referendum ‘against mass immigration’. The referendum was created by the far-right Swiss People’s Right, and its focus was to put again in place quotas and limits to the number of immigrants that enter the country each year. (Strijbisa & Polavieja, 2018) The referendum’s outcome was met with surprise by the international community and the EU’s representatives, since the referendum undid the Schengen agreement. Thus, one of the main elements of the bilateral agreement – the free movement of people between the EU and Switzerland – was overturned. Although the referendum’s result was surprising for the international community, when analysing some of the policies and regulations concerning immigrants that had been approved in the previous years, it was possible to foreshadow the approval of this type of initiative. For example, in 2009, an initiative banning minarets was approved, which caused an international outcry since it targeted the minority communities’ culture, customs and religious beliefs. Furthermore, in 2010, it was also approved a law aiming at the expulsion of migrants convicted of a crime, even if the migrant had lived his/her entire life in Switzerland. (Freitag, Vatter, & Mueller, 2015) On top of those approved initiatives, a study conducted in 2013 about Swiss people’s opinions on immigration also demonstrated that the Swiss society had some issues with immigration:

Around 20 percent even expressed a firm rejection of further immigration. In other words, as many as 50 percent of Swiss citizens could be mobilized to call for reducing immigration and to vote for anti-immigration issues, such as restricting the free movement of persons. While 20 percent are staunchly convinced of their viewpoints, another 30 percent favour a slight reduction. Since these people are generally against further immigration, albeit not at any price, their attitudes (and votes) might be contingent upon the specific situation. (Ackermann & Freitag, 2015, p. 42)

Another immigration law that has been approved in the last decade was related to international students studying in Switzerland. Students from the EU are protected by the

Schengen agreement that gives them some rights. However, the rules for students from outside the EU are completely different. According to the Foreign National Act, students from outside the EU studying in Switzerland have to leave the country immediately after finishing their degree. Even if they have an employment offer, they are required to exit the country. Thus, in 2011, the government, urged by Swiss companies, which claimed that this law was damaging the national economy, created a new law. According to this law, the process for international students' permanence in Switzerland and transition to the Swiss job market became more flexible and straightforward. (Riaño, Lombard, & Piguet, 2018) Even though this law was seen as an opening to immigration, it was also criticised for being selective and restrictive: "Only students whose prospective jobs are of particular scientific or economic interest to Switzerland are able to obtain a work permit in Switzerland." (Riaño, Lombard, & Piguet, 2018, p. 301) Thus, this law was not entirely the result of the openness to immigration. Instead, it was only approved because it was beneficial for the Swiss economy.

Since direct democracy is such a fundamental part of the Swiss political system, governmental bodies have to take into consideration the people's viewpoints and opinions. Thus, when taking a closer look at these immigration laws, it is possible to conclude that the Swiss society is still somewhat suspicious about immigrants. It is possible to see a pattern in the Swiss immigration policies - protective laws design to protect the country's interest and economy. Immigrants, especially from communities outside the EU, are still considered to be a menace to the Swiss economy and culture. (Freitag, Vatter, & Mueller, 2015) As mentioned in chapter 1, the Swiss society has a positive view of the Portuguese community. The Portuguese community, in general, has been able to adapt to the Swiss society and culture. Nevertheless, these anti-immigration sentiments and these approved immigration rules are still difficulties that the Portuguese emigrants must bear in mind when arriving in Switzerland, alongside other issues, such as work permits.

## **4.2 Work permits:**

In Switzerland, in order to have a job and fully adapt to the environment, it is necessary to possess a work permit (also known as *pérmis de séjour*). In addition, there are two distinctive processes to apply and get a work permit: one for immigrants coming from an

EU country (one of the advantages of the Schengen agreement) and another process for immigrants coming from the rest of the world. However, since this dissertation focuses on Portuguese emigrants, this section will only focus on the process for immigrants from an EU country. The work permits in Switzerland have evolved throughout time, especially the seasonal work permits, which nowadays grant more rights to the immigrants. Work permits are only necessary for immigrants that will work in the country for more than three months. The cantonal government is responsible for the issue of the work permits. According to the Swiss State Secretariat for Migration (SEM) official website, there are five types of work permits (SEM, 2020): permit L, permit B, permit G, permit C, and permit Ci.

- **Short-term residence permit – Permit L:** People with a one-year employment contract are given the permit L. This work permit has the same duration as the employment contract, and it can be renewed without having to leave Switzerland. The major alteration added to this permit is that people with this type of residence permit have the right to family reunification, while in the past, it was not allowed for seasonal workers to bring their families. (FDFA, 2013) The family reunification policy will enable immigrants to bring their spouses and their children or spouse's children, parents, or spouse's parents. (SEM, 2013) Moreover, they are also entitled to leave the canton and to change occupations.
- **Residence permit – Permit B:** Valid for five years, the permit B is given to people with an employment contract for more than a year or without limit. It is also granted to self-employed immigrants. (FDFA, 2013) This permit is also given to unemployed people, but only if they are able to prove that they have financial resources and health insurance. (SEM, 2021)
- **Cross-border commuter permit – Permit G:** The permit G is given to people who work in Switzerland but reside in an EU country (neighbouring countries). They have to return to their residence at least once a week. In general, this permit has the same duration as the employment contract. However, if the person has a one-year or more employment contract, the permit's validity is extended for five years. (FDFA, 2013)
- **Settlement permit – Permit C:** For immigrants that have resided in the country for five years uninterrupted. This permit, unlike the other types of permits, does not have a date of expiration. (FDFA, 2013) According to the State Secretariat for Migration (SEM), the agreement between the EU and Switzerland concerning the free

movement of people does not encompass the settlement of immigrants in Switzerland. Thus, this permit was created by the Swiss Foreign Nationals Act and other settlement agreements. Furthermore, the issue of permit C is dependent on the number of immigrants applying for this permit (as a consequence of the MEI policy). (SEM, 2021)

- **Permit Ci:** Permit Ci is granted for employees of foreign representations and intergovernmental institutions. It is also given to their family members (spouses and children). The permit has the same duration as the person's employment contract. (SEM, 2021)

### 4.3 Language requirements

Switzerland has four official languages: German (roughly 64,5% of the Swiss population are German speakers), French (approximately 22,6%), Italian (8,3%) and Romanche (0,5%). (Schmitt, 2017) These four languages are spoken throughout the country, with some cantons being bilingual (French and German) and, in one case, trilingual (French, German and Romanche). Even though some cantons are bilingual or trilingual, no communes have more than an official language, meaning that, at the local level, only one language is used instead of the four at the same time. (Grin, 1998) Moreover, as previously mentioned, Switzerland has a large foreign community, with a large percentage of the population using a different language (than those four) in their everyday lives. Thus, in Switzerland, in addition to the official languages, multiple languages coexist in the same space, creating a multilingual society where different languages coexist.

With its four official languages and the existence of other languages brought by the immigrant community, Switzerland has become an interesting example of a somewhat stable and successful multilingual country. Furthermore, another particularity of Switzerland is that there are clear linguistic boundaries, which means that it is possible to differentiate the regions where French, German, Italian and Romanche are spoken. The linguistic boundaries do not overlap the political intercantonal boundaries, which explains how some cantons have more than one official language. It also does not correspond to the religious boundaries existent in Switzerland, meaning that there is no correlation between a particular religious community speaking one of the official languages specifically. (Grin, 1998)

In Switzerland, there are no federal policies concerning languages and their use, as each canton is the sole responsible for those type of policies: "they have the right to legislate

on linguistic topics and to establish norms concerning the use of language in the relations between state and citizens.” (Schmitt, 2017, p. 93) Thus, since there are 26 cantons, there are 26 different approaches to linguistic policies. As mentioned above, although Switzerland has four official languages at the local level, only one official language is used at the time. Thus, the Swiss constitution entrusts each canton of managing and creating policies for their linguistic territory. This means that each country only has to ensure the learning of one language instead of all four. For example, in German-speaking cantons, the local government does not have to enforce learning French or vice-versa. (Grin, 1998) Since it is only compulsory to know one of the official languages, when a Swiss person goes to a different linguistic region in Switzerland, there can be some miscommunication problems. Thus, the English language has become more important in Switzerland because of this problem of miscommunication (in addition to globalization). Since English is taught from an early age to children in several regions of Switzerland, English has become a way for Swiss people who do not speak the same language to be able to communicate. (Schmitt, 2017)

Thus, when immigrants arrive in Switzerland, depending on the region they are settling in, it is mandatory that they have some skills in the language used in that area. For example, in the canton of Vaud, French is the official language. Moreover, each work permit requires different levels of knowledge of the language. According to the State Secretariat for Migrations (SEM), in case of family reunification, spouses/children/parents have to have an A1 in spoken language to require the permit B, and for a permit C, they have to have an A2 level in spoken language and an A1 in written language. For people applying for a permit C (those who have stayed in the country for five years uninterruptedly, which is the case of Portuguese emigrants), it is mandatory that they speak the language with a B1 level and that they write with an A1 level. In the case of requesting Swiss citizenship, immigrants also have to speak at a B1 level but write with an A2 level. (SEM, 2021)

Hence, immigrants have to have some knowledge of one of the official languages when they move to Switzerland. Moreover, these are the federal government’s guidelines for languages; therefore, companies may require immigrants to have a higher level of proficiency in the language, depending on the tasks that they will perform. Thus, these three themes presented above – immigration laws, work permits and language requirements – are some of the issues Portuguese immigrants may encounter when arriving in Switzerland. Nevertheless, each immigrant does not go through the same

experience. Consequently, they can find different problems and face different situations. Moreover, throughout their daily lives in Switzerland, they will meet other issues while adapting to the country, the culture and the Swiss society.

## **5 The adaptation to the country and its culture**

The immigrants' adaptation to the culture, the society and the environment of the country of destination is usually a long-term process. The adaptation to the country will be influenced by the individual itself, his/her personality and socio-economic situation, the society and its culture, the language and the region where he/she has chosen to settle in. Moreover, immigrants may take months or years to fully adapt to the country of destination, or they may never fully adjust to the new environment. Age also plays an important role, since people in different stages of their lives respond in distinctive ways to external factors. Thus, the immigrants' adaptation to the country of destination is a complex and subjective subject area. The Portuguese community in Switzerland is a clear example of this complexity: "When individuals migrate from one country to another, it is likely that their culture and ethnic identity will change. When groups come into contact, transfer of schemes and values occur in both directions." (Eytan, Jene-Petschen, & Gex-Fabry, 2007, p. 1) Moving to Switzerland will affect the lives of the Portuguese emigrants, but the degree of that change will be subjective since each Portuguese emigrant will have a different background approach to the change. Thus, one of the processes that may occur when immigrants (in this case Portuguese emigrants in Switzerland) attempt to adapt to the country of destination is acculturation: "Acculturation starts 'when people leave places and seek another cultural environment, get in touch with it and interact with this new world on the basis of their heritage and the challenges of the new environment'" (Hoti, Heinzmann, Müller, & Buholzer, 2017, p. 87) The process of acculturation has several variables that will influence the immigrant's adaptation to the country. Acculturation will be shaped by the immigrant's sociodemographic characteristics, such as age, gender, religious beliefs, length of the sojourn, and neighbourhood. Moreover, the immigrants' intercultural contacts will also have an effect on their adaptation. Linguistic proficiency is also a vital part of the adaptation process, because it is an important tool for immigrants to communicate with natives and even with other immigrant communities. (Neto & Barros, 2000)

Furthermore, immigrants may choose another way to handle being in a different country. Separation from the host society and its culture is a type of acculturation strategy. In this case, immigrants choose not to immerse themselves in the culture or establish communication with natives for various reasons: “Separation refers to an acculturation strategy where the keeping of one’s heritage culture is seen as important but where interactions with other ethnic groups are not sought.” (Hoti, Heinzmann, Müller, & Buholzer, 2017, p. 88) Another process of acculturation is assimilation. Assimilation occurs when immigrants are more interested in connecting with the country of destination and immerse in the culture rather than preserve their former cultural identity. (Neto, 2019) Moreover, another type of acculturation is integration: “Integration is given if, for example, immigrants demonstrate an interest in both keeping the values, norms and practices of the heritage culture (of their parents) and in the everyday interaction with other ethnic groups.” (Hoti, Heinzmann, Müller, & Buholzer, 2017, p. 88) Thus, acculturation is a complex process of the immigrant’s adaptation. However, not only will internal factors shape the immigrant’s adjustment, but also the country of origin and the society will play an important role in the process:

Cultural contact between recipient and immigrant communities has profound effects on multicultural inclusion and naturalisation. For some, increasing diversity has led to a more positive and enriching experience, but for others, diversity is a divisive force that threatens the social fabric of the nation. (Leong, et al., 2020, p. 10)

Thus, the country of destination and the society’s opinions and stances about immigrants are also important elements in the immigrant’s adaptation. The government's migration policies directly impact people’s arrival and adjustment to the country of destination, as illustrated above with the example of Switzerland’s immigration policies. The creation and the easy access to economic resources and support by the local government will also influence the experience of economically deprived immigrants. Another issue that immigrants can face is discrimination and prejudice. Since these issues are based on stereotypes and broad (sometimes wrong) visions of an entire group, it can be difficult for immigrants to escape those biases, which negatively impact their adaptation. (Hoti, Heinzmann, Müller, & Buholzer, 2017)

The success of the adaptation will directly impact the immigrants’ mental health. While tackling all these issues, if immigrants cannot overcome them and adapt to the environment, their mental health will decline. Studies about Portuguese immigrants in

Switzerland have shown that people who adapted to the country and were satisfied with their lives were less likely to develop mental health issues. (Neto, 2019) Moreover, according to Neto (2019), immigrants are more likely to develop mental health issues when their stay in the country of destination is shorter. This may occur because people have less time to establish themselves and incorporate one of the acculturation strategies. (Neto, 2019)

As mentioned before in chapter 1, the Portuguese community, in general, has been well-accepted by the Swiss society when compared to other immigrant communities, such as the Albanian community. Nevertheless, the adaptation to Switzerland is a subjective process that will vary, depending on the individual's specificities. Therefore, alongside the elements that could influence the arrival of immigrants to the country, the following subchapter will deal with some other components, which are part of the adaptation to Switzerland.

## **5.1 Swiss social insurance system**

Social insurance systems have been present in Switzerland since the Middle Ages, although in a very restrictive way: "As well as church and monastic institutions for the needy, which were inspired by Christian charity, and the lay brotherhoods, whose members looked after each other in times of need, the craft guilds also provided social protection." (Portwich, 2011, p. 96) Throughout time, cantons and communes started to introduce policies to help impoverished people, ultimately establishing a system of insurance. Similar to other European countries (including Portugal), Switzerland's social security system is intended to aid people in the event of a series of situations. The Swiss social security system - as a result of direct democracy - is legislated by the federal government, but the cantons decide how to best implement the policies approved by the federal government. (Portwich, 2011, p. 96)

The Swiss social security system provides economic assistance to people who lack financial resources and cannot pay for basic living expenses. There is also invalidity insurance, which is mandatory for all people residing in Switzerland. Moreover, there is also unemployment insurance, sickness and accidents insurance, military insurance and federal social insurance, which provides allowances to families in need. (Dorn & Sousa-Poza, 2003) All these types of assistance are financed by the people (through the payment

of taxes and deductions), by the employers (in the case of unemployment, accident or invalidity insurance) and by the federal and cantonal services. The latter's contribution will vary, depending on the individual's financial resources. (FSIO, 2021)

Since the focus of this dissertation is Portuguese emigrants in Switzerland, instead of focusing on all the different insurance systems available, it will focus on the old-age insurance system. This system will be a process that all residents (regardless of their nationality) will have to go through. The old-age insurance system was implemented in 1947 after being approved by a national referendum. (FSIO, 2021) This system is based on three pillars: a federal pension fund (OASI, also known in French as AVS/AI), an occupational benefit fund and private provision. (Portwich, 2011) According to the Federal Social Insurance Office (FSIO), the goal of this system is to allow people to have better living conditions throughout their retirement - retirement age for men is 65 and for women is 64 - and prevent poverty among the older generation: "Every old-age insurance system is based on the principle of forgoing a portion of one's income while employed in order to receive money at a later date, either in the form of a pension or lump-sum capital." (FSIO, 2021, p. 8)

The first pillar of the old-age insurance system is the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance (OASI). The goal for the OASI is to ensure the financing of people's basic needs after retirement. Moreover, it is also used as the survivor's pension for people who have lost their spouses and have children. Furthermore, there is also a vulnerability allowance for people who need help from others in their daily activities. The OASI is a system that is mandatory for all residents until the age of retirement. (Marini, Chokani, & Abhari, 2019) Three-quarters of this system is paid by the insured person and his/her employers. The remaining part will be funded by the federal government and tax money (more specifically, the taxes on gambling clubs and the value-added tax – VAT). (FSIO, 2021)

The second pillar is the occupational pension insurance, also known as the occupational pension (OP). While the first pillar aims to cover basic needs, the second pillar's purpose is to guarantee that people continue to have the same living standards after they retire. Thus, the OASI and the occupational fund translates roughly into 60% of that person's salary. (FSIO, 2021) This type of insurance is also mandatory for all working population, but unlike the OASI, it is only funded by employers and employees through a pension fund controlled by both parties. Another advantage of this type of insurance is that it can be used before reaching the retirement age for a strict number of situations: to acquire

owner-occupied housing, to start a business (self-employment), and for immigrants permanently leaving Switzerland. (FSIO, 2021)

Finally, the third pillar is the individual provident measures, which have the same aim as the second pillar, ensuring the same living standards after retirement. In this case, people voluntarily pay a predetermined amount of money to a bank foundation or a private insurance company, that can only be used after the person retires. The federal government encourages the adoption of this type of ‘bank saving accounts since it can be deducted from taxable incomes. (FSIO, 2021)

## **5.2 Healthcare in Switzerland**

Switzerland has one of the most advanced and one of the most expensive healthcare systems in the world, even when compared to other European countries. (Frahsa, et al., 2020) According to Colombier, C. and Braendle, T. (2018), around 12,1% of Switzerland’s budget was used in investments in the Swiss healthcare system. (Colombier & Braendle, 2018) Furthermore, Swiss healthcare is also complex since it encompasses a combination of public, subsidized private, and fully private elements. Thus, the healthcare system consists of mandatory health insurances with a mixture of “public financing and private cost-sharing”. (Colombier & Braendle, 2018, p. 281) The Swiss federal government regulates the Swiss healthcare system. Still, similar to other subject matters in Switzerland, cantons and communes are in charge of choosing how to implement the guidelines and overseeing the entire process. For instance:

All insurance companies proposing basic health insurance are obliged to accept any individual independently of the health status. Premiums are calculated by the insurers, are determined by regions along cantons and urbanicity, and are validated by the Swiss government. Note that prices are the same for all individuals within the three age classes: up to 18 years, 19 to 25 years, and 26 years or more. (Kalouguina & Wagner, 2020, p. 2)

Since health insurance is compulsory, residents in Switzerland can choose a healthcare plan from one of the multiple health insurance companies that exist in the country. There are numerous health insurance programmes but, in general, health insurance plans will cover a variety of subjects, such as hospital treatments, medical appointments, preventive measures, such as vaccination and medical examinations, expenses related to maternity

and physiotherapy. Although this is mandatory for all residents, there are some exceptions to this policy: for people who work in an EU member state; for diplomatic or consular employees; for temporary students, and for cross-border commuters from neighbouring countries, who have health insurances in their own countries. (FOPH, 2020)

Even though Switzerland has one of the most advanced healthcare systems in the world, access to healthcare can be difficult for immigrants. There is a gap between the type of healthcare treatments that a native person and an immigrant can access in Switzerland. Immigrants are more likely to get health services of inferior quality than a Swiss person:

Although Switzerland's migrant population is heterogeneous, studies have shown that the majority of migrants have a lower level of education and income than the population's average, while poverty, unemployment and health problems are more prevalent in persons with a migration background. Socio-economic disadvantages and psychosocial stress factors linked to migration are known to have a negative impact on health. (Wallimann & Balthasar, 2019, p. 1)

According to a study conducted in Switzerland about the access to healthcare treatments for immigrant women with chronic illnesses, the majority of interviewed women pointed out that administrative and legal procedures were an obstacle for them to get medical help. Moreover, it was also mentioned that miscommunication with health providers was also a problem. (Frahsa, et al., 2020) The health providers' lack of understanding of people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds and socio-economic situations can hinder the immigrants' access to the correct medical treatments. (Tzogiou, Boes, & Brunner, 2021) Moreover, illegal immigrants are particularly vulnerable when seeking healthcare treatments, since they do not have health insurance. Undocumented people do not have a variety of resources and options concerning healthcare in Switzerland, since most medical facilities require the patients to have health insurance. (Wolff, et al., 2005) However, the scope of this problem is difficult to understand, because immigrants usually do not talk about their experiences with the Swiss healthcare system. Even for the Portuguese community, there is no intensive study about the experience of Portuguese people with the Swiss healthcare system.

### **5.3 Swiss Education System**

The education system of the country of destination is a subject for several immigrants (including Portuguese immigrants) who have children of school age. Thus, the concept of education, of how the country of destination perceives education in general, is strongly related to the immigrant's successful integration. The Swiss education system differs from the Portuguese school system. Moreover, similarly to other areas such as healthcare, each canton will have the ability to adjust the federal government's policies to the canton's specificities. Thus, for example, considering the different linguistic regions, Portuguese immigrants in a French-speaking canton will come across another educational system than immigrants in a German-speaking canton. Therefore, this sub-chapter about education will be oriented towards the French-speaking education system, that is the one implemented at the canton Vaud.

Education is a key element for every country, and in Switzerland, around 5% of the GDP goes to education. (Schnell & Fibbi, 2016) In Switzerland, children have to attend kindergarten at the age of four. In total, children have to go through 11 years of compulsory education. Compulsory education is divided into two cycles: primary school and secondary school. Primary school covers children from the age of four to the age of twelve. (DFJC, 2018) Furthermore, it is also subdivided into two cycles: the first primary cycle (age of 4 to the age of 8), which combines kindergarten and the beginning of primary school, and the second primary cycle (age of 8 to 12). (DFJC, 2018) The secondary school covers adolescents from the age of 12 to the age of 15. (DFJC, 2020) Throughout these eleven years, students have to learn French as their first language. Students start to learn German and English through the second primary cycle.

One of the main characteristics of the Swiss education system is the tracking system. Children are separated according to their learning skills from an early age, consequently, children with learning disabilities are put into a different class. These 'special classes' were also created for children with behaviour problems, physical/mental disabilities or children who have recently arrived in the country. (Schnell & Fibbi, 2016) Moreover, their school performance at the end of the secondary primary cycle will guide them into two types of education: pre-matura division or general division. While the first choice is directed to people who want to pursue their academic training after ending the compulsory

education, the latter aims for people who want to do vocational training. (DFJC, 2018) Thus, in Switzerland, children's academic future is narrowed down from an early age.

Around 23,7% of children in compulsory education in Switzerland have foreign nationality. (Doudin, Lafortune, Pons, & Moreau, 2009) Children with an immigration background have struggled to successfully go through the Swiss education system. This is a huge problem because schools and education, in general, are key components to ensure a 'successful' social integration, by equipping citizens with the linguistic, social and cultural tools needed to participate successfully in the dominant society." (Welply, 2010, p. 345) Hence, even though the number of children with an immigrant background is increasing in Switzerland, their academic achievements are still limited when compared to their Swiss peers. For instance, 23% of children of immigrants do not continue their academic studies after their compulsory education, while for Swiss children the percentage is only 8%. (Doudin, Lafortune, Pons, & Moreau, 2009) When compared to children of immigrants who attend French or Swedish schools (more comprehensive systems that do not have an early selection), immigrant children struggle more in the Swiss education system. (Schnell & Fibbi, 2016) This is a consequence of the Swiss education system that is based on early selection, vocational training for students with low academic achievements, and few opportunities in higher education for those students:

The educational performance by children of immigrants seems to be lower than in comprehensive systems, as demonstrated by poor performance in achievement tests, more frequent participation in lower ability tracks and reduced chances of achieving tertiary education. (Schnell & Fibbi, 2016, p. 265)

Another issue for children of immigrants in Swiss schools is the special classes. Children of immigrants, particularly from the Portuguese community, are more likely to attend these classes than Swiss children. In French-speaking cantons, such as the canton of Vaud, most children in special classes are from Portuguese families. However, the seriousness of this problem is not equal in all cantons because each canton has different approaches to special classes and the integration of children of immigrants. Thus, for instance, while in the canton of Ticino, only one in thirty children of immigrants attends special classes, in the canton of Vaud, one in nine children attend those classes. (Doudin, Lafortune, Pons, & Moreau, 2009)

The problem of integrating children of immigrants is present within the Portuguese community, as mentioned before. For instance, children of Portuguese immigrants are

more likely to have learning problems than children from Italian families. (Doudin, Lafortune, Pons, & Moreau, 2009) On the one hand, Portuguese parents have stated that this an issue of discrimination, where Portuguese children are put aside and not given the same opportunities as the other children. While on the other hand, the Swiss education authorities say that Portuguese children have to go to special classes to learn the language. Moreover, even children that are born in the country, because they were brought up in a Portuguese household, they are not taught the French language from an early age. Even though Portuguese children in Switzerland have more educational training than their parents, all in all, their academic performances are still low. The percentage of young Portuguese people with vocational courses (50%) is higher than the average percentage of immigrants (47%) and the Swiss rate (25%). (Fibbi, et al., 2010) Thus, it is clear that Portuguese children struggle with the Swiss education system.

#### **5.4 Requesting Swiss citizenship**

For some immigrant communities in a different country, requesting the citizenship of the country of destination is seen as a form of adaptation to the country. Many immigrants do not want to return to their native country, as they have built their lives and even raised their children in the country of destination. This phenomenon can be observed within the Latin American communities in the USA and the Italian community in Switzerland. However, the same is not identified within the Portuguese community in Switzerland.

In Switzerland, children of immigrant parents that are born in the country are not granted direct access to the Swiss citizenship. Thus, they have to formally request the Swiss citizenship when they are older. People are only automatically given Swiss citizenship if they have at least one parent who also has the Swiss citizenship or if they are third-generation immigrants. (FDFA, 2020) Communes in association with the cantonal authorities are the ones in charge of handling all the citizenship process. In the canton Vaud, immigrants are eligible for requesting Swiss citizenship if they: have the *pérmis C*; are residing in Switzerland for ten years, of which 2 of those years have been in the canton Vaud; speak and write in French; have knowledge about the Swiss culture and society; have no criminal record; have paid taxes and not demanded social assistance in the three years before the citizenship request. (State of Vaud, 2020)

As stated before, the number of Portuguese individuals requesting Swiss citizenship is low when compared to other immigrant communities present in the country, such as the Italian community. (Afonso, 2010) In 2008, the Portuguese community was the tenth foreign community in the number of citizenship applications, which only represented 4% of the total of naturalizations. (Fibbi, et al., 2010) Moreover, the number of Portuguese women requesting Swiss citizenship was higher than the percentage of men. Although the reasons for this phenomenon are not completely clear, according to Fibbi, Lerch & Wanner (2005) a possible explanation could be that women are more likely to marry a Swiss person. (Fibbi, Lerch, & Wanner, 2005) Hence, in general, the percentage of Portuguese people asking for Swiss citizenship is low. For the Portuguese community, migration is a temporary situation, and usually they want to return to Portugal:

Naturalisation ratios are significantly lower among the Portuguese compared with Yugoslavs, for instance. Portuguese immigrants thus display a few specificities in the domain of cultural integration. It can be argued that this specificity consists in the “ideology of return” shared by the Portuguese diaspora in Northern Europe, for which returning to the homeland is a less costly process than for immigrant communities in North America or more distant countries. (Afonso, 2010, p. 131)

## **6 The return to Portugal**

Thus, while migration is an essential and prevalent phenomenon for the Portuguese society, returning to the country of origin after a period of time abroad is also a seeming necessity for Portuguese immigrants. In contrast to other immigrant communities who usually try to integrate themselves in the country of destination and do not want to return to their country of origin, the Portuguese individuals typically have the goal of returning to Portugal:

The idea of returning is deeply embedded in the migratory project of Portuguese emigrants, and the migration process is mostly perceived as a temporary, transitory experience. Hence, a majority of Portuguese emigrants do not migrate to build a life abroad but to save money to build a better life at ‘home’. Life in the migratory context is understood as a time of sacrifice and postponement. (Afonso, 2010, p. 131)

As mentioned before, since migrating is seen as a temporary situation, the Portuguese community has, on average, one of the shortest stays in Switzerland, when compared to

other immigrant communities. (Fibbi, et al., 2010) Moreover, this vision of migration as a provisional situation is also a reason why the Portuguese community has difficulties in adapting to the society and culture of the country of destination. (Afonso, 2010) Although, typically, Portuguese immigrants, at the beginning, only plan to stay in the country for a short period of time, in reality, they usually remain there until they are eligible for retirement. The reasons for the delay can be economic (achieve financial stability before returning) or related to their children. Since many Portuguese families have children, they become reluctant to leave the country before their children have achieved a specific level of schooling. (Marques J. C., 2008) Nevertheless, the idea of returning to Portugal is always a goal for the majority of Portuguese families in Switzerland. Thus, when planning the return, some points are necessary to take into consideration.

Since it is mandatory for people living and working in Switzerland to have old-age insurance (OASI) and occupational pension insurance, Portuguese immigrants have to look into these insurances and consider their rights and obligations. In case of leaving Switzerland before reaching the retirement age, both types of insurances cannot be used. Due to the Bilateral Agreements between Switzerland and the EU, Portuguese immigrants can receive their Swiss pensions outside of the country. Thus, when reaching the retirement age and dealing with legal procedures, Portuguese immigrants are entitled to collect the OASI in Portugal. In the case of the occupation pension insurance, people can either ask for the payment of the accumulated money or keep the pension fund cover. (SEM, 2018)

The Portuguese government has created some procedures to encourage and facilitate the return of Portuguese emigrants. For people who return before reaching the retirement age, the Direção-Geral da Segurança Social (Portuguese social security managing entity) has measures to help them, such as unemployment benefits and child benefits for emigrants who return under precarious situations. (DGSS, 2020) For people who wish to return after the retirement age, the Portuguese government has also created procedures to encourage their return. For instance, there are tax incentives for retired Portuguese emigrants. For ten years, Portuguese emigrants do not have to pay VAT over their foreign pensions. Moreover, if they want to import their cars, they do not have to pay their vehicle taxes. (DGACCP, 2018)

Thus, the adaptation of the Portuguese community in Switzerland is influenced by several elements, both internal and external. The adjustment will always be shaped by the

country's political and legal stances towards migration. Furthermore, the individuals' views and objectives will also shape their adaptation. Thus, the next chapter will focus on personal statements from Portuguese emigrants living in Switzerland.

**CHAPTER III – THE NEW PORTUGUESE OUTLOOK ON THE  
EXPERIENCE OF EMIGRATING TO SWITZERLAND**

---

## **7 The process of interviewing highly skilled Portuguese emigrants**

### **7.1 Motives for conducting interviews**

All the information collected in both chapters 1 and 2 has demonstrated that the Portuguese emigration to Switzerland is a complex and diversified matter. Throughout the last few decades, the Portuguese emigration has been affected and influenced by a number of reasons. Some of those reasons are the changes in the Portuguese culture, the introduction of new ideas and concepts in society and a growing focus on education, consequently creating new generations with more academic competencies. Therefore, all these elements translated into people with new expectations and objectives for their experience as emigrants. Hence, emigration is a very subjective experience that will diverge from individual to individual.

While the generation that emigrated to Switzerland in the 80s and 90s was less skilled and more concentrated in returning to Portugal as soon as possible, the people that emigrated to Switzerland after the 2008 financial crisis have different ways of thinking and approaches for their lives as emigrants. The 2008 financial crisis completely changed the global economy and reshaped migrations in Europe. In addition, this financial crisis was a challenging moment for Portugal and the Portuguese economy. As a result, the Portuguese labour market was weakened, and the unemployment rate went through a dramatic increase in a short period of time. Moreover, the number of young and highly-skilled Portuguese people unemployed became a severe problem with no solution for the Portuguese government and society. In 2015, the youth unemployment rate in Portugal was 31,2%. (Bartolini, Gropas, & Triandafyllidou, 2017) Thus, after the 2008 financial crisis, some Portuguese students, after finishing their higher education, decided to emigrate in order to find better employment prospects and quality of life. Emigration also became the solution presented by the Portuguese government to solve the problem of unemployment:

In fact, on several occasions, the 19th Portuguese government (2011-2015) declared emigration as a way out of unemployment for the most qualified. In December 2011, the Portuguese Prime minister, discoursing on unemployment among teachers, advised them to consider other Portuguese official-language countries as possible work destinations. Other government staff followed the same tune. (Ganga, et al., 2016, p. 44)

Year	Age Group			Level of Education			
	Under Age 25	Ages 25-64	Ages 55-64	None	Lower Secondary or Less	Upper Secondary*	Tertiary
2000	8.6	3.5	3.2	1.7	4.2	4.6	3.1
2001	9.4	3.5	3.1	2.2	4.2	4.6	3.4
2002	11.7	4.5	3.6	2.6	5.2	5.4	4.9
2003	14.6	5.8	4.3	3.3	6.5	6.9	5.9
2004	15.4	6.0	5.5	3.6	7.1	6.9	5.2
2005	16.2	7.2	6.1	4.5	8.0	8.0	6.2
2006	16.5	7.3	6.3	5.6	7.9	8.4	6.3
2007	16.7	7.8	6.5	5.0	8.3	8.1	7.4
2008	16.7	7.2	6.6	5.3	7.8	7.8	6.8
2009	20.3	9.2	7.6	6.5	10.3	9.6	6.4
2010	22.8	10.7	8.9	8.9	11.7	11.4	7.0
2011	30.2	11.9	10.8	11.6	13.7	13.4	9.0
2012	37.9	14.7	12.7	14.4	16.1	17.6	11.6
2013	38.1	15.5	13.7	17.3	17.0	17.4	12.6
2014	34.8	12.7	13.5	13.9	15.0	15.3	10.0

Figure 6 Portuguese unemployment rate according to age group and academic background<sup>7</sup>

However, nowadays, not only recent graduates choose to emigrate, but also people who had finished their degrees before the crisis but were incapable of finding employment in Portugal. As a result, the reasons to emigrate and the conditions under which Portuguese people emigrated became more complex and nuanced. Nowadays, economic reasons and the prospects of better living conditions no longer are the sole reasons to emigrate, as it happened with the generation who emigrated in the 80s and 90s. Presently people also perceive emigration as a potential adventure or an opportunity to improve their careers by finding job opportunities that are not available in the country of origin. (Bartolini, Gropas, & Triandafyllidou, 2017) Thus, emigration, which at its core is already a complex notion, as mentioned before, has become multifaceted with this new generation that emigrated after the 2008 crisis.

One element that has remained relatively stable throughout all these changes is the fact that Switzerland is still an important destination for the Portuguese community. This is because Switzerland was one of the few European countries capable of maintaining its economic, political and social stability during the crisis. In contrast, other countries (including Portugal) struggled to overcome the negative impacts of the financial crisis. Even though the country was affected by the 2008 financial crisis, with two of the biggest banks (UBS and Credit Suisse) having to be rescued by the Swiss government, Switzerland was able to quickly overcome the negative effects of the recession. (Frick,

<sup>7</sup> Reprinted from “Emigration from Portugal: Old Wine in New Bottles?” by Justino, 2016, Migration Policy Institute, page 6

Graff, Hartwig, & Siliverstovs, 2012) Since the different Swiss levels of power (central government, cantons and communes) had a rapid response to mitigate the consequences of the financial crisis, the Swiss unemployment rate maintained a low percentage compared to other European countries. As a result, highly skilled Portuguese emigrants saw the Swiss labour market as the solution to their lack of choices in Portugal.

Considering how diverse the emigration process can be, and in order to better understand this important phenomenon for the Portuguese society and culture, it is necessary to analyse some specific examples. Consequently, this chapter will focus on the analysis and interpretation of the results of a number of interviews conducted with highly-skilled Portuguese emigrants currently living in Switzerland, more specifically in the canton of Vaud. This group of Portuguese emigrants all emigrated after the 2008 financial crisis. Thus, they all belong to the most recent wave of Portuguese emigration to Switzerland.

## **7.2 Context of the interviews and methodology used**

The interviews conducted in chapter 3 have the purpose of answering the central questions of this dissertation:

- How is the adaptation of Portuguese people with higher education in Switzerland?
- When compared to past generations of Portuguese emigrants, does their additional theoretical knowledge and skills help them adapt to the foreign society/culture?
- Is the Portuguese emigration changing? And if yes, how?

Since this chapter focuses on collecting and analysing data and personal information, the method used for collecting information was semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews can be described as interviews, where although the interviewer uses a set of questions planned beforehand, the interview is more flexible. Moreover, the questions and the additional comments will change depending on the person that is being interviewed. Considering that the main focus of this thesis revolves around the adaptation of Portuguese emigrants, which is such a complex, delicate and subjective experience, it was not possible to use a rigid framework for the interviews. Therefore, a set of topics was used during the interviews. The first topic for reasons of confidentiality was not shared in this dissertation. The topics were:

1. A brief introduction to the project and its objectives.
2. Brief explanation of the current occupation of the interviewees.
3. The reasons for emigrating and the motives to choose Switzerland.
4. The challenges and bureaucratic problems they faced when they arrived in Switzerland.
5. The adaptation to the country and culture.
6. Emigration with family
7. Identity and sense of belonging. Adoption of some Swiss cultural elements
8. Possible return to Portugal

The interviews were conducted throughout the month of July through telephone conversations and video calls. In addition, the interviews were conducted in Portuguese and then transcribed and translated into English. Considering that these were semi-structured interviews, the duration of the interviews varied from 30 minutes to 50 minutes, which depended on the individual's willingness to give more or fewer explanations about topics brought in for the interviews. After being recorded, the interviews were transcribed, translated and edited.

In total, 12 Portuguese emigrants were interviewed. All the people interviewed were currently living and working in the canton of Vaud. Furthermore, the majority is living and working in the city of Lausanne or the outskirts of the town. As mentioned in chapter 1, this region was chosen because it is one of the regions in Switzerland where it is possible to find one of the largest Portuguese communities in the country. In addition, all the interviewees emigrated to Switzerland after the 2008 financial crisis, more specifically during the past decade. Hence, all the interviewees had to meet three criteria:

- Having finished higher education studies in Portugal before emigrating;
- Currently live/work in the canton of Vaud;
- Emigrated after the 2008 financial crisis.

	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Degree</b>	<b>Current occupation</b>
<i>Subject 1</i>	<b>33</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Clinical Analysis and Public Health</b>	<b>Technical of Clinical Analysis and Public Health</b>
<i>Subject 2</i>	<b>53</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>Materials Engineering</b>	<b>Teacher</b>
<i>Subject 3</i>	<b>48</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>Agronomic Engineering</b>	<b>Cleaning personnel</b>
<i>Subject 4</i>	<b>27</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Communication Sciences</b>	<b>Babysitter</b>
<i>Subject 5</i>	<b>31</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Economy</b>	<b>Accountant</b>
<i>Subject 6</i>	<b>28</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Nursing</b>	<b>Nurse</b>
<i>Subject 7</i>	<b>56</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Psychology and Hypnotherapy</b>	<b>Psychologist</b>
<b>Subject 8</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>Theology</b>	<b>Pastor</b>
<i>Subject 9</i>	<b>38</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>Medicine</b>	<b>Doctor</b>
<i>Subject 10</i>	<b>36</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Psychology</b>	<b>Psychologist</b>
<i>Subject 11</i>	<b>30</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Clinical Psychology</b>	<b>Psychologist</b>
<i>Subject 12</i>	<b>35</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Psychology and Psychotherapies</b>	<b>Psychologist</b>

*Table 1- Overview of the interviewees*

The table above (table 1) showcases a brief introduction to the twelve people who were interviewed. All the people interviewed are from the North and Centre region of Portugal. Considering that only twelve interviews were conducted, the sample used for the qualitative research in this chapter is more limited. Two different methods were used to search for people who would fit the criteria and be interested in being part of the project:

through the approach of local organisations that work closely with the Portuguese community in the canton of Vaud; and through the ‘snowball technique’ that consisted in people from the personal network suggesting other people that would be interested in doing the interview.

Nevertheless, it was difficult to find people interested in being interviewed. There could be several reasons that caused this problem: for example, lack of interest in participating in the project or even lack of time. It is also important to pinpoint that other projects have focused on the same issue in the past. For instance, both Frahsa, et al. (2020)<sup>8</sup> and Camões, V. (2019)<sup>9</sup> also experienced some difficulties when trying to work with the Portuguese community living in Switzerland. In contrast, it should also be noted that the individuals that agreed to be part of the project showed interest and curiosity towards the general themes of the interviews/dissertation.

## **8 Discussion of the results**

### **8.1 Drivers of emigration – the choice of Switzerland**

As mentioned before in chapter 1 and 2, since the 1980s, Switzerland has become one of the most important destinations for Portuguese emigration. From the 1980s until around the beginning of the 2000s, emigration to Switzerland was seen as the solution for the economic problems felt in Portugal. The country offered better life and working conditions, and even though living costs were (and still are) high, the earnings were superior when compared to the Portuguese minimum wage.

Nowadays, economic and financial reasons are still one of the reasons for Portuguese emigrants with higher education to emigrate to Switzerland. There are still people with higher education who cannot find employment with their degree in Portugal. Since some people could only do unskilled work, they decided to emigrate to Switzerland, where the wages for unskilled labour are better than in Portugal. This was the case for subjects 3 and 4:

---

<sup>8</sup> Frahsa, et al., (2020). Experiences with Health Care Services in Switzerland Among Immigrant Women with Chronic Illnesses. *Front. Public Health*, 8

<sup>9</sup> Camões, V. (2019). A integração social e cultural dos emigrantes portugueses na Suíça (cantão de Vaud). (Master’s dissertation, Instituto Politécnico de Bragança, Portugal).

*I have been in Switzerland in three different moments of my life. (...) I met a Swiss tourist in the Lisbon metro, and we connected so well that he helped me return to Switzerland. I was unemployed at the time so, I seized the opportunity. If the only job opportunity that I could find in Lisbon was as a cleaner and I only make 600 euros, why not come to Switzerland and do the same thing but with a much better wage? (Subject 3; Appendix 3)*

*I emigrated because of both personal and professional reasons. Firstly, I thought about living in the country because I was in a relationship with someone that had already emigrated to Switzerland. Secondly, it was also because since I finished my higher education, I could not find a job that fulfilled me both professionally and financially. So, I decided to emigrate to try to improve these two areas of my life. (Subject 4; Appendix 4)*

Thus, the majority continued to point out economic reasons as the main reasons for them to emigrate to Switzerland. Nevertheless, other aspects and motives have also been taken into consideration when choosing to move to Switzerland. For example, for subject 4 (and other interviewees), the fact that they already had family members, spouses or even friends living there was also a point taken into consideration. This is an important element because by already having someone there, it helps to smooth the adaptation to this new country and culture. Furthermore, a support system helps to mitigate the negative consequences that could arise from moving to a different country, such as lack of language skills, miscommunication or even cultural clash:

*When I finished my degree, I could not find a job in my area. It was also the year that Portugal was going through a huge financial crisis. So, I took a chance and emigrated to Switzerland. I already knew the country, and I also already had family living here, which was an advantage. (Subject 1; Appendix 1)*

Furthermore, the reasons to emigrate no longer are restricted to economic reasons and to the search for better living and working conditions. Nowadays, emigration to Switzerland is also seen as a challenge or a way to broaden people's opportunities to grow professionally and personally. This is because Switzerland has a stable economy and a dynamic labour market, when compared to Portugal and the Portuguese labour market. This is clearly seen as an advantage and as something attractive for Portuguese individuals who have higher education but do not feel happy with their professional experience in Portugal:

*I emigrated because I wanted to know what it was like to live in another country. I chose the Francophone side of Switzerland because of linguistic reasons since I had better skills in French than in German. Another reason was the relatively simple access to postgraduate training for those coming from abroad. (Subject 9; Appendix 9)*

*I emigrated to Switzerland because I felt that there are more opportunities for me to evolve here. In the past, I had some projects for clients who lived in Switzerland, and this is how I first came here. Being in contact with this society, where everything operates with precision, I realised that I identified more with the Swiss society than with the Portuguese society. For example, timetables, payments and traffic rules are always respected. There is indeed a lot more discipline and pressure here, but if you respect the rules, everything goes well. (Subject 2; Appendix 2)*

*I moved to Switzerland for the opportunity to expand my options and for the chance of exploring new realities. There is a huge problem in Portugal: the Portuguese society and job market do not take care of or even appreciate those who want to evolve professionally. But I should also point out that I do not feel exactly like an emigrant. I usually say with some humour that I am in geographic mobility. I just did not feel happy in Portugal anymore. (Subject 7; Appendix 7)*

*My wife and I do not have family or friends here. We came here because my wife (she is a nurse) saw on an agency that there was a need for nurses to work in intensive care units in Switzerland. Even nowadays, there is a lack of nurses who want to work in intensive care units in Switzerland. She was born and also lived for a few years in France (her parents were also emigrants), so the language was not a problem for her. And she also never adapted to the Portuguese healthcare system. She did a master's degree, and she wanted to implement a few alterations, but she was permanently blocked by her superiors. So, she was frustrated and demotivated.*

*I was already a Pastor in Portugal. My wife already had a job opportunity here, and I came with the idea to study more theology in Switzerland. I am Protestant, and there is not much to do in Portugal, while Switzerland is the historical centre of the Protestant reform. (Subject 8; Appendix 8)*

*Initially, what drove me to emigrate was the desire to learn the English language in a country where it was one of the official languages; in my case, I chose England. I also wanted to have the experience of living in another country. Afterwards, I was offered a job in Switzerland, and I thought about staying in Switzerland for a year. However, I*

*moved to Switzerland 10 years ago, and for now, my goal is to stay here. What made me want to stay in Switzerland was the fact that I was able to validate my diploma, and I was also able to have a job in my professional area. (Subject 12; Appendix 12)*

Furthermore, throughout the interviews, it was mentioned several times how some of the subjects are not currently working in the field of activity that they studied at university. There were even some cases in which, at the beginning, they did unskilled work and, as time went on, they found employment in their field of activity. Thus, in chapter 1, it was mentioned that some countries (including Portugal) were experiencing a ‘brain drain’ with their highly skilled individuals emigrating to fill out job positions in other countries. Nevertheless, it appears that what is more frequent for Portuguese highly-skilled emigrants is ‘brain waste’ or ‘deskilling’. (Ricci, Crivellaro, & Bolzani, 2021) This means that there are Portuguese emigrants with higher education that go to Switzerland to fill out job positions that do not require higher studies:

*I am aware that not everyone can enter the job market with their first choice or diploma. But I think with perseverance (and from my experience), almost everyone is capable of finding something in their area of activity after 2/3 years. For example, while I was dealing with the paperwork to validate my diplomas, I taught Portuguese classes to Swiss people who were married to a Portuguese person or who had businesses in Portugal. I truly believe that if we keep an open mind, with a lot of strength and courage, we will eventually find a place in society that allows us to feel professionally fulfilled. (Subject 7; Appendix 7)*

Thus, emigrations and the reasons for doing it are more complex than just solving economic and financial problems. Even though it is still one of the main reasons, perceiving the search for financial and economic stability as the primary goal for the majority of emigrants no longer represents the current overall picture. Emigration for this new generation of emigrants is also an opportunity to be in contact with a reality different from the one that can be found in Portugal. It is also seen as a way to improve one’s possibilities of achieving a satisfying career development. Thus, with this new generation of emigrants, the goals to emigrate are becoming more complex and diverse.

## 8.2 Challenges to the integration and bureaucratic issues

The integration in a new country with a different culture and a new set of circumstances will always be a challenging process. Moreover, this process will always be dependent on the individual's personality, expectations and past experiences. The integration will also be intertwined with an individual's ability to find their place in this new society and the society's willingness to accept this new member. As mentioned before, Switzerland is relatively close to Portugal, both geographically and culturally. Nevertheless, the Swiss culture and the society are distinctive, and there is always a necessity to adapt.

As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, some challenges and bureaucratic problems may arise throughout the integration process. Once again, those challenges will be subjective and dependent on the person's unique circumstances. This subjectivity became more distinguishable throughout the interviews. Although one of the reasons for the Portuguese community to move to the French-speak region of Switzerland was the fact that French was similar to Portuguese, the linguistic skills can still be a problem for the adaptation:

*For me, the most challenging thing was the language and the fact that the country was so different. There are always new things to learn in order to better adapt. When I arrived, I did a 6-month intensive course in French because I did not know how to speak French. After I finished the course, I quickly found a job. After that, the validation of my diploma was relatively simple and easy. This part of Switzerland has one of the biggest financial centres in Europe, so, in my area of activity, it is easy to find a job (if you know how to speak English and a little bit of French). Sometimes, in my area of activity, they do not even ask for the validation of the diploma. (Subject 5; Appendix 5)*

*I had French in high school, and I also did a French course at the Alliance Française. But the truth was that when I came here, I did not know how to speak French. People did not understand me, and I also had trouble understanding them. But, little by little, I started to improve my proficiency in French. I started reading in French and being in contact almost daily with people who spoke French, which helped me a lot, and that was how I learned to speak the language. (Subject 8; Appendix 8)*

One of the significant bureaucratic challenges that the interviewees brought up were the problems with the validation of their diplomas. At the same time, different systems and agreements (such as the Bologna agreement) have been created to help streamline the process of accepting university diplomas from European universities. Although there are

services designed to help people with this process, according to the interviewees, the process of validating diplomas is still a very complex task for some people:

*I already spoke French before coming to Switzerland (my husband grew up in France). I had to do the validation of my diploma by the Swiss Federation of Psychologists. Since I did after the Bologna process, the diploma was accepted, but the process was a bit expensive. The adaptation to the job was calmer. I started by working with Portuguese patients, but Swiss patients and even from other nationalities began to appear after a while. (Subject 7; Appendix 7)*

*When I first arrived, I did not have any difficulties. Everything was taken care of by the hospital staff. At the time, nobody asked for the revalidation of my diploma before establishing a working contract. Later, I had to do the validation of my diploma, and that was a bit difficult, mainly in obtaining the documents requested by the Portuguese services. (Subject 9; Appendix 9)*

*I never actually did the recognition of my diploma or the validation of my competencies because they required me to redo some sort of 12th grade and I found that to be very disrespectful. I have a document that proves that I have a master's degree. If they asked me to do an internship, I would not oppose it, but this felt like a waste of my time and abilities. (Subject 3; Appendix 3)*

*The only major problem that I had was with my diploma. At the beginning, when I arrived, I started by trying to do the recognition of my diploma, but I had to put this task on standby. The reason for this was the fact that I had to do an internship in order for them to recognise my diploma. I could not do this internship because I had already found a job in a restaurant, and I could not leave my only source of income to do the internship. However, I eventually managed to solve this problem. (Subject 1; Appendix 1)*

Thus, the process of validating diplomas, which is deemed as an easy process by some people, is still a problem nowadays. This is a major problem for this new generation of emigrants because validating the diplomas is an essential step that allows them to find a job in their field of activity. In general, without the validation of their university diplomas, it will be very difficult to be accepted by Swiss companies or to carry out services in Switzerland using their degrees. Therefore, recently, there has been a greater effort, especially in Europe, to standardise the different types of teaching practices in all European universities, to allow people to use their diplomas and knowledge across Europe. However, the validation of university diplomas is not the only technical problem

that Portuguese people with higher education have found in Switzerland. In some cases, the teaching and regulations are different from the ones used in Portugal, creating another obstacle:

*I had to ask for the validation of my diploma, which was a bit difficult. Despite having a master's degree in Psychology, I had to take an additional five years course because psychology teaching is different in Switzerland. (Subject 10; Appendix 10)*

*In order to be a psychologist in Switzerland, it is necessary to fulfil a set of criteria that I was not prepared for. You have to have, in terms of linguistic proficiency, a B2 level in French. You also have to do 150 hours of personal therapy, which is not a prerequisite in Portugal. We also have to do the validation of our diploma, and we also have to enrol in two different associations (similar to the Portuguese Order of Psychologists). The good thing about those enrolments is that they only have to be done annually. (Subject 11; Appendix 11)*

Another difference that caused some problems for the Portuguese emigrants was how different the services and procedures were in Switzerland when compared to Portugal. For example, although there are standard procedures, renting a house or opening a bank account were challenging for some people. Even the procedures for getting a work permit (an essential step to live in Switzerland) are considered to be complicated:

*Another difficulty that I found was with the application for a permit. They only give you a permit when you have a contract of employment. I started to look for a job during the current pandemic, and there were few job opportunities, so it became a vicious cycle. Without a permit, the majority of places will not accept you, but since nobody would sign me a contract of employment, I could not work or apply for a permit. (Subject 5; Appendix 5)*

*Another difference between Portugal and Switzerland is that you need a contract of employment for everything, such as opening a bank account, renting an apartment, and making a contract with a mobile phone provider. You also need an address to do almost everything. However, without a job and a place to live, you cannot properly function in Switzerland. (Subject 6; Appendix 6)*

*Another struggle is the system, and it is a vicious system. For example, it is created in such a way that if you do not have a job, you cannot rent a place. But, if you do not have a place to live, you do not have an address, which is necessary when you are job hunting.*

*Another example is without an address, you cannot open a bank account, but without a bank account, you cannot rent a house. (Subject 10; Appendix 10)*

Aside from technical and bureaucratic issues, another interesting and surprising challenge that several interviewees mentioned was not the adaptation to the Swiss society itself, but to the Portuguese community living there. Although having a support system and family members or Portuguese friends were mentioned as some of the reasons to emigrate to Switzerland, the Portuguese community is seen as a complication, not an advantage for this new generation of emigrants. While in the past Portuguese emigrants sought support and companionship inside the Portuguese community living in Switzerland, this new generation of emigrants is slowly distancing themselves from this strategy. Furthermore, the reason for this detachment is the fact they find it hard to communicate and create a bond with them:

*For me, the issue was not to adapt to the Swiss society, it was the adaptation to the Portuguese community living in Switzerland. A massive problem within the Portuguese community is the lack of mutual aid, and especially the support for those who do not feel totally integrated into the country. I feel like we are unsupported and that the Portuguese entities that could help us are not doing their job. I feel a bit 'disconnected' from our community. I want to continue to study to invest in this country. (Subject 2; Appendix 2)*

*I feel a connection to the Swiss culture and society, so that was not a problem. (...) In my experience, the trickiest part was actually how to adapt to the Portuguese community. There is a reluctance to help other people within our own community. It almost feels like there is a competition between us. I do not feel that sense of community and unity that you find in other foreign communities, for example, in the Latin communities in the USA. (Subject 3; Appendix 3)*

*The adaptation went well. However, a problem that I had not foreseen was how to adjust to the Portuguese community living in Switzerland. If, on the one hand, they are super supportive and ready to help at any time; on the other hand, it seems like there is a need to stand out from others, like we are in some sort of contest. (Subject 11; Appendix 11)*

Although, in general, the main difficulties have been connected with linguistic proficiency and bureaucratic issues, some people have also mentioned some problems in adapting to the country. Those who mentioned this as a problem are the ones who emigrated to Switzerland more recently. Thus, they have not had the same time as the

others to adjust to all the modifications that the experience of moving to a different country entail:

*It has been tough to create friendships, there is not much mix of Swiss people with people from other nationalities. I am far from feeling completely integrated. There is a constant conscious effort to try to appreciate this country. Sometimes, it is hard to have the willingness to stay here. (Subject 10; Appendix 10)*

*When we compare the Portuguese culture with the Swiss culture, the differences are significant. So, social relationships take a long time to evolve. The absence of family members or friends close to you is a problem that takes a toll on you in the first few years. To be a psychologist, I had to do the validation of my diploma, and I also had to prove my linguistic proficiency in French. I needed six months to do all these processes. Because I could not easily find information and help for these procedures and other bureaucratic problems, I created an organisation with other Portuguese health providers. The idea was to help Portuguese emigrants who have degrees in the health area in their integration and in all work recognition processes. (Subject 12; Appendix 12)*

Moreover, as mentioned in previous chapters, the Portuguese community is well regarded by the Swiss society. The consensus is that the Portuguese community generally does not encounter hostility or negative responses when emigrating to Switzerland. Even though the interviewees mentioned that this idea of being well regarded by the Swiss society is accurate, they also mentioned that they had experienced some isolated cases of negative responses by some Swiss people. Moreover, it was also pointed that there is still the idea that the Portuguese community are only unskilled workers. This stereotype has also been detrimental for the adaptation of this new generation of highly skilled Portuguese emigrants:

*The adaptation is always tricky. It is challenging when the Portuguese community is still sometimes perceived as the community that comes 'to clean and work in the constructions. It persists a stigma towards the Portuguese community. (Subject 6; Appendix 6)*

*Sometimes I still feel some clashes with some people, and I think the problem is not only the language, but it is also because of cultural differences. I emigrated relatively late in life (I was 37 years old, and my wife was 33 years old). I grew up in Lisbon; we speak*

*quickly, and there are many peculiarities that you only find in people who grew up in Lisbon. And those idiosyncrasies are challenging to translate to French, so I think it is normal sometimes to have some communication problems. It also depends on the person; there are more compassionate people that are willing to make a 'bridge' to understand us, and there are other people that do not want to do the work. (Subject 8; Appendix 8)*

*Overall, I feel integrated, at least as much as a foreigner can be. There were, of course, episodes of more or less blatant prejudice and even negative comments. Right now, it does not happen as often because of my hierarchical position (head of a clinic unit), but I am aware of many prejudices and xenophobic attitudes felt and done towards our community and other foreign communities living in Switzerland. (Subject 9; Appendix 9)*

### **8.3 Integration and the idea of belonging**

When asked about their adaptation, the general idea is that everyone (with different degrees) feel integrated into the Swiss society. Integration has many definitions, but the main idea is that integration is a process that is influenced by several internal and external factors. Some of those factors can be language proficiency, housing, cases of xenophobia/racism, and employment. (Mackay-Brown & Ashton, 2021) Furthermore, the integration is a subjective and personal experience, and everyone will find unique tools and ways to help them familiarise better with this new culture and society. Nevertheless, throughout the interviews, specific themes and elements appeared to be common to different people. Thus, the general consensus is that the majority of people (particularly for those who have been living in Switzerland for the longest time) considered themselves well integrated into the Swiss society:

*The adaptation was not a problem for me because my husband already lived there for a while and he helped me a lot. Switzerland is a very organized country, which facilitates the integration of newcomers. I feel well-integrated. The fact that I moved to a place where people from different backgrounds coexist also helped. I can honestly say that until now, I have a met few people who identify themselves as 100% Swiss. Our community is well-received. We are seen as hard-working, dedicated and trustworthy people. In the past, there was the idea that Portuguese people were going to Switzerland to work in construction or as cleaners. Nowadays, there are multiple Portuguese emigrants with higher education that come to Switzerland to have important job positions. They look for new opportunities and professional recognition that in Portugal sometimes is hard to achieve. (Subject 5; Appendix 5)*

*The adaptation was smooth, even though there were some substantial cultural differences that were not immediately foreseen. I can say that I feel well integrated into the Swiss community. (...) The Portuguese community is well received as well as all the communities that come to work. The Portuguese people that I know (and that have a job) are well regarded. However, as in all communities, things do not unwind in the same way for everyone. (Subject 7; Appendix 7)*

One of the reasons for these successful integration cases is that some Portuguese emigrants see some of their personality traits reflected in the Swiss society and culture. In addition, they also see eye to eye with some elements of this new community. For instance, while for some people, at first, it was challenging to adjust to how the services and institutions work in Switzerland, for others, they immediately (or after a short period of adjustment) started to appreciate these distinctions. The assimilation of some Swiss cultural aspects and more active participation in the Swiss society seem to be the main distinction between this new generation of Portuguese emigrants and past generations. This new generation seems more inclined to go through the process of assimilation and adoption of certain cultural aspects, while at the same time maintaining their Portuguese identity. It should also be noted that, since most of the interviewees are currently working in the field of activity that they studied for, they are in closer contact with people outside the Portuguese community. Therefore, the combination of new job opportunities and a greater appreciation of some Swiss elements has been crucial to ensuring a better adjustment:

*From the beginning, I was a volunteer in the Protestant parish, which helped me to be in constant contact with people, helping me to integrate better. I also did a master's degree in Switzerland. (...) In the end, I think that we are well adapted. We do not have a lot of friends within the Portuguese community in Switzerland. Since we emigrated late in life, we already had built our friendships in Portugal. Of course, we have some friendships and acquaintances here, but our case is atypical because we do not have family here. We are not confined within the Portuguese community; quite the contrary, we are in the opposite extreme. We often spend more time with people that do not belong to the Portuguese community. (Subject 8; Appendix 8)*

*However, some aspects are easier here. For example, the bureaucratic system is simpler here. Even though sometimes they are peculiar, they are incredibly efficient, and the different secretariat services are, in general, accessible and cordial. The questions are*

*answered quickly and efficiently, and generally, you can sense some 'good will' from them. (Subject 9; Appendix 9)*

Another reason for the success of the adaptation is the existence of a support system in the form of family members and friends. This is a very important element that, as mentioned above, plays an essential role in choosing Switzerland as the destination country. The existence of a group of people that can help them adjust and give guidance is an advantage for emigrants who have just arrived in the country: “Social support can help to alleviate some of the difficulties associated with resettlement in a new environment.” (Liamputtong, Koh, Wollersheim, & Walker, 2015, p. 716) This support system can assist them in overturning the adverse side effects of emigrating, such as mental health issues. Thus, while the majority of interviewees emigrated alone to Switzerland, they also pointed how having family members or friends living there was crucial for their integration:

*At this moment, I feel relatively integrated into the Swiss culture, but the beginning was quite tricky. Switzerland is a very different country when compared to Portugal. The people have a distinct and colder mentality. The rhythm of life is more accelerated, and, of course, in the beginning, there was the language barrier that prevented me from being more relaxed. Switzerland is a country that lives by the rule, either in the professional or social context, which was a significant difference that I found. However, I had some Portuguese friends living close to me, and they were a big source of support for me. They helped me navigate life, especially when I was not used to the Swiss way of life. (Subject 4; Appendix 4)*

*The adaptation is always tricky. (...) The integration was more or less straightforward because there is always a friend who already lives here, which helps facilitate the integration. In my case, I had several longtime friends that helped me throughout the integration process. (Subject 6; Appendix 6)*

*I emigrated alone, but I went to live with my uncles for the first six months. Switzerland has a really distinctive system when compared to Portugal. For example, to be able to get an authorization to work in the country, you have to have a place to reside. So, it is indispensable to have the support of family and friends at the early stages of the emigration's process. (Subject 10; Appendix 10)*

In addition, the integration of Portuguese emigrants has an impact on their identity and sense of belonging. These two notions are complex concepts that have several definitions,

depending on the perspective. The sense of belonging can be described as the “the experience of personal involvement in a system or environment so that persons feel themselves to be an integral part of that system or environment.” (Salami, et al., 2019, p. 29) Moreover, creating a sense of belonging in the destination country will be important for Portuguese emigrants, because it can help them overcome the negative consequences associated with moving to a foreign country. Some example of those negative consequences are mental health problems (for instance, depression and anxiety), loneliness and sense of emotional detachment from people around them: “Attributes of sense of belonging include the experience of being valued, needed, and accepted as well as a person's perception that his or her characteristics articulate with, fit with, or complement the system or environment.” (Salami, et al., 2019, p. 29) The concept of identity is intertwined with the idea of belonging. Even though all the interviewees emigrated as adults (past the formative years of adolescence), their identity and sense of belonging will be modified with the continuous contact with the Swiss society and culture:

A growing corpus of studies indicates that immigrants do not simply abandon their previous identities or cultural affinity with their country of origin. Rather, these are used as interpretive tools or templates in constructing their individual and collective identity in the new society. (...) most immigrants cultivate multiple citizenships, instead of being deeply implicated both ideologically and materially in the nationalist project of their homeland. (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2014, p. 2)

Thus, the general consensus is that all the interviewees still identify themselves as Portuguese and with the Portuguese culture. However, it was also mentioned that they started to incorporate some elements of the Swiss society and culture as time went on. They even began to appreciate some aspects that they deemed difficult when they arrived, such as how the services worked in Switzerland. Furthermore, they became more aware of the positive and negative elements of Portugal, as they compared them with Swiss counterparts:

*Identity is a complex notion for me. Because, on the one hand, I identify with many elements of the Swiss culture and society, and I also feel a bit disappointed with the Portuguese community in Switzerland.*

*But on the other hand, I love to show and promote the Portuguese culture to the local community. I am very proud of being Portuguese. I have been involved in several cultural associations, local journals and even radio channels.*

*I think things get trickier as the years go by. For instance, when Portuguese emigrants return to Portugal, they are seen as the 'emigrants' or, depending on the country they emigrated to, they are called the 'French' or the 'Swiss'. But when they return, they are perceived as the 'Portuguese people'. So, people sometimes feel like they do not know who they are anymore. (Subject 2; Appendix 2)*

*I still identify myself as Portuguese, but I would be lying if I said that I do not like some elements of the Swiss culture. This closeness was one of the reasons for choosing to emigrate to Switzerland. For example, my field of study was agronomy, and the colour of my degree was green. Unfortunately, when I look around the Portuguese landscape, we can see less and less green each year. So, for me, it made sense to move to a place where I could green around me. (Subject 3; Appendix 3)*

*I will always see myself as Portuguese, but I am aware that I have changed, which I think is something that tends to happen to the majority of emigrants. I became more conscious of the many positive aspects of our culture and community that we sometimes overlook when we live in Portugal. I am also more mindful of the shortcoming of our country. My proficiency in Portuguese has declined.*

*There are some Swiss cultural elements that I have embraced, for example, punctuality in general and being at ease with managing bureaucratic matters. I also developed some obsessive features that I already sort of had before, but now it became normal: responsible driving, tendency to be thorough and organized, the importance of 'duty' and tax liabilities for society. Having the experience of living in two different societies, I can say that I do not feel 100% Portuguese or Swiss. (Subject 9; Appendix 9)*

*I will always proudly consider myself Portuguese, but I identify with many elements of the Swiss society and culture, for instance, the compliance with the rules and how well structured the system is. I think we get to the point where you feel like an 'emigrant' in Switzerland, but also in Portugal. You no longer fit entirely into one society because you have incorporated elements from both countries. (Subject 11; Appendix 11)*

*I enjoy living in Switzerland, but my roots are Portuguese. I identify myself with the Portuguese way of living: how easy it is to get in touch with people, the food, the Portuguese products that we can find in Switzerland, the vacations that are always spent in Portugal. I feel like Portugal, and the Portuguese culture is always present in my daily routine, also because my choice of employment leads me to be in constant contact with the Portuguese community. I intend to continue to live my life like this. (Subject 12; Appendix 12)*

As mentioned before, the majority of the interviewees emigrated alone or with their spouses. Hence, it was not possible to assess how the integration of their children – the second generation – has been. In general, it is stated that the second generation of Portuguese emigrants also has some issues in fitting into the Swiss society. Problems in the adaptation will have consequences for the identity formation of this second generation of Portuguese emigrants: “The task of identity formation is arduous for immigrant adolescents. They face the complexity of exploring the multiple identities associated with their country of origin, receiving country, and their ethnic minority group.” (Tartakovsky, 2009, pp. 654-655) Nevertheless, one of the interviewees was also a parent, and it was possible to have an insight into the children’s adaptation:

*We have two daughters (9 and 5 years old). At home, we speak in Portuguese so that the children are in contact with the Portuguese language and culture. They also have Portuguese lessons at school. But, we also put them in a nursery from an early age so that they would be in contact with the Swiss children and the French language. It was a way to ensure the acculturation of our daughters. Their native language is French, but we also want to ensure that they know Portuguese so that they connect with their grandparents and other family relatives that live in Portugal.* (Subject 8; Appendix 8)

Thus, there seems to be a more significant effort to make sure that the second generation is well-adapted into the Swiss society. In this dissertation, it is not possible to ascertain how the children of this new generation of Portuguese emigrants will have the same adaptation problems as past generations. Nevertheless, since their parents are part of this new generation that is willing to adapt and assimilate elements of the Swiss society, it appears that their parents will be able to provide them with a new set of tools and guidance. These tools and guidance could give this second generation a better chance to adjust to the Swiss society and expect better opportunities in the future.

#### **8.4 Return and new set of ideas and expectations**

As mentioned before in chapter 2, returning to the country of origin has been one of the most important goals for the Portuguese community living in Switzerland. Throughout the Portuguese history of emigration in Switzerland, this particular community has always dealt with the problems of adaptation to the country and with acculturation. As a result, the Portuguese emigrants often contacted only with people from within the Portuguese

community. Usually, the only contact with the Swiss community happened during their working hours. Thus, the return was always the final milestone of their experience as emigrants.

However, this new generation of Portuguese emigrants has had different paths of emigration, different expectations and even distinctive adaptation experiences to the country. Therefore, they mark a shift in the Portuguese community living in Switzerland. Although the return is a common desire for the majority of interviewees, new goals and expectations for the future have also appeared:

*I may return to Portugal after reaching retirement age, but at this moment, I do not have a lot of interest in returning.*

*I sold the only apartment that I had in Portugal, and at this moment, I do not own anything in Portugal. I only have my family there. So, right now, I have no interest in investing my time, energy or money in Portugal. I am more focused on improving the life I have here. I want to continue to study here, maybe something in the area of education. I have all the resources necessary, and I still do not feel completely fulfilled. (Subject 2; Appendix 2)*

*I do not think about returning to Portugal. Maybe after reaching the retirement age. It is challenging to live in Switzerland with the pension as the only source of income. But there are some things that make me want to stay here even after I retire.*

*I also think about doing voluntary work and putting my academic knowledge into practice in some countries that need them more.*

*I am not building anything, and I also do not have children since I married late in life. Therefore, I do not have concrete plans for the future. I do not know what the future holds for me. (Subject 3; Appendix 3)*

The rest of the interviewees have a desire to return to Portugal in the future. Moreover, some people have plans to only return to Portugal after they retire. Others do intend to go back to their country of origin in a few years. Nevertheless, since they have been in the country for less than a decade – with some having just emigrated three years ago to Switzerland – those plans of returning could change in the future. While past generations of Portuguese emigrants always saw the return as their last milestone in their journey as emigrants in Switzerland, this new generation of emigrants is more open to a possible change of plans:

*Every now and then, I think I'd like to come back to Portugal after retiring. But, I do not have a fixed idea for the future. For now, I want to stay here. But that does not mean that in a few years we won't change and imagine other plans and maybe we will go back to Portugal or move to another country.*

*Right now, we only come back to Portugal once a year in the Summer. On the other vacations, we use them to visit other countries. An advantage of living in a country in Central Europe is that it allows us to travel cheaper and quicker. Travelling is one of our goals in life. The grandparents visit us in Switzerland twice a year, which is excellent for us. (Subject 8; Appendix 8)*

*I have a constant feeling that I want to return to Portugal. I go back many times during the year since I have a home there, and I also have many family, relatives and friends. I have plans to return after retiring. (Subject 7; Appendix 7)*

*I think about returning. My main idea has always been to return in a few years. Stabilize some things in my life and then return to Portugal. I never came here with the idea to only return after retiring. I came with an open mind and saw this more like an experience rather than an obligation. I think nowadays emigration is not the same as it was in the past. In the past, people came because they could not find a job or good living conditions anywhere else. Nowadays, there are many people with higher education that are looking for new opportunities, and they are willing to experiment and to move as often as necessary until they find what they are looking for. (Subject 4; Appendix 4)*

*I think it is still soon to make concrete plans for the distant future, it will depend on how things work here. If my career path develops throughout time, I will not return to Portugal. But, at the same time, the retirement pension barely covers the costs of living, so I will only return to Portugal if I have financial difficulties after retiring. (Subject 10; Appendix 10)*

Thus, with these interviewees, it is possible to see that the Portuguese community living in Switzerland is slowly changing with time. They have a new set of expectations and ideas for their experiences as emigrants. Moreover, they occupy professional positions that entail a closer contact not only with the Swiss community but also with other foreign communities living in the country. Thus, they are more receptive to the Swiss culture and society. As a result, according to the interviewees, this generation of Portuguese emigrants has a more successful adaptation to the country than previous generations.





This dissertation aimed to understand if and how the Portuguese emigration to Switzerland has changed in recent years. More specifically, the purpose was to comprehend how the adaptation of highly skilled Portuguese emigrants in Switzerland has been achieved. Moreover, they moved to a different country with a distinctive culture, and they owned a set of skills and knowledge that previous generations of Portuguese emigrants did not possess. They also emigrated during a period where globalisation is a reality, and we see almost every day new technological and scientific advances that revolutionise the world. Thus, considering all these various elements, this dissertation wanted to analyse and understand if this new generation of Portuguese emigrants has a new range of expectations, goals and ideas for their experience as migrants in Switzerland. Or, if this new generation still follows the same pattern as the previous generations followed, even though their circumstances are different.

Firstly, the reasons to emigrate no longer are restricted to the pursuit of economic stability and better employment opportunities. The financial situation of Portugal and Switzerland has always influenced the Portuguese people's choice to emigrate to Switzerland. Thus, searching for better working and living conditions is still one of the key reasons for emigrants. Moreover, the existence of multiple small Portuguese communities spread across Switzerland has also been an important element when choosing to emigrate to Switzerland and adapting to the country. Here, it is possible to see how a support system is vital for migrants, in general, since the support system can be the bridge that connects the foreign society and culture with the migrants. However, contrary to previous generations of Portuguese emigrants, some people emigrate to Switzerland because they see better chances of career development and feel professionally accomplished in this country. These people had stable lives in Portugal, but they see it as an experience that will enrich their lives.

Moreover, another interesting and new aspect that the interviews introduced was the fact that the Portuguese community is not always seen as an advantage for newly arrived emigrants. According to individuals from this new generation of emigrants, their relationship with the Portuguese community is more complex and nuanced. When questioned about their thoughts on their own community living in the country, the Portuguese emigrants have some conflicting feelings and ideas about it. On the one hand, as mentioned in chapter 1, having a community provides a safety net for newly arrived emigrants, and it can give them the tools to better adapt to the country. However, on the

other hand, as mentioned in chapter 3, when people do not feel comfortable or welcomed, the community no longer serves the purpose of a support system that will help and guide them through the adaptation to the country. Thus, the relationship between Portuguese emigrants and the Portuguese community living in Switzerland is more nuanced and complex than it was believed at the beginning of the dissertation.

The literature review in chapter 1 and the analysis of the interviews in chapter 3 demonstrates that the Portuguese community is well received by the Swiss society. Although some isolated cases of prejudice and xenophobia were mentioned during the interviews, the majority of the interviewees felt well-integrated and welcomed by the Swiss community. It was also noted that some interviewees felt a connection with some elements of the Swiss culture and society that were advantageous to them. This preference for how the Swiss people operates in their daily lives positively influences the adaptation of this new generation of Portuguese emigrants.

This dissertation focuses on the emigration of highly skilled Portuguese emigrants to the canton of Vaud. As mentioned before in both chapters 1 and 2, all the cantons function in distinctive ways, and they also have different languages, cultural features and significant autonomy in several decision-making processes. Thus, this dissertation focuses on a very specific reality that the Portuguese emigrants can encounter when they arrive in Switzerland. Therefore, this dissertation opens the possibility for future research about the adaptation of highly skilled Portuguese emigrants to German-speaking and Italian-speaking areas of Switzerland, which have different linguistic, cultural and technical elements. Furthermore, future researchers could also explore the adaptation of the children of this new generation of Portuguese emigrants and how different their adjustment to the country is, when compared to previous second generations of Portuguese emigrants.

Thus, the Portuguese emigration to Switzerland has not been static throughout time. It has been influenced by both internal and external factors. It is possible to see that the Portuguese community living in Switzerland is slowly changing. This is a subjective topic that will always be dependent on the personal and unique experiences of each individual. Although there are similarities between all stories, each person will carve a singular path as an emigrant in Switzerland. Furthermore, this new generation of Portuguese emigrants, with a more robust set of skills and experience, are more willing and prepared to adapt to a foreign country. They are looking for new personal and professional experiences and

opportunities that they could not find in Portugal. Economic reasons and the pursuit of better living and working conditions no longer are the only reasons to consider when emigrating to Switzerland. These new Portuguese emigrants have new prospects, targets and visions for their experience as emigrants in Switzerland.

## REFERENCES

---

- Ackermann, M., & Freitag, M. (2015). What Actually Matters? Understanding Attitudes toward Immigration in Switzerland. *Swiss Political Science Review*(21:1), pp. 36-38, 40-42.
- Adler, L. L., & Gielen, U. P. (2003). *Migration: Immigration and Emigration in International Perspective*. London: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Afonso, A. (2010). Permanently Provisional: History, Facts & Figures of Portuguese Immigration in Switzerland. *International Migration* , 53:4, pp. 129-131.
- Afonso, A. (2010). Permanently Provisional: History, Facts & Figures of Portuguese Immigration in Switzerland. *International Migration*, pp. 120-122, 124-125, 128-131.
- Amit, K., & Bar-Lev, S. (2014). Immigrants' Sense of Belonging to the Host Country: The Role of Life Satisfaction, Language Proficiency, and Religious Motives. *Social Indicators Research*, 2.
- Baganha, M., & Góis, P. (1999). Migrações internacionais de e para Portugal: o que sabemos e para onde vamos? *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 52/53, 232, 238.
- Bartolini, L., Gropas, R., & Triandafyllidou, A. (2017). Drivers of highly skilled mobility from Southern Europe: escaping the crisis and emancipating oneself. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43:4, pp. 652-653.
- Church, C., & Dardanelli, P. (2005). The dynamics of confederalism and federalism: Comparing Switzerland and the EU. *Regional and Federal Studies*, 15:2, 165; 171; 173.
- Colombier, C., & Braendle, T. (2018). Healthcare expenditure and fiscal sustainability: evidence from Switzerland. *Public Sector Economics* , 42:3, p. 281.
- Confédération Suisse. (2017). *The Cantons* . Retrieved May 2021, from Confédération Suisse: <https://www.eda.admin.ch/aboutswitzerland/en/home/politik/uebersicht/kan tone.html>
- Davin, D. (1999). Why People Migrate. In D. Davin, *Internal Migration in Contemporary China*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Debela, K. (2020). Local governance in Switzerland: Adequate municipal autonomy cumintergovernmental cooperation? *Cogent Social Sciences*, 6:1, 4-7; 10-13.
- DFJC. (2018). *Description of Cycle 1*. Lausanne: DFJC. Retrieved from Site Officiel État de Vaud: <https://www.vd.ch/themes/formation/scolarité-obligatoire/deroulement-de-lecole-obligatoire-dans-le-canton-de-vaud/>
- DFJC. (2018). *Description of Cycle 2*. Lausanne: DFJC.
- DFJC. (2020). *Description of Cycle 3*. Lausanne: DFJC.
- DGACCP. (2018). *Roteiro do Regresso*. DGACCP. Lisboa: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros.
- DGSS. (2020). *Proteção Social: Emigrantes que regressam a Portugal*. Lisboa: Direção-Geral da Segurança Social.
- Dibiasia, A., Abbergera, K., Siegenthalera, M., & Sturm, J.-E. (2018). The effects of policy uncertainty on investment: Evidence from the unexpected acceptance of a far-reaching referendum in Switzerland. *European Economic Review*, 104, p. 41.

- Dorn, D., & Sousa-Poza, A. (2003). Why is the Employment Rate of Older Swiss so High? An Analysis of the Social Security System . *The Geneva Papers on Risk and Insurance*, 28:4, p. 654.
- Doudin, P.-A., Lafortune, L., Pons, F., & Moreau, J. (2009). Le paradoxe de certaines mesures d'aide à l'intégration scolaire : quand l'aide mène à l'exclusion. *Revue des sciences de l'éducation*, 35:1, pp. 41-43.
- Eichenberger, R. (1994). The Benefits of Federalism and the Risk of Overcentralization. *International Review for Social Sciences*, 47:3, 404.
- European Parliament. (2020, October 10). *Exploring migration causes – why people migrate*. Retrieved March 2021, from European Parliament: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/world/20200624STO81906/exploring-migration-causes-why-people-migrate>
- Eytan, A., Jene-Petschen, N., & Gex-Fabry, M. (2007). Bicultural identity among economical migrants from three south European countries living in Switzerland. Adaptation and validation of a new psychometric instrument. 7:17, p. 1.
- Fackler, T., Giesing, Y., & Laurentsyeva, N. (2020). Knowledge remittances: Does emigration foster innovation? *Research Policy*, 49, pp. 1-3.
- FDFA. (2013). *European Nationals in Switzerland: Information on the Free Movement of Persons*. FDFA. Bern: FDFA.
- FDFA. (2016). *Switzerland and the European Union*. Bern: Federal Office for Buildings and Logistics FOBL.
- FDFA. (2020). *International organizations in Switzerland*. Retrieved May 2021, from FDFA: <https://www.eda.admin.ch/eda/en/fdfa/foreign-policy/international-organizations/international-organizations-switzerland.html>
- FDFA. (2020). *Nationalité*. Retrieved May 2021, from FDFA: <https://www.eda.admin.ch/countries/portugal/fr/home/services/nationalite.html>
- Federal Chancellery. (2021). *The Swiss Confederation: a brief guide*. Bern: Federal Chancellery.
- Fibbi, R., Bolzman, C., Fernandez, A., Gomensoro, A., Kaya, B., Maire, C., . . . Wanner, P. (2010). *Les Portugais en Suisse*. Bern: Office fédéral des migrations (ODM).
- Fibbi, R., Bolzman, C., Fernandez, A., Gomensoro, A., Kaya, B., Maire, C., . . . Wanner, P. (2010). *Les Portugais en Suisse*. Office fédéral des migrations (ODM). Bern: Office fédéral des migrations (ODM).
- Fibbi, R., Lerch, M., & Wanner, P. (2005). *L'intégration des populations issues de l'immigration en Suisse: personnes naturalisées et deuxième génération*. Office fédéral de la statistique . Neuchâtel : Office fédéral de la statistique (OFS).
- Fibbi, R., Lerch, M., & Wanner, P. (2006). Unemployment and Discrimination against Youth of Immigrant Origin in Switzerland: When the Name Makes the Difference. 7:3, pp. 351-352.
- FOPH. (2020). *The compulsory health insurance system*. Bern: Federal Office of Public Health.
- Frahsa, A., Farquet, R., Bayram, T., Araujo, L. D., Meyer, S., Sakarya, S., . . . Abel, T. (2020). Experiences With Health Care Services in Switzerland Among Immigrant Women With Chronic Illnesses . *Frontiers in Public Health*, 8, pp. 2, 8.

- Freitag, M., Vatter, A., & Mueller, S. (2015). Switzerland's Immigration Challenge: Viewpoints and insights in the aftermath of the mass immigration initiative. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 21:1, pp. 1-3.
- Frey, C., & Schaltegger, C. A. (2020). The initiative, referendum, and distribution of income: An empirical analysis of Swiss cantons. *Elsevier*, 66, p. 2.
- Frick, A., Graff, M., Hartwig, J., & Siliverstovs, B. (2012). Are there free rides out of a recession? The case of Switzerland. *International Review of Applied Economics*, 28-30.
- FSIO. (2021). *Overview Of Swiss Social Security*. Bern: Federal Social Insurance Office.
- FSIO. (2021). *Social security in Switzerland*. Bern: Federal Social Insurance Office.
- FSIO. (2021). *Switzerland's old-age insurance system*. Bern: Federal Social Insurance Office.
- FSO. (2019). *Population résidante permanente âgée de 15 ans et plus selon les langues principales, Vaud, 1880-2018*. FSO. Lausanne: FSO.
- FSO. (2020). *Switzerland's population in 2019*. Federal Statistical Office (FSO). Neuchâtel: Federal Statistical Office (FSO).
- FSO. (2021). *Religion*. Retrieved April 2021, from FSO: <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/en/home/statistics/population/languages-religions.assetdetail.16564087.html>
- Galvanese, M. (2014). Os discursos sobre a emigração portuguesa no pós-Segunda Guerra Mundial: a Junta da Emigração entre o proibicionismo e o avanço liberal (1947-1961). *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 395-397.
- Ganga, R., Silva, J. P., Gomes, R., Vaz, H., Lopes, J. T., Silva, S., . . . Brites, R. (2016). Portuguese Scientists' Migration: a study on the 2008 crisis aftermath. *54:6*, 44.
- Grin, F. (1998). Language Policy in Multilingual Switzerland: Overview and Recent Developments . *Cicle de confèrencies sobre política lingüística* (p. 3). Barcelona: Direcció general de política lingüística.
- Góis, P., & Marques, J. C. (2018). Retrato de um Portugal migrante: a evolução da emigração, da imigração e do seu estudo nos últimos 40 anos. *e-cadernos CES*, 29.
- Hanke, P., Wieruszewski, M., & Panizzon, M. (2019). The 'spirit of the Schengen rules', the humanitarian visa, and contested asylum governance in Europe – The Swiss case. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45:8, p. 1365.
- Hoti, A. H., Heinzmann, S., Müller, M., & Buholzer, A. (2015). Psychosocial Adaptation and School Success of Italian, Portuguese and Albanian Students in Switzerland: Disentangling Migration Background, Acculturation and the School Context. *Int. Migration & Integration*, 8:85, p. 86.
- Hoti, A. H., Heinzmann, S., Müller, M., & Buholzer, A. (2017). Psychosocial Adaptation and School Success of Italian, Portuguese and Albanian Students in Switzerland: Disentangling Migration Background, Acculturation and the School Context. *Int. Migration & Integration*, 18:85, pp. 87-88; 97.
- Ikenberry, G. J. (1988). *Reasons of State: Oil Politics and the Capacities of American Government*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Ivlevs, A., Nikolova, M., & Graham, C. (2019). Emigration, remittances, and the subjective well-being of those staying behind. *Journal of Population Economics*, 32 (113), pp. 114-115.

- Justino, D. (2016). *Emigration from Portugal: Old wine in new bottles?* Migration Policy Institute. Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute.
- Kalouguina, V., & Wagner, J. (2020). How Do Health, Care Services Consumption and Lifestyle Factors Affect the Choice of Health Insurance Plans in Switzerland? *Risks*(8:41), p. 2.
- Krishnakumar, P., & T.Indumathi. (2014). Pull And Push Factors Of Migration. *Sona Global Management Review*, 8 (4), p. 9.
- Lake Geneva Region Tourist Office (LGRTO). (n.d.). *Lake Geneva Region Tourist Office (LGRTO)*. Retrieved April 2021, from Lavaux, Vineyards Steeped In History: <https://www.region-du-leman.ch/en/Z9584/lavaux-vineyards-steeped-in-history>
- Leininger, A., & Heyne, L. (2017). How representative are referendums? Evidence from 20 years of Swiss referendums. *Electoral Studies*, 48, pp. 84-87.
- Leong, C.-H., Komisarof, A., Dandy, J., Jasinskaja-Lahtid, I., Safdar, S., Hanke, K., & Teng, E. (2020). What does it take to become “one of us?” Redefining ethnic-civic citizenship using markers of everyday nationhood. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 78, p. 10.
- Liamputtong, P., Koh, L., Wollersheim, D., & Walker, R. (2015). Peer support groups, mobile phones and refugee women in Melbourne. *Health Promotion International*, 31, 715-716.
- Linder, W. (2013). Switzerland and the EU: the puzzling effects of Europeanisation without institutionalisation. *Contemporary Politics*, 19:2, pp. 191-192.
- Lucas, R. (2007). Migration and rural development. *Journal of Agricultural and Development Economics*(4(1)), p. 108.
- Lusa. (2011). *José Sócrates pediu a demissão: "Hoje o país perdeu, não ganhou.* Retrieved December 2021, from Jornal de Notícias: <https://www.dn.pt/dossiers/politica/crise-politica-no-segundo-governo-de-socrates/noticias/jose-socrates-pediu-a-demissao-hoje-o-pais-perdeu-nao-ganhou-1813091.html>
- Lusa. (2011). *Passos Coelho sugere a emigração a professores desempregados.* Retrieved December 2021, from Público: <https://www.publico.pt/2011/12/18/politica/noticia/passos-coelho-sugere-aos-professores-desempregados-que-emigrem-1525528>
- Lusa. (2021, April 4). *Portugal assinala 10 anos do pedido de resgate com contas públicas fragilizadas pela pandemia.* Retrieved December 2021, from Jornal de Negócios: <https://www.jornaldenegocios.pt/economia/financas-publicas/detalhe/portugal-assinala-10-anos-do-pedido-de-resgate-com-contas-publicas-fragilizadas-pela-pandemia>
- Mackay-Brown, A., & Ashton, A. (2021). Integration Experiences of Newcomers Across the Prairies: Untangling Perceived Dichotomy Between Immigrants and New-to-Towns. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 53:1, 91-95.
- Malheiros, J. (2011). Portugal 2010: The Return Of The Country Of Emigration? *Observare*, 2 (1), pp. 128, 130, 132, 134.
- Marini, M., Chokani, N., & Abhari, R. S. (2019). Agent-Based Model Analysis of Impact of Immigration on Switzerland’s Social Security. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 20:787, p. 801.
- Marques, J. C. (2008). *Os Portugueses na Suíça*. Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

- Marques, J. C. (2008). *Os Portugueses na Suíça*. Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Marques, J. C. (2009). ""E continuam a partir": as migrações portuguesas contemporâneas". *Ler História*, 56.
- Marques, J. C. (2018). A emigração para a Suíça. 4-5, 9, 12, 14. (F. Pinho, Interviewer) Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL).
- Marques, J. C., & Góis, P. (2008). Pratiques transnationales des Capverdiens au Portugal et des Portugais en Suisse. *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, 24(2), pp. 149-150.
- McAuliffe, M., & Khadria, B. (2019). *World Migration Report 2020*. International Organization for Migration. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- Neto, F. (2019). Acculturation, Adaptation and Saudade Among Portuguese Migrants. *The Journal of Psychology*, 153:7, pp. 668-669.
- Neto, F., & Barros, J. (2000). Predictors of Loneliness Among Adolescents from Portuguese Immigrant Families in Switzerland. *Social Behaviour and Personality*, 28:2, pp. 194-195.
- Newsweek. (2021). *World's Best Hospitals 2021*. Retrieved April 2021, from Newsweek: <https://www.newsweek.com/best-hospitals-2021>
- Pereira, M. H. (2009). A emigração portuguesa para o Brasil e a geo-estratégia do desenvolvimento euro-americano. *Ler História*, 56, 15-25.
- Persoz, G. (2018). Neutrality: A Tool or a Limit for Preventing Mass Atrocity Crimes and Genocide? The Case of Switzerland. *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, 11:3, p. 78.
- Pinho, F. (2010, May 13). *As regiões de implantação histórica dos açorianos nos EUA. Entrevista a Onésimo Teotónio Almeida*. Retrieved March 2021, from Observatório da Emigração: <http://observatorioemigracao.pt/np4/4705.html>
- Pires, R. P., Pereira, C., Azevedo, J., Santo, I. E., & Vidigal, I. (2016). *Emigração Portuguesa: Relatório Estatístico 2016*. Observatório da Emigração. Observatório da Emigração.
- Portwich, P. (2011). The Swiss social insurance system: Social security and grass-roots democracy. *International Security Review*, 64:1, pp. 95-99.
- Pîrvu, R., & Axinte, G. (2012). Return migration - reasons, consequences and benefits. *Annals of the University of Petroșani, Economics*, 12 (4), pp. 195-197.
- Riaño, Y., Lombard, A., & Piguët, E. (2018). How to explain migration policy openness in times of closure? The case of international students in Switzerland. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 16:3, pp. 295-297; 301.
- Ricci, A., Crivellaro, F., & Bolzani, D. (2021). Perceived Employability of Highly Skilled Migrant Women in STEM: Insights from Labor Market Intermediaries' Professionals. *Administrative Sciences*, 11:7, 1-3.
- Ross, M. L. (2013). How the 1973 Oil Embargo Saved the Planet. *Council on Foreign Relations*, 1-2.
- Ruedin, D., Alberti, C., & D'Amato, G. (2015). Immigration and Integration Policy in Switzerland, 1848 to 2014. *Swiss Political Science Review*, p. 5.
- Ryser, M. (2009). *Bilateral agreements Switzerland–EU*. Integration Office FDFA/FDEA. Bern: Integration Office FDFA/FDEA.
- Salami, B., Salma, J., Hegadoren, K., Meherali, S., Kolawole, T., & Diaz, E. (2019). Sense of community belonging among immigrants: perspective of immigrant service providers. *Public Health*, 167, 29.

- Schedler, K. (1994). Performance Measurement in a Direct Democratic Environment: Local Government Reforms in Switzerland. *Public Budgeting & Finance*, pp. 36-37.
- Schmitt, N. (2017). Linguistic Policy in Switzerland: The Paradigm Shifts But The Complexity Remains. *Revista de Llengua i Dret, Journal of Language and Law*, 67, pp. 90-93; 96; 100.
- Schnell, P., & Fibbi, R. (2016). Unequal Pathways. School-to-Work Trajectories for Children of Turkish and Western-Balkan Origin in Switzerland and Austria. *Swiss Journal of Sociology*, 42:2, pp. 265, 268-269, 283.
- Scholte, J. A. (2005). *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*. London: Macmillan International Higher Education.
- Secretary of State for Portuguese Communities . (2014). *Relatório de Emigração 2013*. Secretário de Estado das Comunidades Portuguesas. Lisboa: Secretário de Estado das Comunidades Portuguesas.
- SEM. (2013). *Family Reunification*. Bern: State Secretariat for Migration.
- SEM. (2018). *Swiss social insurance system: Period of stay in Switzerland and departure*. State Secretariat for Migration. Bern: SEM.
- SEM. (2020). *EU/EFTA Citizens: Living and Working in Switzerland*. Retrieved May 2021, from State Secretariat for Migration:  
[https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/en/home/themen/fza\\_schweiz-eu-efta/eu-efta\\_buerger\\_schweiz.html](https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/en/home/themen/fza_schweiz-eu-efta/eu-efta_buerger_schweiz.html)
- SEM. (2021). *C EU/EFTA permit (Settled foreign nationals)*. Retrieved May 2021, from State Secretariat for Migration:  
[https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/en/home/themen/aufenthalt/eu\\_efta/ausweis\\_c\\_eu\\_efta.html](https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/en/home/themen/aufenthalt/eu_efta/ausweis_c_eu_efta.html)
- SEM. (2021). *Ci EU/EFTA permit (Resident foreign nationals with gainful employment)*. Retrieved May 2021, from State Secretariat for Migration:  
[https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/en/home/themen/aufenthalt/eu\\_efta/ausweis\\_ci\\_eu\\_efta.html](https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/en/home/themen/aufenthalt/eu_efta/ausweis_ci_eu_efta.html)
- SEM. (2021). *Proof of language skills for residence (B) permits and permanent residence (C) permits*. State Secretariat for Migrations. Bern: State Secretariat for Migrations.
- SEM. (2021). *State Secretariat for Migration*. Retrieved May 2021, from B EU/EFTA permit (Resident foreign nationals):  
[https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/en/home/themen/aufenthalt/eu\\_efta/ausweis\\_b\\_eu\\_efta.html](https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/en/home/themen/aufenthalt/eu_efta/ausweis_b_eu_efta.html)
- Sironi, A., Bauloz, C., & Emmanuel, M. (2019). *Glossary on Migration*. International Organisation for Migration. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- State of Vaud. (2020). <https://www.vd.ch/themes/population/population-etrangere/naturalisation/>. Retrieved May 2021, from Site Officiel État de Vaud:  
<https://www.vd.ch/themes/population/population-etrangere/naturalisation/>
- Statistique Vaud. (2020). *Vaud En Chiffres 2020*. État de Vaud, Département des Finances et des relations extérieures. Lausanne: État de Vaud.
- Strijbisa, O., & Polavieja, J. (2018). Immigrants against immigration: Competition, identity and immigrants' vote on free movement in Switzerland. *Electoral Studies*, 56, p. 150.

- Tartakovsky, E. (2009). Cultural Identities of Adolescent Immigrants: A Three-Year Longitudinal Study Including the Pre-Migration Period. *J Youth Adolescence*, 38, 654-655.
- Tzogiou, C., Boes, S., & Brunner, B. (2021). What explains the inequalities in health care utilization between immigrants and non-migrants in Switzerland? *BMC Public Health*, 21, pp. 1-2.
- Vertovec, S. (2009). *Transnationalism*. New York: Routledge.
- Vieira, R. (2015). *Quando o Governo convidou os portugueses a emigrar*. Retrieved December 2021, from Renascença: <https://rr.sapo.pt/noticia/pais/2015/06/09/quando-o-governo-convidou-os-portugueses-a-emigrar/16934/>
- Wallimann, C., & Balthasar, A. (2019). Primary Care Networks and Eritrean Immigrants' Experiences with Health Care Professionals in Switzerland: A Qualitative Approach. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 16, p. 1.
- Welply, O. (2010). Language difference and identity in multicultural classrooms: the views of 'immigrant-background' children in French and English primary schools. *Compare*, 40:3, p. 345.
- Wolff, H., Stalder, H., Epiney, M., Walder, A., Irion, O., & Morabia, A. (2005). Healthcare and illegality: a survey of undocumented pregnant immigrants in Geneva. *Social Science & Medicine*, 60, pp. 2150-2153.
- Zagade, A., & Desai, S. P. (2017). Brain Drain or Brain Circulation : a Study of Returnee Professionals in India. *Journal of Commerce & Management Thought*, 8(3), p. 424.



## Appendix I – Subject 1

3. When I finished my degree, I could not find a job in my area. It was also the year that Portugal was going through a massive financial crisis. So, I took a chance and emigrated to Switzerland. I already knew the country, and I also already had family living here, which was an advantage.
4. The only major problem that I had was with my diploma. In the beginning, when I arrived, I started by trying to do the recognition of my diploma, but I had to put this task on standby. The reason for this was the fact that I had to do an internship in order for them to recognize my diploma. I could not do this internship because I had already found a job in a restaurant, and I could not leave my only source of income to do the internship. However, I eventually managed to solve this problem.
5. I am fortunate enough to say I feel integrated in the Swiss society, but there are always cultural differences. Even after living in this country for more than ten years, there are some things I still have some problems adapting to some elements of the Swiss culture. For example, I still have some issues with the Swiss gastronomy or even with the fact that the Portuguese society is ‘warmer’ and welcoming than the Swiss society.
6. I emigrated alone.
7. I will always identify myself as Portuguese, it is a core element of my identity. It is also true that with time you start to gain and introduce Swiss habits into your life. For example, I find it less stressful to drive here in Switzerland than in Portugal. Timetables are also quite different from those in Portugal. It is these little things that we start to embrace.
8. For now, I do not think about returning to Portugal. But, I think that it would be great to return before reaching the age of retirement.

## Appendix 2 – Subject 2

3. I emigrated to Switzerland because I felt that there more opportunities for me to evolve here. In the past, I had some projects for clients who lived in Switzerland and, this is how I first came here. Being in contact with this society, where everything operates with precision, I realized that I identified more with the Swiss society than with the Portuguese community. For example, timetables, payments and traffic rules are always respected. There is indeed a lot more discipline and pressure here, but if you respect the rules, everything goes well.
4. The adaptation to this country was a very humbling experience for me. It is always tricky, especially when you do not have a support system to help and welcome you. Of course, it is important to have a job to support, but it is also important to have a place to sleep. And that was a problem for me. I had a good apartment when I lived in Portugal, but when I arrived in Switzerland, I had to sleep in a bedroom, where it rained.
5. For me, the issue was not to adapt to the Swiss society, it was the adaptation to the Portuguese community living in Switzerland. A massive problem within the Portuguese community is the lack of mutual aid, and especially the support for those who do not feel totally integrated into the country. I feel like we are unsupported and that the Portuguese entities that could help us are not doing their job. I feel a bit ‘disconnected’ from our community. I want to continue to study to invest in this country.
6. Like I said before, I emigrated alone. However, I have a Swiss girlfriend, which has helped me be closer to the Swiss community and culture.
7. Identity is a complex notion for me. Because on the one hand, I identify with many elements of the Swiss culture and society, and I also feel a bit disappointed with the Portuguese community in Switzerland.  
  
But on the other hand, I love to show and promote the Portuguese culture to the local community. I am very proud of being Portuguese. I have been involved in several cultural associations, local journals and even radio channels.  
  
I think things get trickier as the years go by. For instance, when Portuguese emigrants return to Portugal, they are seen as the ‘emigrants’ or, depending on the country they emigrated to, they are as the ‘French’ or the ‘Swiss’. But when they return, they are

perceived as the 'Portuguese people'. So, people sometimes feel like they do not know who they are anymore.

8. I may return to Portugal after reaching retirement age, but at this moment, I do not have a lot of interest in returning.

I sold the only apartment that I had in Portugal, and at this moment, I do not own anything in Portugal. I only have my family there. So, right now, I have no interest in investing my time, energy or money in Portugal. I am more focused on improving the life I have here. I want to continue to study here, maybe something in the area of education. I have all the resources necessary, and I still do not feel completely fulfilled.

But I see an interesting phenomenon I see happening right now in the Portuguese community. The Portuguese community that emigrated in the 1980s are reaching the retirement age, and they are having a problem. In some cases, they have had children and grandchildren here, and little by little, they have lost their connection with Portugal. But the problem is that as they reach the retirement age, their pension is not enough for them to live comfortably in Switzerland. If they stay, they live close by their children and grandchildren, but they go through financial problems. If they return to Portugal, they can live comfortably in Portugal, since everything is cheaper there. Still, they will be far away from their family and with no familiar connections in Portugal. So, it is a very complex problem.

### Appendix 3 – Subject 3

3. I have been in Switzerland in three different moments of my life. The first time was when I finished high school in 1992, I did a professional internship, where I had the privilege to live with a Swiss family. A few years later, I went a second time to work in the harvests in 2000. The last time was in 2010. I met a Swiss tourist in the Lisbon metro, and we connected so well that he helped me return to Switzerland. I was unemployed at the time so, I seized the opportunity. If the only job opportunity that I could find in Lisbon was as a cleaner and I only make 600 euros, why not come to Switzerland and do the same thing but with a much better wage?

I also had family in the area, and I feel a connection with the Swiss culture. Of course, everything is more expensive here, but the services (such as social security) work properly.

4. I never actually did the recognition of my diploma or the validation of my competencies because they require me to redo some sort of 12<sup>o</sup> grade and I found that to be very disrespectful. I have a document that proves that I have a master's degree. If they asked me to do an internship, I would not oppose to it, but this felt like a waste of time and abilities.

5. I feel a connection to the Swiss culture and society, so that was not a problem. The linguistic skills were also not a problem for me. I have a B1 level in French, and I also know a bit of German and English. In my experience, the trickiest part was actually how to adapt to the Portuguese community. There is a reluctance to help other people within our own community. It almost feels like there is a competition between us. I do not feel that sense of community and unity that you see in other foreign communities, for example, in the Latin communities in the USA.

6. I emigrated with my wife, and she also went to university (she is a nurse). Unfortunately, she also could not find a job as a nurse here, so she also works as a cleaner. Interestingly, with a part-time employment contract, she can have almost a similar salary to the one she had when she was a nurse in Portugal. (...) I do not have children.

7. I still identify myself as Portuguese, but I would be lying if I said that I do not like some elements of the Swiss culture. This closeness was one of the reasons to choose to emigrate to Switzerland. For example, my field of study was agronomy, and the

colour of my degree was green. Unfortunately, when I look around the Portuguese landscape, we can see less and less green each year. So, for me, it made sense to move to a place where I could green around me.

8. I do not think about returning to Portugal. Maybe after reaching the retirement age. It is challenging to live in Switzerland with only the pension as the only source of income. But there are some things that make me want to stay here even after I retire. I also think about doing voluntary work and putting my academic knowledge into practice in some countries that need them more.

I am not building anything, and I also do not have children since I married late in life. Therefore, I do not have concrete plans for the future. I do not know what the future holds for me.

## Appendix 4 – Subject 4

3. I emigrated because of both personal and professional reasons. Firstly, I thought about living in the country because I was in a relationship with someone that had already emigrated to Switzerland. Secondly, it was also because since I finished my higher education, I could not find a job that fulfilled me both professionally and financially. So, I decided to emigrate to try to improve these two areas of my life.
4. In terms of bureaucracy, one of the first things I did when I arrived in the country was to validate my diplomas with the help of a lawyer. He certified that my diplomas and their content were authentic. This was important because I needed this validation to apply for any job. Regarding the language, I was advised to an exam to prove my linguistic abilities (I have a B2 level in French) because they would probably ask for that exam in job interviews. Another difficulty that I found was with the application for a permit. They only give you a permit when you have a contract of employment. I started to look for a job during the current pandemic, and there were few job opportunities, so it became a vicious cycle. Without a permit, the majority of places will not accept you, but since nobody would sign me a contract of employment, I could not work or apply for a permit.
5. At this moment, I feel relatively integrated into the Swiss culture, but the beginning was quite tricky. Switzerland is a very different country when compared to Portugal. The people have a distinct and colder mentality. The rhythm of life is more accelerated, and, of course, in the beginning, there was the language barrier that prevented me from being more relaxed. Switzerland is a country that lives by the rule, either in the professional or social context, which was a significant difference that I found. However, I had some Portuguese friends living close to me, and they were a big source of support for me. They helped me navigate life, especially when I was not used to the Swiss way of life. In general, I think the Portuguese emigrants are well-received since this country has so many foreign communities. Of course, there are also some Swiss people, who are extremely nationalists, and they are not exactly friendly with foreigners. But those are isolated cases and not a major problem.
6. In my case, I emigrated alone, but as I said before, my boyfriend already lived in Switzerland for about 7/8 years.

7. I identify myself (and I will always identify) myself as Portuguese and with the Portuguese culture. There are some elements in this country that have more regulated, and they operate better because of that. So, at this moment, I prefer to live here in Switzerland than in Portugal. But I think these comparisons between the two countries happen for anyone who moves to a different country. When you leave your country, you become more aware of the qualities and flaws of our own country and also of the country that received us.
8. I think about returning. My main idea has always been to return in a few years. Stabilize some things in my life and then return to Portugal. I never came here with the idea to only return after retiring. I came with an open mind and saw this more like an experience rather than an obligation. I think nowadays emigration is not the same as it was in the past. In the past, people came because they could not find a job or good living conditions anywhere else. Nowadays, there are many people with higher education that are looking for new opportunities, and they are willing to experiment and to move as often as necessary until they find what they are looking for.

## Appendix 5 – Subject 5

3. I went to Switzerland because my boyfriend already lived there. However, after a great deal of reflection, we both felt that It would be better for me to emigrate to Switzerland since it would be possible for me to find a greater variety of opportunities at the professional level in Switzerland.
4. For me, the most challenging thing was the language and the fact that the country was so different. There are always new things to learn in order to better adapt. When I arrived, I did a 6-month intensive course in French because I did not know how to speak French. After I finished the course, I quickly found a job. After that, the validation of my diploma was relatively simple and easy. This part of Switzerland has one of the biggest financial centres in Europe, so, in my area of activity, it is easy to find a job (if you know how to speak English and a little bit of French). Sometimes, in my area of activity, they do not even ask for the validation of the diploma.
5. The adaptation was not a problem for me because my husband already lived there for a while and, he helped me a lot. Switzerland is a very organized country, which facilitates the integration of newcomers. I feel well-integrated. The fact that I moved to a place where people from different backgrounds coexist also helped. I can honestly say that until now, I have a met few people who identify themselves as 100% Swiss. Our community is well-received. We are seen as hard-working, dedicated and trustworthy people. In the past, there was the idea that Portuguese people was going to Switzerland to work in construction or as cleaners. Nowadays, there are multiple Portuguese emigrants with higher education that come to Switzerland to have important job positions. They look for new opportunities and professional recognition that in Portugal sometimes is hard to achieve.
6. I emigrated alone to Switzerland.
7. Yes, I still see myself as Portuguese, and I am very proud of my country. Still, in certain circumstances, I wished that Portugal followed the concepts and ideas that Switzerland has adopted. Portugal has everything to be the best in different areas but then fails at the organization level. I think the problem is not the people; the problem is the Portuguese government that creates rules and laws that encourages corruption.
8. For now, I do not think about returning, maybe someday. However, at this moment, knowing the two countries well, what really scares me is the Portuguese healthcare system. It does not function properly when you compare it with the Swiss healthcare system.

## Appendix 6 – Subject 6

3. I came to Switzerland with my boyfriend, even though I never intended to emigrate after finishing my degree. But, life circumstances brought me here. Another important element for the decision to emigrate was the difficulty to find well-paid employment in Portugal.

4. When I arrived in Switzerland in November 2015, and I spent one month searching for a job. Finally, I managed to find one, but my language skills were a problem for me!

A few months after starting my job as a nurse, I validated my diploma, and I also did an exam to prove my proficiency in French. Another difference between Portugal and Switzerland is that you need a contract of employment for everything, such as opening a bank account, renting an apartment, and making a contract with a mobile phone provider. You also need an address to do almost everything. However, without a job and a place to live, you cannot properly function in Switzerland.

5. The adaptation is always tricky. It is challenging when the Portuguese community is still sometimes perceived as the community that comes ‘to clean and work in the constructions. It persists a stigma towards the Portuguese community.

The integration was more or less straightforward because there is always a friend who already lives here, which helps facilitate the integration. In my case, I had several longtime friends that helped me throughout the integration process.

6. I emigrated with my boyfriend. He came in September 2015, and I came in November 2015.

7. I still see myself as 100% Portuguese, but with some Swiss habits. The Swiss society is very polite and organized, and I like very much this way of living focused on order and on following the rules.

8. Sometimes I think about returning to Portugal before retiring. Other times I think I will only return after reaching the retirement age. I think it is too early to make a final decision.

## Appendix 7 – Subject 7

3. I moved to Switzerland for the opportunity to expand my options and for the chance of exploring new realities. But, unfortunately, Portugal has a huge problem: the Portuguese society and job market does not take care of or even appreciate those who want to evolve professionally. But I should also point out that I do not feel exactly like an emigrant. I usually say with some humour that I am in geographic mobility. I just did not feel happy in Portugal anymore.
4. I already spoke French before coming to Switzerland (my husband grew up in France). I had to the validation of my diploma by the Swiss Federation of Psychologists. Since I did after the Bologna process, the diploma was accepted, but the process was a bit expensive. The adaptation to the job was calmer. I started by working with Portuguese patients, but Swiss patients and even from other nationalities began to appear after a while.
5. The adaptation was smooth, even though there were some substantial cultural differences that were not immediately foreseen. I can say that I feel well integrated into the Swiss community. I had some issues with the Portuguese community in terms of competitiveness.

The Portuguese community is well received as well as all the communities that come to work. The Portuguese people that I know (and that have a job) are well regarded. However, as in all communities, things do not unwind in the same way for everyone. For example, Switzerland has a system of social support for people who have financial problems. The issue is that some people misuse these systems, but I cannot explain this topic adequately since I do not have an interest in this subject.

I am aware that not everyone can enter the job market with their first choice or diploma. But I think with perseverance (and from my experience), almost everyone is capable of finding something in their area of activity after 2/3 years. For example, while I was dealing with the paperwork to validate my diplomas, I taught Portuguese classes to Swiss people who were married to a Portuguese person or who had businesses in Portugal.

I truly believe that if we keep an open mind, with a lot of strength and courage, we will eventually find a place in society that allows us to feel professionally fulfilled.

6. I emigrated with my family. They are all working and well-integrated into the Swiss society. My daughter just had a baby, and she was well treated.

7. I still identify myself as Portuguese and with the Portuguese culture. But with time, a sort of acculturation starts to happen. For example, I am beginning to incorporate some of the local cuisines, and the socialization (and how it is done) has also started to shift. This country has long winters, so people, especially at the weekends, enjoy being in the company of friends and families. These types of small details slip into my life.
8. I have a constant thought that I want to return to Portugal. I go back many times during the year since I have a home there, and I also have many family, relatives and friends. I have plans to return after retiring.

## Appendix 8 – Subject 8

3. My wife and I do not have family or friends here. We came here because my wife (she is a nurse) saw on an agency that there was a need for nurses to work in intensive care units in Switzerland. Even nowadays, there is a lack of nurses who want to work in intensive care units in Switzerland. She was born and also lived for a few years in France (her parents were also emigrants), so the language was not a problem for her. And she also never adapted to the Portuguese healthcare system. She did a master's degree, and she wanted to implement a few alterations, but she was permanently blocked by her superiors. So, she was frustrated and demotivated.

I was already a Pastor in Portugal. My wife already had a job opportunity here, and I came with the idea to study more theology in Switzerland. I am Protestant, and there is not much to do in Portugal, while Switzerland is the historical centre of the Protestant reform.

4. I had French in high school, and I also did a French course at the Alliance Française. But the truth was that when I came here, I did not know how to speak French. People did not understand me, and I also had trouble understanding them. But, little by little, I started to improve my proficiency in French. I started reading in French and being in contact almost daily with people who spoke French, which helped me a lot, and that was how I learned to speak the language.
5. From the beginning, I was a volunteer in the Protestant parish, which helped me to be in constant contact with people., helping to integrate better. I also did a master's degree in Switzerland.

Sometimes I still feel some clashes with some people, and I think the problem is not only the language, but it is also because of cultural differences. I emigrated relatively late in life (I was 37 years old, and my wife was 33 years old). I grew up in Lisbon; we speak quickly, and there are many peculiarities that you only find in people who grew up in Lisbon. And those idiosyncrasies are challenging to translate to French, so I think it is normal sometimes to have some communication problems. It also depends on the person; there are more compassionate people that are willing to make a 'bridge' to understand us, and there are other people that do not want to the work.

In the end, I think that we are well adapted. We do not have a lot of friends within the Portuguese community in Switzerland. Since we emigrated late in life, we already

had built our friendships in Portugal. Of course, we have some friendships and acquaintances here, but our case is atypical because we do not have family here. We are not confined within the Portuguese community; quite the contrary, we are in the opposite extreme. We often spend more time with people that do not belong to the Portuguese community.

6. We have two daughters (9 and 5 years old). At home, we speak in Portuguese so that the children are in contact with the Portuguese language and culture. They also have Portuguese lessons at school. But, we also put them in a nursery from an early age so that they would be in contact with the Swiss children and the French language. It was a way to ensure the acculturation of our daughters. Their native language is French, but we also want to ensure that they know Portuguese so that they connect with their grandparents and other family relatives that live in Portugal.

7. I still see myself as Portuguese, mainly because of all the relationships I have with people who still live in Portugal. I do not see myself as Swiss, but when I was in Portugal I also did not feel as Portuguese to the core or highly patriotic. I miss my family and friends, but here I can find the opportunities to feel professionally fulfilled. The scope of opportunities in Portugal is more limited. But I still go to Portuguese restaurants here. Still, I just do not go to the local Portuguese association every weekend or only spend time with people from the Portuguese community.

I am also a member of the Protestant community, and there are not many Portuguese people in this community. I only know a few members. If they are Protestant, it was because they married a Swiss person that was already a member of the Protestant community.

Here, there is a greater respect for the rules, and there is also more control. The timetables have to be respected, and you have to respect the promises that you make. If you say to someone that you will visit them, the Swiss people will be waiting for you to go visit them. While if you say that to a Portuguese person, they do not expect you to keep your promise. I enjoy more the way that the Swiss society works.

8. Every now and then, I think I'd like to come back to Portugal after retiring. But, I do not have a fixed idea for the future. For now, I want to stay here. But that does not mean that in a few years we won't change and imagine other plans and maybe we will go back to Portugal or move to another country.

Right now, we only come back to Portugal once a year in the Summer. On the other vacations, we use them to visit other countries. An advantage of living in a country in

Central Europe is that it allows us to travel cheaper and quicker. Travelling is one of our goals in life. The grandparents visit us in Switzerland twice a year, which is excellent for us.

## Appendix 9 – Subject 9

3. I emigrated because I wanted to know what it was like to live in another country. I chose the Francophone side of Switzerland because of linguistic reasons since I had better skills in French than in German. Another reason was the relatively simple access to postgraduate training for those coming from abroad.
4. When I first arrived, I did not have any difficulties. Everything was taken care of by the hospital staff. At the time, nobody asked for the revalidation of my diploma before establishing a working contract. Later, I had to the validation of my diploma, and that was a bit difficult, mainly in obtaining the documents requested by the Portuguese services. I also had some problems renting an apartment since the Swiss system is very different from the Portuguese system.
5. Overall, I feel integrated, at least as much as a foreigner can be. There were, of course, episodes of more or less blatant prejudice and even negative comments. Right now, it does not happen as often because of my hierarchical position (head of a clinic unit), but I am aware of many prejudices and xenophobic attitudes felt and done towards our community and other foreign communities living in Switzerland.

However, some aspects are easier here. For example, the bureaucratic system is simpler here. Even though sometimes they are peculiar, they are incredibly efficient, and the different secretariat services are, in general, accessible and cordial. The questions are answered quickly and efficiently, and generally, you can sense some ‘good will’ from them.

Another thing that I had to adapt was how the healthcare system was here.

In terms of organization, it is also different because everything that is public services is under the responsibility of the cantons, and they are very heterogeneous. It does not have a unique system for everyone, there are 26 different systems. In general, they are well funded and supported by the cantonal government. In Portugal, we only have one system, with several loopholes regarding funding and organizational matters. There is also a significant dilution of responsibilities when something goes wrong. An advantage of the Portuguese system is the possibility of creating general campaigns that are well organized and coordinated. An example was the quick response to the current pandemic, although with some technical and financial problems.

The financing of the Swiss healthcare system is also different because it is based on personal insurance and cantonal funding only for hospital care and nursing homes.

Another big difference was the ambulatory system. Here it consists of small private medical clinics. This is allowed because Switzerland has restrictive rules for healthcare insurance companies. This does not happen in Portugal because there are no pricing or universal conditions, which enables insurances to exert negotiating pressure and intimidation of smaller clinics, favouring regional concentration and monopoly by large health-related groups. When I compared the quality of the services provided in Portugal, and here, the difference is clear. The provider's work is more appreciated, and the healthcare treatments are more personalized and less subject to mercantilist pressures. There is more time for the patient because time is well paid here. The negative aspects of the Swiss system are the lack of standardization and miscommunication inside the different healthcare systems. The lack of financing of more preventing elements discourages prevention and health screenings.

6. I emigrated with my spouse, and she is also a doctor. Her adaptation was more problematic, mainly because she struggled with being far away from her family. There was a total rejection of everything around here. She struggled with her mental health, and there were some difficult moments. But, with time, things started to get better.
7. I will always see myself as Portuguese, but I am aware that I have changed, which I think is something that tends to happen to the majority of emigrants. I became more conscious of the many positive aspects of our culture and community that we sometimes overlook when we live in Portugal. I am also more mindful of the shortcoming of our country. My proficiency in Portuguese has declined.  
There are some Swiss cultural elements that I have embraced, for example, punctuality in general and being at ease with managing bureaucratic matters. I also developed some obsessive features that I already sort of had before, but now it became normal: responsible driving, tendency to be thorough and organized, the importance of 'duty' and tax liabilities for society. Having the experience of living in two different societies, I can say that I do not feel 100% Portuguese or Swiss.
8. If everything goes as planned, I intend to return to Portugal within 5 or 10 years to enjoy my early partial retirement.

## Appendix 10 – Subject 10

3. Before I came to Switzerland, I had already to other countries before. I emigrated to search for a better job. In Portugal, I never worked in my area of activity. I saw an ad for a position as a psychologist in Switzerland, and I decided to take a chance. I was accepted s, since I already have a job position, I decided to emigrate to Switzerland.
4. I had to ask for the validation of my diploma, which was a bit difficult. Despite having a master's degree in Psychology, I had to an additional five years course because psychology teaching is different in Switzerland.

When I arrived, I felt some prejudice when people saw that I was not Swiss. Another difficulty was the fact that services and procedures here are quite different when we compare with Portugal. Everything has to be sent through postal services, and there is little communication by mail or phone; by phone, they do not always speak English (or Portuguese). This is a disadvantage because, in the beginning, my proficiency in French was not good.

5. It has been tough to create friendships, there is not much mix of Swiss people with people from other nationalities. I am far from feeling completely integrate. There is a constant conscious effort to try to appreciate this country. Sometimes, it is hard to have the willingness to stay here.

Another struggle is the system, and it is a vicious system. For example, it is created in such a way that if you do not have a job, you cannot rent a place. But, if you do not have a place to live, you do not have an address, which is necessary when you are job hunting. Another example is without an address, you cannot open a bank account, but without a bank account, you cannot rent a house.

Another element that I had to adapt was how the healthcare system works here. The health insurance system makes all the difference: people, in general, usually are more prone to seek professional help. Unfortunately, there is also corruption and people taking advantage of the system. As a consequence, the insurance companies have more strict rules that can scare people that actually need help.

6. I emigrated alone.
7. I definitely see myself as Portuguese, even though I do not often mingle with people from the Portuguese community. But, I also do not socialize a lot with Swiss people.

I mostly associate with people from other countries. But, at the end of the day, being Portuguese is an essential part of my identity.

8. I think it is still soon to make concrete plans for the distant future, it will depend on how things work here. If my career path develops throughout time, I will not return to Portugal. But, at the same time, the retirement pension barely covers the costs of living, so I will only return to Portugal if I have financial difficulties after retiring.

## Appendix 11 – Subject 11

3. I decided to emigrate because I could not find a job as a psychologist in Portugal. I choose to come to Switzerland because I already have uncles living here. The fact that I had someone to help with the adaptation and to navigate in this new society/culture was really helpful to me.
4. In order to be a psychologist in Switzerland, it is necessary to fulfil a set of criteria that I was not prepared for. You have to have, in terms of linguistic proficiency, a B2 level in French. You also have to do 150 hours of personal therapy, which is not a prerequisite in Portugal. We also have to do the validation of our diploma, and we also have to enrol into two different associations (similar to the Portuguese order of Psychologists). The good thing about those enrolments is that they only have to be done annually.
5. The adaptation went well. However, a problem that I had not foreseen was how to adjust to the Portuguese community living in Switzerland. If, on the one hand, they are super supportive and ready to help at any time; on the other hand, it seems like there is a need to stand out from others, like we are in some sort of contest.  
The French language is essential for the adaptation, but it is funny that with the number of Portuguese people that are living here at the moment, you spend your ‘whole life’ without having the need to say one French word.
6. I emigrated alone, but I went to live with my uncles for the first six months. Switzerland has a really distinctive system when compared with Portugal. For example, to be able to get an authorization to work in the country, you have to have a place to reside. So, it is indispensable to have the support of family and friends at the early stages of the emigration’s process.
7. I will always proudly consider myself Portuguese, but I identify with many elements of the Swiss society and culture, for instance, the compliance with the rules and how well structured the system is. I think we get to the point where you feel like an ‘emigrant’ in Switzerland, but also in Portugal. You no longer fit entirely into one society because you have incorporated elements from both countries.
8. I do not have the ambition to go back to Portugal in a certain amount of time. I have not made yet plans to go back, because for now, I do not want to go back anytime soon.

## Appendix 12 – Subject 12

3. Initially, what drove me to emigrate was the desire to learn the English language in a country where it was one of the official languages; in my case, I chose England. I also wanted to have the experience of living in another country. Afterwards, I was offered a job in Switzerland, and I thought about staying in Switzerland for a year. However, I moved to Switzerland 10 years ago, and for now, my goal is to stay here. What made me want to stay in Switzerland was the fact that I was able to validate my diploma, and I was also able to have a job in my professional area.
4. When we compare the Portuguese culture with the Swiss culture, the differences are significant. So, social relationships take a long time to evolve. The absence of family members or friends close to you is a problem that takes a toll on you in the first few years. To be a psychologist, I had to do the validation of my diploma, and I also had to prove my linguistic proficiency in French. I needed six months to do all these processes. Because I could not easily find information and help for these procedures and other bureaucratic problems, I created an organisation with other Portuguese health providers. The idea was to help Portuguese emigrants who have degrees in the health area in their integration and in all work recognition processes.
5. As I mentioned before, for me, the biggest problem was related to not having a support system that could talk to me about their experiences as emigrants and help me with my adaptation.

Contrary to what I initially believed, finding employment as a psychologist was relatively easy, mainly because I can speak several languages (most importantly, Portuguese). I also did a five-year postgraduate course to help me develop my professional abilities and have better working conditions.

Another thing that I had to adapt was the Swiss healthcare system. In my opinion, the Swiss healthcare system is interesting because it is a private health system with easy access to all health professionals. The downside is that it is very expensive, it has a high monthly cost, but with reasonable offers in return. All the expenses related to the psychological counselling, by either a psychologist or psychiatrist, are reimbursed on average 90% by the healthcare system per consultation. This facilitates a lot the access to psychological health care.

6. As I said before, I emigrated alone.

7. I enjoy living in Switzerland, but my roots are Portuguese. I identify myself with the Portuguese way of living: how easy it is to get in touch with people, the food, the Portuguese products that we can find in Switzerland, the vacations that are always spent in Portugal. I feel like Portugal, and the Portuguese culture is always present in my daily routine, also because my choice of employment leads me to be in constant contact with the Portuguese community. I intend to continue to live my life like this.
8. I intend to spend more time in Portugal, preferably before reaching the retirement age. So, I have plans to return to Portugal in the future.