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Portuguese Immigration Policy and its Effects on Labor Force Integration: An analysis of
employment and wage gaps between natives and immigrants over the last decade

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the immigrant labor force integration in Portugal during the 21st century using a mixed-methods approach. First, a theoretical and historical analysis of immigration trends in Portugal reveals that policies have shifted focus overtime from the regulation of migrants to their integration. **Next, a quantitative analysis from the Portuguese Labor Force Survey data reveals an employment gap between immigrants and natives that narrows after several years of residency, as well as a salary gap that varies based on migrants' region of origin.** Finally, semi-structured interviews with policy experts and immigrants offer additional insights about the existing policy-implementation gap.

Keywords: immigration, Portugal, labor market, employment, wages, policy, integration

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1. Introduction³

Individuals and families choose to migrate to other countries for countless reasons. On the one hand, migrants might feel ‘pushed’ out of their country due to declining economic conditions or political instability. On the other hand, they might also feel ‘pulled’ into another country due to higher salaries, better living conditions or favorable health care (Simpson, 2022). When making the decision to migrate, individuals face a constant trade-off between leaving behind their home and starting a new life somewhere else.

Government policies towards immigration and the labor market can have significant effects not only on the number of migrants who come, but from which countries they come from and which skills they bring to the job market. Countries with exclusionary policies regarding foreign degree accreditation, for example, will lead to a more restrictive labor market for foreigners. On the contrary, countries that offer accessible visas to skilled workers or straightforward paths to residency will expect to see an increase in migration, particularly from highly educated individuals.

In Portugal, there is a large mix of migrants, including workers, refugees, and students. For example, by 2018, more than 17,000 originally Indian individuals were registered as Portuguese citizens according to SEF (Neto & Neto, 2022). Most of these migrants reside around the Lisbon metropolitan area. Furthermore, by 2016, Brazil, Ukraine, and Cabo Verde were the top countries of origin (see Appendix A; Marques et al., 2019). In 2020, around 450,000 third-country nationals (TCNs) resided legally in Portugal (Reis, Sousa & Machado, 2021). Furthermore, the number of Ukrainian migrants has only grown after the activation of the temporary protection directive on March 4, 2022 (Guild & Groenendijk, 2023). More

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specifically, the UNHCR regularly updates the number of refugees coming from Ukraine and noted 6,225,700 Ukrainian refugees in Europe as of November 18, 2024. Many of these refugees end up in Poland and Germany, although they also spread over other countries in Europe and beyond (UNHCR, 2024). An explanation for the rise of migrants from CPLP countries is due to the various agreements Portugal has established over the years with its former colonies.

Of course, there has also been a concurrent wave of Portuguese citizens who choose to emigrate to other countries, such as Luxembourg, Switzerland, and ex-colonial countries (Albert, 2021; Augusto et al., 2022). However, this paper mainly considers migrants coming to Portugal rather than emigrants.

Due to its complexity, immigrant labor force integration is a topic that is best studied from a multi-disciplinary approach. Therefore, the following research question is proposed:

“What factors have driven the surge in immigration to Portugal in the 21st century, especially in the last 10 years, and how have government policies influenced labor market outcomes and social integration for both migrants and the native population?”

Following this research question, the paper aims to analyze the impact of government policies on social outcomes of immigrants in Portugal and their integration into the labor force. Portugal’s immigration system, like any other, has chosen to prioritize certain types of migrants, which in turn affects the composition of the labor force. For example, the special visa offered to immigrants from lusophone countries indicates an immigration system that favors immigrants from countries with a shared language and historical ties. In addition, Portugal has prioritized granting visas for family reunification, a policy which is justified through promoting social cohesion (Council Directive 2003/86/EC). Throughout this paper, decisions like these

will be studied from a variety of qualitative and quantitative lenses to gain a holistic understanding of the current state of immigrant labor force integration in Portugal.

In the pages that follow, the various migration trends in Portugal are discussed from theoretical, historical, statistical, and personal lenses. more specifically in relation to the Portuguese labor market and to the policies and legislation introduced by the Portuguese government over the last several decades. There is an emphasis on the rise of major migrant groups, such as immigrants from Southeast Asia, Eastern Europe and lusophone countries, as their experiences within the work force vary in significant ways. The paper demonstrates a clear shift from the regulation towards more integration of incoming migrants. The data will show insights regarding the persistence of gaps in employment and wages between immigrants and Portuguese nationals. The conducted interviews exhibit a clear policy-implementation gap with insight from various migrants residing in Portugal.

To answer the questions presented before, the thesis is structured as follows. In the first section, the available literature on this topic will be discussed. This includes the reasons why people choose Portugal, various theories shaping the labor market dynamics, and an overview of the immigration policy timeline in Portugal. Then, the Labor Force Survey (INE) data will be examined with statistical analysis. This will be followed by qualitative research consisting of interviews with relevant migrants and institutions. Finally, the paper will present the limitations and recommendations for future research of this study, while also offering policy recommendations. The main themes of the dissertation will be highlighted at the end.

5. Quantitative Analysis

As discussed previously, migrant labor force integration cannot be fully understood using a singular model or data source. The next section will take a quantitative approach to answering the question: how do immigrants in Portugal fare in terms of employment and salary outcomes, relative to Portuguese nationals? This approach is taken in order to understand the outcomes of immigrants as a whole, as well as the heterogeneous experiences of different immigrant groups based on region of origin. First, there will be comparative statistics on immigrants' region of origin, employment status, contract type, sector of work, and gender disparities. Next, the data from the Portuguese Labor Force Survey (LFS) is contextualized within the theoretical framework of migrant labor market dynamics introduced previously. After that, an empirical model is constructed to understand the relationship between migrant status and employment outcomes. Finally, conclusions and present policy implications are presented.

5.1 Data Overview

The data used for the quantitative analysis in this paper comes from the Portuguese Labor Force Survey (LFS), a survey conducted on a quarterly and annual basis on a sample of the active and inactive population of Portugal since 1974 by Statistics Portugal. The survey asks households from a geographical stratification of primary residences across Portugal various questions about employment, socio-demographic characteristics, education, and earnings. The Portuguese LFS is conducted quarterly using a rotating panel, where households stay in the sample for six consecutive quarters. In each quarter, new families are added to the survey as others are dropped after a year and a half. For the purposes of this paper, data is considered starting in 2015 until Q1 of 2024, from all four quarters through 2023. Only individuals that were between the ages of 18-70 at the time of the survey are included to focus the analysis on the working age adult population.

To separate natives with immigrants, certain assumptions were made. Although an alternative approach would be to classify immigrants as those who move to Portugal after birth, since the survey does not ask about when an individual attained Portuguese nationality, immigrants are classified as all those without a Portuguese nationality (*immi*) and are analyzed in addition to another variable for years since migration (*ysm*), which was generated based on the difference between arrival and when the survey was conducted. (Chambino, 2024). Furthermore, the binary variable *immi* is cross-checked with the sample that was born outside of Portugal *foreign_born*, which results in similar trends.

We recognize the limitations of this approach in fully encapsulating Portugal's immigrant population, as there is a portion of immigrants who attained Portuguese nationality after arriving or who carry multiple nationalities. Furthermore, we also recognize the potential limitations in the LFS survey, for example those related to self-selection bias, where certain immigrants who chose to take the survey could have been those possessing different traits compared with the overall population. There could also have been non-response bias, which is shown to affect comparable labor force surveys (Ahn 2022). Furthermore, since the survey focuses on households with individuals who are officially registered within Portuguese territory, the informal sector and illegal workers are largely excluded from the survey, limiting its accuracy in fully encompassing the immigrant workforce in Portugal. In addition, the COVID-19 pandemic impacted the survey data noticeably between 2020-21, reducing the number of responses from immigrants during this period. Finally, due to its "sample-based nature," the foreign population is captured with less precision than the native population, resulting in greater margins for error in capturing the characteristics and experiences of different subgroups. (Peixoto, 2008) In particular, the ability of the LFS to capture data for immigrants from South Asian countries is especially limited, as they were the most underrepresented major immigrant group in the survey data.

The goal here is to understand the degree of integration of immigrants within the Portuguese job market and how their success in terms of employment and salary vary based on their region of origin. As discussed, there have been several parallel waves of immigration to Portugal from, on one hand, former Portuguese-speaking colonies within the “Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa,” (CPLP) and on the other hand South Asian immigrants from countries like India, in part due to recent bilateral agreements and programs like “Manifestação de Interesse.” There is also a significant population of Eastern European immigrants in Portugal, as well as many immigrants from neighboring EU countries and the UK. Although there is heterogeneity within each group in terms of income, gender distribution, language, age, cultural norms, and education levels, among other characteristics, each immigrant group faces the challenge of integrating into a job market that is at least to some degree unfamiliar.

Below is a table containing the main variables that will be used in the analysis, noting that certain variables came directly from the original data set and others were generated for the purpose of this analysis. For simplification, the variables are grouped into four categories: demographic variables (such as age, gender, education, geography), variables related to nationality and immigration, employment and salary variables, and other variables used for probabilistic weighting, clustering standard errors, and temporal effects.

Table 1: Definition of variables of analysis

Variable	Description
<i>Demographic variables</i>	
<i>age</i>	Age of the respondent at the time that the survey was conducted
<i>fem</i>	Dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if respondent is female
<i>educ</i>	Categorical variable indicating the highest completed level of education of the respondent with ranked levels from 1 (no schooling) to 11
<i>NUTS2_2013</i>	Numerical code for region of residency in Portugal according to 2013 area codes
<i>Immigration variables</i>	
<i>immi</i>	Dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if respondent gives a non-Portuguese nationality.
<i>foreign_born</i>	Dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if respondent was born outside of Portugal

<i>ysm</i>	Years between when the survey was conducted and when the respondent first established residency in Portugal
<i>nationality</i>	Numerical code indicating given nationality of respondent.
<i>group_immi</i>	Categorical variable classifying immigrants into CPLP, EU-15, East Europe, South Asia, and other
<i>cplp</i>	Dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if respondent gives a nationality of a country (other than Portugal) in the Community of Portuguese Language Countries.
<i>eu15</i>	Dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if a respondent gives a nationality of a country (other than Portugal) in the European Union pre-2004 enlargement
<i>east_eu</i>	Dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if a respondent gives a nationality of a country in eastern Europe
<i>southasia</i>	Dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if respondent has nationality of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, or Sri Lanka
<i>other_immi</i>	Dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if a respondent gives a nationality other than Portuguese or the other country groups listed
Employment & salary variables	
<i>hours</i>	Hours worked in week prior to survey
<i>log_salary_weekly</i>	The logarithm of the net monthly salary of the respondent
<i>condition_work</i>	Categorical variable that takes the value of 1 if respondent is employed, 2 if unemployed, and 3 if inactive
<i>contract</i>	Categorical variable that takes the value of 1 if respondent has a contract without a defined term, 2 if the contract has a defined term, and 3 if it is a service agreement
<i>sector</i>	Categorical variable for sector of employment
<i>work_situation</i>	Categorical variable for the individual's work situation, such as self employment
<i>employed</i>	Dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if respondent is employed at the time of the survey
Other variables	
<i>year</i>	Year that survey is conducted, taken from a sample between 2015-2024
<i>TRIM</i>	Trimester that survey is conducted
<i>PONDERADOR</i>	Probabilistic weighting term
<i>IDENTIF_FIXA</i>	Unique identification number of the respondent, used to identify households surveyed more than once

Note: Data comes from Portuguese Labor Force Survey (INE), calculated using probability weighting

5.3 Contextualizing Portugal LFS Data within theoretical frameworks⁴

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In the first part of our paper, there was a discussion of the theories shaping migrant labor market dynamics and how they may apply to Portugal. The following section will include a quantitative analysis and an examination of how these theories manifest in data from the LFS.⁵ This requires looking at comparative summary statistics not only between immigrants and natives but between immigrants from different regions of origin to identify distinctive characteristics and employment outcomes.

It is important to address certain theories discussed previously regarding the role and dynamics of immigrants within the Portuguese labor force and how it applies to INE data. First, in relation to the segmented labor market with a dual structure theorized by Michael J. Piore and Peter Doeringer in the 1970's, it is difficult to draw conclusions based on this labor market survey data, as participants were selected based on the official status of at least one member of the household within the formal labor market. Furthermore, the wage disparities which characterize the “secondary market” are present between Portuguese and immigrant groups besides EU-15 even within this data, and these disparities may be even larger in the secondary, or informal, market. That said, the concept of a “primary” market segment characterized by competitive wages is supported by the significant wage disparities between certain groups, particularly between immigrants from EU-15 countries and other groups of immigrants (Table 2). While the average Portuguese net monthly salaries along with that of other immigrant groups hovers near the minimum wage of 820 euros per month, that of immigrants from EU-15 countries is significantly higher (Table 9). This supports the supposition that certain intra-EU immigrants move to Portugal in order to attain more prestigious positions or promotions, whereas this “pull” factor likely does not apply to other immigrant groups.

⁵ To begin our analysis, we replicated national statistics from quarterly reports by the INE on employment. At the end of the first quarter of 2024, the unemployment rate according to the INE was 6.8% (INE, 2024). Using our own estimates, we calculated the first quarter unemployment rate to be 6.7%, indicating minimal discrepancies compared with the official statistics. Given that the process for calculating employment rates used by the INE is not linear, this is a comfortable margin of error.

Table 9: Descriptive statistics for groups of immigrants and Portuguese nationals (Q1 2015- Q1 2024)

Region of origin	Age	Female	Salary (monthly)	Hours
CPLP	39.02	.599	791.02	44.51
	(12.41)	(.49)	(516.51)	(22.99)
	38	1	700	43
EU-15	49.04	.539	1264.06	40.32
	(13.43)	(.50)	(973.00)	(23.53)
	51	1	1000	40
East Europe	41.08	.582	697.92	38.92
	(11.37)	(.49)	(290.86)	19.52
	40	1	650	40
South Asian	34.96	.482	777.12	52.99
	(9.51)	(.50)	(189.31)	(22.19)
	33	0	760	64
Other immi.	42.15	.562	801.43	46.3
	(12.49)	(.496)	(495.12)	(22.93)
	42	1	710	46
Portuguese	47.43	.526	920.69	40.79
	(14.72)	(.50)	(531.16)	(22.19)
	49	1	780	40

Note: First row shows the mean, second row (in parentheses) shows standard deviation, and third row shows the median. Data comes from Portuguese Labor Force Survey (INE), calculated using probability weighting.

Next, addressing the distinction between “ethnic enclaves” and “mediating minorities” theorized by sociologists such as Alejandro Portes, our findings support the idea that a small group of immigrants occupy an intermediary economic position and facilitate the distribution of goods and services as entrepreneurs (Peixoto, 2008). In fact, 3.73% of immigrants surveyed classified themselves as “self-employed” for their primary job, compared with 4.71% of Portuguese nationals. (Table 10) That said, this number likely under-represents the share of entrepreneurs, as this type of work is more likely to take place in the informal economy. In contrast, immigrants occupy a higher share compared with Portuguese nationals in “Industry, construction, energy, and water” sectors (11.70% and 9.08%, respectively.) (Table 10)

On the other hand, the institutional role of Portugal as a facilitator of immigration, particularly from CPLP countries, is evident in the data, as the CPLP Mobility agreement paved

the way for Brazilians to become the largest immigrant group represented in Portugal (Lusa, 2023). Not only that, but the addition of nationality through “jus sanguinis” contributed to this trend as well. All these theories play a role in explaining immigration and labor force trends in Portugal, but to better understand these relationships, we will adopt a statistical strategy in the section that follows.

Table 10: Employment situation for immigrants vs. Portuguese nationals (Q1 2015- Q1 2024)

Professional situation (for employed population)	Immigrant	Portuguese
Work for others	84.02%	85.04%
Industry, construction, energy, and water	11.70%	9.08%
Self-employed	3.73%	4.71%
Unpaid domestic worker	0.55%	0.45%

Note: Data comes from Portuguese Labor Force Survey (INE), calculated using probability weighting

5.4 Empirical Strategy: Wage and Employment Outcomes for Migrants in Portugal

To understand the differences in the integration of different immigrant groups and locals within Portugal and how this places out in the job market, it is necessary to compare the difference in outcomes among multiple immigrant groups in Portugal in terms of both employment and average net weekly wages. **Our core question is the following: what difference is there, if any, between the employment rate of foreign nationals and native Portuguese?** To answer this question, we start by constructing the following ordinary least squares regression (Equation 1):

$$employed_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 immi_i + \beta_2 fem_i + \beta_3 age_cent_i + \beta_4 age_cent_sq_i + \beta_5 X_i + \varepsilon_i, \text{ for } i = 1, \dots, N \quad (1)$$

Where the dependent variable $employed_i$ represents the dummy $employed$, which takes the value of 1 if the individual is currently employed and zero if the individual is unemployed. The main outcome coefficient β_1 represents the probability of being employed for individuals in the

active population of Portugal between the ages of 18 and 70. The main predictor in the model is $immi_i$, which represents whether an individual is an immigrant on the basis of nationality. The term fem_i denotes gender, with females coded as one and males as 0. Age is included in multiple forms—both as a centered age term age_cent_i (age minus 18) and a squared version of this centered age term $age_cent_sq_i$, allowing the model to capture non-linear effects of age on employment probability. The model parameters ($\beta_0, \beta_1, \beta_2, \beta_3, \beta_5$) are estimated to assess how each factor influences the likelihood of employment, with ε_i representing the error term for individual i . The model captures immigrant status while also controlling for fundamental demographic characteristics of sex and age. There are also probability weights applied to this regression model in order to account for the unequal likelihood of certain types of households being surveyed, as well as to extrapolate the findings to the larger Portuguese population. Finally, the model specifies cluster-robust standard errors around fixed identities to account for the individuals surveyed up to six consecutive times.

The model is then further developed by adding an additional set of controls and interaction terms (X_i) to account for region of residence, education levels, as well as the trimester and year during which the survey was conducted. Lastly, in order to understand the relationship between region of origin and the overall immigrant employment experience, interaction terms are introduced based on region of origin for migrants, with pooled groups that include CPLP countries, South Asian countries, Eastern European countries, EU-15 countries, and a group encompassing other immigrants. The regression models use probabilistic weighting and standard errors are pooled based on the individual fixed IDs of the survey participant.

For the next part of our analysis, we use the same model but apply it only to nationals and immigrants who have resided in Portugal for four or more years. In this way, we can exclude new arrivals from the sample and look only at immigrants who have had at least a few

years to adjust to the Portuguese labor market. Moreover, with this two-tiered approach, we can check the robustness of our initial findings by looking at how they hold up under different parameters.

Lastly, we ask a separate but related question: what is the difference between the net salaries of native Portuguese and foreign nationals, after controlling for other demographic factors like education? Our reason for asking this question in addition to that of employment is to gain a more holistic picture on the labor market integration of different immigrant groups in Portugal, as salary and employment together represent two critical metrics to judge the degree of labor market integration. To respond to this second question, we build an equation with a different outcome variable *log_salary_weekly* in order to understand the relationship between immigrant status and salary and compare these results with our analysis of employment:

$$\log_salary_weekly_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 immi_i + \beta_2 fem_i + \beta_3 age_cent + \beta_4 age_cent_sq_i + \beta_5 hours + \beta_6 X_i + \varepsilon_i, \text{ for } i=1, \dots, N \quad (2)$$

Here, the dependent variable *log_salary_weekly* represents the natural logarithm of weekly net salary. β_0 is the baseline predictor of net weekly salary when all other variables are held to zero. β_1 represents the expected percentage change in weekly salary given immigrant status. β_2 represents the percentage difference in weekly salary between females and males, holding all else constant, and so on. The only main difference between this model and Equation 1, besides the dependent variable, is the inclusion of the variable *hours*, which helps to control for differences in the weekly hours worked. In the following section, there will be a discussion of the results of the ordinary least squared regressions built from these two equations.

5.5 Results

5.5.1 Employment gap

Table 11 details the OLS results for Equation 1, which estimate the probability of employment for the active adult population in Portugal during the last ten years based on their immigrant status as designated by non-Portuguese nationality. Column (1) presents the results from the baseline equation, using employment status as the main outcome and gender and age as the main control variables. According to these results, immigrants who are active in the job market are 5.32% less likely to be employed than Portuguese nationals, holding all else constant. Column (2) controls only for gender, while columns (3) and (4) add age as a control. Column (5) controls for the individual's level of education. Column (6) adds the interaction term for the individual's region of residence in Portugal. Column (7) adds the interaction based on the quarter the survey took place, and Column (8) includes an interaction term based on which year the survey took place, and Column (9) includes the interaction based on which region the immigrant surveyed comes from.

When controlling for gender, the coefficient's value decreases by 0.02 percentage points, suggesting that gender plays a small part in explaining the gap in employment. However, controlling for age explains significantly more of β_1 , lowering the main coefficient to 4.29%. It is clear that education has a small but significant positive effect on employment, where those with higher levels of education are more likely to be employed, on average, with one higher level of education increasing the chance of employment in the model by 0.8%. Differences across Portugal's seven regions also help to explain different employment rates for immigrants, as Lisbon and Madeira have higher unemployment rates for immigrants compared with other Portuguese regions. The results vary slightly by trimester and even more so by year, as these variables were included to control for time fixed effects and seasonal variation in outcomes. Notably, each year has a positive and statistically significant coefficient, indicating that employment rates for immigrants appear to be increasing over the last decade, which is

consistent with Portugal's slowly but steadily improving job market following the Great Recession.

Finally, the interaction term *group_immi* allows us to observe and control for heterogeneity across immigrant groups. Here, we see that immigrants from CPLP countries are less likely to be employed than immigrants from other countries, holding all else constant. This finding draws into question the idea that language skills could act as a major barrier to employment integration in Portugal, as CPLP immigrants by definition speak Portuguese, often as their native language. It is likely then, that other factors such as social networks, bureaucratic hurdles, educational qualifications play a larger role than language in Portugal as a barrier to employment, at least that is potentially the case for certain employment types. However, since the *group_immi* interaction term does not have statistically significant coefficients for any region of origin, we cannot draw definitive conclusions from these results.

Table 2: Probability of being employed based on immigrant status for active population, aged 18-70 (2015 Q1 – 2024 Q1)

VARIABLES	1	2	3	4	5	6 ⁶	7	8	9
immi	-0.0532*** (0.004)	-0.0530*** (0.004)	-0.0409*** (0.005)	-0.0429*** (0.004)	-0.0423*** (0.004)	-0.0395*** (0.005)	-0.0394*** (0.005)	-0.0429*** (0.005)	-0.0369** (0.016)
fem		-0.007*** (0.001)	-0.006*** (0.001)	-0.008*** (0.001)	-0.013*** (0.001)	-0.013*** (0.001)	-0.013*** (0.001)	-0.013*** (0.001)	-0.013*** (0.001)
age_cent			0.002*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)
age_cent_sq				-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
educ					0.008*** (0.000)	0.009*** (0.000)	0.009*** (0.000)	0.008*** (0.000)	0.008*** (0.000)
Algarve						0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)
Center						0.017*** (0.002)	0.017*** (0.002)	0.018*** (0.002)	0.018*** (0.002)
Lisbon						-0.008*** (0.002)	-0.008*** (0.002)	-0.007*** (0.002)	-0.007*** (0.002)
Alentejo						0.003 (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)	0.003* (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)
Açores						0.009*** (0.002)	0.009*** (0.002)	0.008*** (0.002)	0.008*** (0.002)
Madeira						-0.006** (0.002)	-0.006** (0.002)	-0.006*** (0.002)	-0.007*** (0.002)
Q2							0.008***	0.010***	0.010***

⁶ Colum 6-9 represent interaction terms with *immi* variable

Q3							(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
							0.008***	0.010***	0.010***
Q4							(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
							0.006***	0.008***	0.008***
2016							(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
								0.013***	0.013***
2017								(0.002)	(0.002)
								0.035***	0.035***
2018								(0.003)	(0.003)
								0.053***	0.053***
2019								(0.002)	(0.002)
								0.058***	0.059***
2020								(0.002)	(0.002)
								0.053***	0.053***
2021								(0.003)	(0.003)
								0.052***	0.053***
2022								(0.003)	(0.003)
								0.059***	0.059***
2023								(0.002)	(0.002)
								0.057***	0.058***
2024								(0.002)	(0.002)
								0.060***	0.061***
CPLP								(0.003)	(0.003)
									-0.019
EU-15									(0.017)
									0.030
Eastern Europe									(0.018)
									0.016
South Asia									(0.018)
									-0.001
Other immigrants									(0.038)
									-
Constant	0.921***	0.924***	0.866***	0.783***	0.720***	0.715***	0.709***	0.672***	0.673***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Observations	675,727	675,727	675,727	675,727	675,727	675,727	675,727	675,727	675,727
Population Size	7,726,790	7,726,790	7,726,790	7,726,790	7,726,790	7,726,790	7,726,790	7,726,790	7,726,790
R-squared	0.001	0.001	0.012	0.022	0.026	0.027	0.027	0.033	0.033

Note: The dependent variable is the dummy variable for employed
Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

5.5.2 Employment gap excluding recent arrivals

To confirm the robustness of our findings and to better understand the relationship between the employed populations of native Portuguese and immigrants, we conduct a second regression (table 12), this time excluding from the sample those who began residing in Portugal less than four years ago. This exclusion is made because it is assumed that new arrivals face the most barriers to employment, especially if they don't have a network of familial or professional connections in Portugal. Therefore, removing new arrivals from the sample would be expected in theory to decrease the negative coefficient for β_1 , or even potentially make it

positive. If the beta coefficients remain negative even with this more restrictive sample, then this offers evidence that the regression results from table 11 are robust.

In this case, most interaction terms are not shown on the table for simplicity's sake, but column (6) includes region of residency in Portugal, column (7) includes the quarter the survey was conducted, column (8) includes the year the survey was conducted, and column (9) includes the regions of origin for immigrants. (See appendix for full regression table). With the addition of controls, the results of this model closely mirror the original one. Column (1) again presents the results of the baseline regression, which has a negative and statistically significant coefficient, indicating that immigrant adults who have been in Portugal for at least 4 years and are active in the labor force are 4.17 % less likely to be employed than Portuguese nationals who are also active in the labor force. In fact, this coefficient decreases to 4.14% in column (2) when controlling for gender, suggesting that a slightly greater share of active immigrant women are unemployed in the labor force relative to immigrant men. From column (3) until column (8), the β_1 coefficients are all negative and significant, indicating that the modified criteria in this model do not dramatically affect the results relative to table 11.

However, comparing the column (9) of table 11 with column (9) of table 12 (the model with the full set of controls included), the estimate for β_1 changes from -3.69% in the previous table to only -0.65% and not statistically distinguishable from zero. This suggests that with the elimination of recent arrivals from the sample, demographic differences combined with heterogeneity based on region of origin explain virtually all the employment gap between immigrants and Portuguese nationals. Still, this employment gap persists in columns (1-8), indicating that being a new arrival does not in itself explain why immigrants are less likely to be employed in Portugal compared to nationals.

Although understanding this “employment gap” tells part of the story about immigrant labor force integration in Portugal, to understand the broader picture it is also necessary to look at the results of equation 2, which focuses on identifying a potential salary gap between immigrants and Portuguese nationals. These results will be presented in the following section.

*Table 3: Probability of being **employed** based on immigrant status for active population, aged 18-70 (2015 Q1 – 2024 Q1) conditional on residing in Portugal 4 years or more or being native*

VARIABLES	1	2	3	4	5	6 ⁷	7	8	9
immi	-0.0417*** (0.005)	-0.0414*** (0.005)	-0.0326*** (0.005)	-0.0361*** (0.005)	-0.0346*** (0.005)	-0.0317*** (0.005)	-0.0315*** (0.005)	-0.0331*** (0.005)	-0.0065 (0.015)
fem		-0.006*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.007*** (0.001)	-0.012*** (0.001)	-0.012*** (0.001)	-0.012*** (0.001)	-0.012*** (0.001)	-0.012*** (0.001)
age_cent			0.002*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)
age_cent_sq				-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
educ					0.009*** (0.000)	0.009*** (0.000)	0.009*** (0.000)	0.008*** (0.003)	0.008*** (0.003)
CPLP									-0.040** (0.017)
EU-15									-0.002 (0.018)
Eastern Europe									-0.015 (0.018)
South Asia									-0.057 (0.045)
Other immigrants									-
Constant	0.921*** (0.001)	0.924*** (0.001)	0.865*** (0.002)	0.782*** (0.003)	0.717*** (0.004)	0.713*** (0.004)	0.708*** (0.004)	0.671*** (0.004)	0.671*** (0.004)
Observations	671,562	671,562	671,562	671,562	671,562	671,562	671,562	671,562	671,562
Population Size	7,660,309	7,660,309	7,660,309	7,660,309	7,660,309	7,660,309	7,660,309	7,660,309	7,660,309
R-squared	0.001	0.001	0.011	0.022	0.026	0.027	0.027	0.033	0.033

Note: The dependent variable is the dummy variable for employed
Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

⁷ Colum 6-9 represent interaction terms with *immi* variable

5.5.3 Salary gap

In this final portion of the results section, a similar analysis is conducted using a different dependent variable: salary. More specifically, in table 13, the log of weekly net salary is used to predict the percentage difference in expected wages between immigrants and Portuguese nationals. In the initial model without any controls shown in column (1), immigrants are expected to earn 11.94% less than their Portuguese counterparts. Notably, controlling for gender only decreases this effect size by less than 0.1%, suggesting minimal to no wage differentials between employed male and female immigrants. However, β_1 shrinks to below 9% with the addition of age as a control, which makes intuitive sense as the average age of immigrants surveyed is 41, while the average age of Portuguese nationals surveyed is 47, as age generally correlates with experience (See table 2).

When controlling for the hours reportedly worked during the week previous to the survey taking place, the coefficient of β_1 does not change much, as the absolute magnitude actually increases from -8.78% in column (4) to 9.71% in column (5). This is likely because the vast majority of both immigrants and nationals report working around 40 hours per week, with immigrants working slightly over 2 hours more per week on average than Portuguese nationals. Education in column (6) also helps explain a portion of the salary gap, as migrants earn 11.6% more with each incremental level of education attained, holding all else constant. The interaction effect from the variation in wage based on the region of Portugal where immigrants live is also pronounced in certain areas, particularly in Lisbon. In fact, migrants are estimated to earn 10.2% more, conditional on living in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. (See full regression models in appendix B).

Unlike the coefficients for the region of origin interaction term in the employment models, which were mostly not statistically significant with a few exceptions, the wages, here two of the *group_immi* terms are significant. First, the model makes clear that there is a large and

statistically significant positive wage premium of 26.2% for immigrants from EU-15 countries. Secondly, immigrants make 7.0% less conditional on being from Eastern European, holding all else constant. This suggests that this particular immigrant group may face more barriers to well-paid jobs compared with native Portuguese or even other immigrant groups.

Using the full set of controls, the model indicates that immigrants earn 14.36% less than Portuguese nationals. This figure is nearly on-par with EU-wide statistics, which suggest a 13% salary gap between migrant workers and national workers. (ILO, 2020).

Finally, in contrast to the previous employment regressions which have low r-squared values, the wage regression has a higher r-squared of 36.7%, suggesting that the model captures a moderate portion of the variation in wage differences between immigrants and Portuguese nationals, even after adjusting for the complex survey structure.

Table 4: Percent difference in *wages* based on immigrant status for active population, aged 18-70 (2015 Q1 – 2024 Q1)

VARIABLES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 ⁸	8	9	10
immi	-0.1194*** (0.010)	-0.1185*** (0.010)	-0.0862*** (0.010)	-0.0878*** (0.010)	-0.0971*** (0.009)	-0.0677*** (0.009)	-0.0941*** (0.009)	-0.0941*** (0.009)	-0.1119*** (0.009)	-0.1436*** (0.026)
fem		-0.170*** (0.003)	-0.173*** (0.003)	-0.176*** (0.003)	-0.159*** (0.003)	-0.232*** (0.003)	-0.231*** (0.003)	-0.231*** (0.003)	-0.232*** (0.003)	-0.232*** (0.003)
age_cent			0.006*** (0.000)	0.031*** (0.001)	0.030*** (0.001)	0.030*** (0.000)	0.030*** (0.000)	0.030*** (0.000)	0.031*** (0.000)	0.031*** (0.000)
age_cent_sq				-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
hours					0.005*** (0.000)	0.004*** (0.000)	0.004*** (0.000)	0.004*** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)
educ						0.116*** (0.001)	0.113*** (0.001)	0.113*** (0.001)	0.110*** (0.001)	0.110*** (0.001)
Algarve							0.014*** (0.004)	0.013*** (0.004)	0.017*** (0.004)	0.018*** (0.004)
Center							-0.010*** (0.004)	-0.010*** (0.004)	-0.009** (0.004)	-0.009** (0.004)
Lisbon							0.102*** (0.004)	0.102*** (0.004)	0.105*** (0.004)	0.106*** (0.004)
Alentejo							0.009** (0.004)	0.009** (0.004)	0.010** (0.004)	0.011*** (0.004)
Açores							0.026*** (0.004)	0.026*** (0.004)	0.025*** (0.004)	0.025*** (0.004)
Madeira							-0.028*** (0.005)	-0.028*** (0.005)	-0.029*** (0.005)	-0.029*** (0.005)
CPLP										0.018

⁸ Columns 7-10 represent interaction terms with *immi* variable

EU-15										(0.028)
										0.262***
Eastern Europe										(0.044)
										-0.070**
South Asia										(0.032)
										0.031
Other immigrants										(0.040)
										-
Constant	5.257***	5.345***	5.193***	4.956***	4.768***	3.911***	3.909***	3.900***	3.854***	3.857***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Observations	448,961	448,961	448,961	448,961	441,610	441,610	441,610	441,610	441,610	441,610
Population Size	5,265,179	5,265,179	5,265,179	5,265,179	5,176,529	5,176,529	5,176,529	5,176,529	5,176,529	5,176,529
R-squared	0.002	0.031	0.051	0.072	0.107	0.345	0.354	0.354	0.366	0.367

Note: The dependent variable is the log of weekly net salary
Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

5.5.4 Conclusion⁹

The results from the employment model match, at least in part, with the broader data within the EU from LFS data mentioned previously, which cite lower employment rates for foreign born individuals compared with native born individuals (Eurostat, 2024). One partial explanation for these findings that could help to explain the employment gap within the Portuguese context is the difficulty for migrants to obtain “*contratos de trabalho sem termo*,” or contracts without a fixed end date, which results in more gaps in employment.

Overall, however, the employment gap is minor enough to suggest that Portugal is able to successfully employ most migrants actively seeking work within the labor market, conditional on their participation in the formal sector. Furthermore, the insignificant coefficient in table 5 suggests that the employment gap in Portugal can be explained by several main components. First, demographic differences in terms of age and education levels explain a portion of this gap, as immigrants are on average younger than Portugues nationals with lower education and potential issues with getting foreign degrees accredited in Portugal. Second, heterogeneity among groups of migrants explain part of this gap, as there is variation in

⁹ Author: Julia Mitchell

employment rates among immigrant groups based on their region of origin. Thirdly, the elevated unemployment rates of “new arrivals” contribute to this gap, as it can take several years to find stable employment, particularly for immigrants arriving without previously arranged employment or without established networks in Portugal.

However, the significant discrepancies in wages based on region of origin suggest an unequal playing field in the Portuguese labor market, where EU-15 migrants as a whole receive preferential wages compared to other groups, even Portuguese nationals possessing similar qualifications. The salary model illustrates even more than the employment models that the experience of immigrants within the Portuguese labor market varies significantly based on their region of origin. These trends merit further research, specifically the link between contract type and employment stability within the Portuguese job market and how these dynamics affect migrant labor integration. The root causes of wage disparities for different immigrant groups presents another avenue for future research. Overall, these results confirm the existence of a gap both in the employment rate and the wages of migrants and Portuguese nationals, which widens or narrows conditional on the migrant’s region of origin.

7.3 Policy Recommendations

Based on the comprehensive evidence that this paper has presented regarding the recent history and current state of Portugal’s immigration system as it relates to social and labor force integration, several successes and failures of Portugal’s immigration policies have emerged. After summarizing these consequences, policy recommendations will be presented based on the research.

In terms of its successes, Portugal has been able to leverage cultural and linguistic ties to attract large numbers of migrants from CPLP countries to fill its labor shortage, such as through the CPLP Mobility Agreement. In addition, it has developed a highly liberal

naturalization policy, with a residency requirement of only five years to achieve citizenship and all the social and economic benefits that come with it. Portugal is also quick to grant asylum seekers permission to work as soon as they arrive and has made incomplete but significant efforts to improve the information access available to migrants related to labor force integration through initiatives like PII (*Plano para a Integração dos Imigrantes*). In addition, the government has developed programs offering targeted visas for students, investors, remote workers, and retirees, all of which help attract foreign investment.

However, these well-intentioned immigration policies have contributed to or created challenges of their own that Portugal has failed to adequately address. First, Portugal has relied too heavily on ex-post regularizations, choosing to regularize large groups of undocumented immigrants *en masse* rather than investing more capacity in legal channels like consular networks and AIMA, where migrants often face extended wait times for appointments (Malheiros & Peixoto, 2023). Second, Portugal's immigration policies have contributed to a segmented labor structure, where many immigrants and Portuguese workers are stuck in jobs with temporary contracts and low wage mobility (Centeno & Novo, 2013). Third, the rise in immigration has contributed to increased rent prices and overloaded public services ranging from government offices to the national health system, which harms both immigrants and locals. Additionally, there has been an increase in human trafficking in Portugal, largely for labor exploitation, which indicates failures to properly vet and protect migrants (Lusa, 2024). All these shortcomings and more play a role in limiting the success of the integration of immigrants in Portugal's labor force, which leads us to present the following recommendations:

First, to address inefficiencies in Portugal's residency process, increasing investment in migration-related agencies such as consular networks and AIMA is crucial. Currently, the backlog and extended processing times for visa and residency applications create significant barriers for immigrants, particularly those seeking to enter the labor force or reunite with family

members. Expanding the capacity of these institutions through staffing, training, and digital infrastructure improvements will reduce bottlenecks and improve service delivery. Simplifying bureaucratic procedures, such as consolidating application requirements would also minimize delays and improve transparency.

Second, building on the Plan for Immigrant Integration (PII) and similar initiatives, Portugal should enhance programs aimed at helping immigrants integrate into the labor market. Key measures could include job matching programs that expand partnerships between private employers, public employment agencies, and NGOs to create databases that match immigrants' skills with job vacancies. Portugal should also establish streamlined processes for recognizing qualifications earned abroad, focusing on fields with acute labor shortages like healthcare and education. In particular, the IEFPP should invest in increased training targeted at high-demand sectors and provide language courses to ensure immigrants can thrive in Portuguese workplaces.

Third, Portugal should leverage national and EU-wide immigration and labor market data for policy monitoring and evaluation purposes. It should also increase the scope of data collection initiatives like the LFS to include more immigrants. In addition, increased data collection is needed for the informal economy to address gaps in knowledge about its working conditions and contributions, as well as to prevent potential human-trafficking violations and exploitation.

Fourth, Portugal should align work permits and legal migration pathways with the country's economic needs and labor market demands. To achieve this, Portugal can actively adopt and implement the EU Pact on Migration and Asylum adopted in May 2024, which provides a comprehensive framework for addressing migration challenges. (European Commission, 2024). In particular, focusing on "embedding migration in international

partnerships" could be instrumental to this process. By strengthening collaborations with countries that have skilled labor pools matching Portugal's sectoral shortages—such as healthcare, technology, and agriculture—Portugal can create targeted legal migration pathways such as work visa programs or bilateral agreements. To operationalize this agenda, Portugal could leverage the Technical Support Instrument (TSI) Flagship Initiative, which provides access to EU-level technical expertise and capacity-building resources. This support can be tailored to Portugal's unique challenges, such as addressing inefficiencies in the work permit system, enhancing local-level implementation, and streamlining visa processing.

Lastly, the Portuguese government should reconsider policies that contribute to Portugal's segmented labor market. For example, the current policy of offering employers the option of granting permanent contracts that are overprotected coupled with under-protected temporary contracts further segments the labor market and creates a lower-growth economy. Reducing segmentation will promote greater productivity while improving labor market equity for both immigrants and Portuguese nationals.

Ultimately, it is impossible to look solely at the issue of immigration in Portugal without also considering what has driven large numbers of Portuguese to emigrate in recent years. Inevitably, many immigrants living in Portugal will also consider leaving Portugal in search of a better life in a different EU country once they obtain citizenship, unless employment opportunities and bureaucratic hurdles improve for all.

6. Conclusion¹⁰

Over the course of this paper, the aim was to address the question of which factors drove the rise in immigration to Portugal since the beginning of the 21st century, with a focus on the last ten years. After understanding these general trends, the paper centered the analysis on

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which specific government policies and institutions influenced labor market outcomes and social integration for migrants as well as the native population. The question was addressed using a mixed-methods approach that employed both qualitative and quantitative analysis. First, the paper set out to understand the national and international theories that define migration patterns to Portugal and dynamics within the Portuguese labor market between immigrants and natives. Next, the historical context of these migration policies was examined, particularly since the mid-2010's. Then, data from the Portuguese labor force survey was analyzed to identify trends in employment status, salary, contract type, and sector of work, not only between Portuguese nationals and immigrants, but between different immigrant groups based on their region of origin. Next, semi-structured interviews were conducted with a diverse array of immigrants and with representatives of organizations in Portugal connected with their integration.

Using this approach, this paper revealed several insights. Initially, the paper utilized theoretical frameworks including the push-pull model, segmented labor market theory, and social network theory to underscore the structural and economic factors driving migration to Portugal. These models identify how immigrants in Portugal often fill labor market gaps in secondary sectors such as construction and agriculture, highlighting persistent segmentation between native and migrant workers.

From the historical analysis, it is shown that Portugal's immigration policies relied until recently on regularizing undocumented migrants to meet economic demand while also attracting CPLP migrants through colonial and linguistic ties. Beginning with the 2007 Immigration Law and the subsequent integration plans such as PII, there had been a gradual transition toward inclusivity and family reunification, though have been inconsistencies and inefficient implementation. The recent transition from SEF to AIMA and the continued backlog in immigration case processing offers a recent example of implementation failures.

Furthermore, the LFS data confirms the existence of an employment gap between immigrants and natives which is narrowed after extended residency. Wage disparities exist and vary greatly based on the migrant's region of origin, where all groups other than EU-15 migrants earn less than Portuguese nationals on average.

Qualitative insights from interviews with migrants and policymakers reveal significant discrepancies between policy intentions and lived experiences. Migrants highlighted challenges such as bureaucratic inefficiencies, linguistic barriers, negative stereotyping, limited access to integration resources, and difficulties navigating the labor market. Policymakers acknowledged the need for improved coordination and practical reforms to address these issues.

To conclude, a theme that has emerged persistently throughout this research is the gap between the intention of immigration policies and their actual effects on employment and social integration. That is, there is a persistent gap between these policies' intended and real impacts. It is evident that while Portugal's immigration policy has improved in many ways since the beginning of the 21st century, there remains many challenges to integration for immigrant groups, some of which are shared while others are specific to certain groups.

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List of Acronyms

AIMA: Agência para a Integração, Migrações e Asilo | Agency for Integration, Migration and Asylum

CPLP: Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa | Community of Portuguese Language Countries

EU: European Union

IEFP: Instituto de Emprego e Formação Profissional | Institute for Employment and Vocational Training

LFS: Labor Force Survey

PII: Plan for Immigration Integration

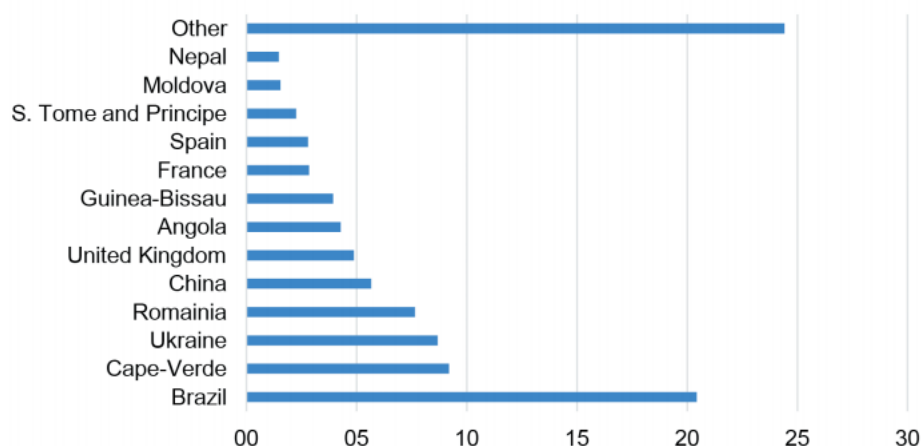
SEF: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras | Immigration and Borders Service

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Appendix

Appendix A. Main countries of origin of migrants living in Portugal



Source: SEF, 2016.

Fig. 2. Main countries of immigrants' origin, 2016

Appendix B. Analyses

Regressions

I. Regression model 1 (employment)

Table 11: Probability of being **employed** based on immigrant status for active population, aged 18-70 (2015 Q1 – 2024 Q1)

VARIABLES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
immi	-0.0532*** (0.004)	-0.0530*** (0.004)	-0.0409*** (0.005)	-0.0429*** (0.004)	-0.0423*** (0.004)	-0.0395*** (0.005)	-0.0394*** (0.005)	-0.0429*** (0.005)	-0.0369** (0.016)
fem		-0.007*** (0.001)	-0.006*** (0.001)	-0.008*** (0.001)	-0.013*** (0.001)	-0.013*** (0.001)	-0.013*** (0.001)	-0.013*** (0.001)	-0.013*** (0.001)
age_cent			0.002*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)	0.011*** (0.000)
age_cent_sq				-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
educ					0.008*** (0.000)	0.009*** (0.000)	0.009*** (0.000)	0.008*** (0.000)	0.008*** (0.000)
Algarve						0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)
Center						0.017*** (0.002)	0.017*** (0.002)	0.018*** (0.002)	0.018*** (0.002)
Lisbon						-0.008*** (0.002)	-0.008*** (0.002)	-0.007*** (0.002)	-0.007*** (0.002)
Alentejo							0.003 (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)
Açores							0.009*** (0.002)	0.009*** (0.002)	0.008*** (0.002)

			(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
educ				0.009***	0.009***	0.009***	0.009***	0.008***	0.008***
				(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Algarve					0.005**	0.005**	0.005**	0.005**	0.005**
					(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Center					0.017***	0.017***	0.017***	0.017***	0.017***
					(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Lisbon					-0.008***	-0.008***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***
					(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Alentejo					0.003	0.003	0.003	0.003	0.003
					(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Açores					0.009***	0.009***	0.008***	0.008***	0.008***
					(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Madeira					-0.006***	-0.006***	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***
					(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Q2						0.008***	0.010***	0.010***	0.010***
						(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Q3						0.008***	0.009***	0.009***	0.009***
						(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Q4						0.006***	0.008***	0.008***	0.008***
						(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
2016							0.013***	0.013***	0.013***
							(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
2017							0.035***	0.035***	0.035***
							(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
2018							0.053***	0.053***	0.053***
							(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
2019							0.058***	0.058***	0.058***
							(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
2020							0.053***	0.053***	0.053***
							(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
2021							0.052***	0.052***	0.052***
							(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
2022							0.058***	0.058***	0.058***
							(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
2023							0.057***	0.057***	0.057***
							(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
2024							0.061***	0.061***	0.061***
							(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
CPLP									-0.040**
									(0.017)
EU-15									-0.002
									(0.018)
Eastern Europe									-0.015
									(0.018)
South Asia									-0.057
									(0.045)
Other immigrants									-
Constant	0.921***	0.924***	0.865***	0.782***	0.717***	0.713***	0.708***	0.671***	0.671***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Observations	671,562	671,562	671,562	671,562	671,562	671,562	671,562	671,562	671,562
Population Size	7,660,309	7,660,309	7,660,309	7,660,309	7,660,309	7,660,309	7,660,309	7,660,309	7,660,309
R-squared	0.001	0.001	0.011	0.022	0.026	0.027	0.027	0.033	0.033

Note: The dependent variable is the dummy variable for employed
Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

III. Regression model 3 (salary)

Table 13: Percent difference in wages based on immigrant status for active population, aged 18-70 (2015 Q1 – 2024 Q1)

VARIABLES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
immi	-0.1194*** (0.010)	-0.1185*** (0.010)	-0.0862*** (0.010)	-0.0878*** (0.010)	-0.0971*** (0.009)	-0.0677*** (0.009)	-0.0941*** (0.009)	-0.0941*** (0.009)	-0.1119*** (0.009)	-0.1436*** (0.026)
fem		-0.170*** (0.003)	-0.173*** (0.003)	-0.176*** (0.003)	-0.159*** (0.003)	-0.232*** (0.003)	-0.231*** (0.003)	-0.231*** (0.003)	-0.232*** (0.003)	-0.232*** (0.003)
age_cent			0.006*** (0.000)	0.031*** (0.001)	0.030*** (0.001)	0.030*** (0.000)	0.030*** (0.000)	0.030*** (0.000)	0.031*** (0.000)	0.031*** (0.000)
age_cent_sq				-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
hours					0.005*** (0.000)	0.004*** (0.000)	0.004*** (0.000)	0.004*** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)
educ						0.116*** (0.001)	0.113*** (0.001)	0.113*** (0.001)	0.110*** (0.001)	0.110*** (0.001)
Algarve							0.014*** (0.004)	0.013*** (0.004)	0.017*** (0.004)	0.018*** (0.004)
Center							-0.010*** (0.004)	-0.010*** (0.004)	-0.009** (0.004)	-0.009** (0.004)
Lisbon							0.102*** (0.004)	0.102*** (0.004)	0.105*** (0.004)	0.106*** (0.004)
Alentejo							0.009** (0.004)	0.009** (0.004)	0.010** (0.004)	0.011*** (0.004)
Açores							0.026*** (0.004)	0.026*** (0.004)	0.025*** (0.004)	0.025*** (0.004)
Madeira							-0.028*** (0.005)	-0.028*** (0.005)	-0.029*** (0.005)	-0.029*** (0.005)
Q2								0.003** (0.002)	0.016*** (0.002)	0.016*** (0.002)
Q3								0.020*** (0.002)	0.031*** (0.002)	0.031*** (0.002)
Q4								0.008*** (0.002)	0.022*** (0.002)	0.022*** (0.002)
2016									0.012*** (0.004)	0.013*** (0.004)
2017									0.037*** (0.005)	0.037*** (0.005)
2018									0.070*** (0.005)	0.070*** (0.005)
2019									0.093*** (0.005)	0.093*** (0.005)
2020									0.127*** (0.005)	0.127*** (0.005)
2021									0.086*** (0.005)	0.086*** (0.005)
2022									0.127*** (0.005)	0.127*** (0.005)
2023									0.175*** (0.004)	0.175*** (0.004)
2024									0.236*** (0.005)	0.236*** (0.005)
CPLP										0.018 (0.028)
EU-15										0.262*** (0.044)
Eastern Europe										-0.070** (0.032)
South Asia										0.031 (0.040)
Other immigrants										-
Constant	5.257***	5.345***	5.193***	4.956***	4.768***	3.911***	3.909***	3.900***	3.854***	3.857***

	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Observations	448,961	448,961	448,961	448,961	441,610	441,610	441,610	441,610	441,610	441,610
Population Size	5,265,179	5,265,179	5,265,179	5,265,179	5,176,529	5,176,529	5,176,529	5,176,529	5,176,529	5,176,529
R-squared	0.002	0.031	0.051	0.072	0.107	0.345	0.354	0.354	0.366	0.367

Note: The dependent variable is the log of weekly net salary

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1