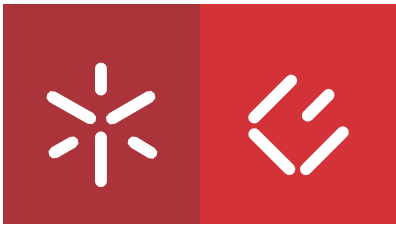


The Role Of Migration Policies In Addressing Contemporary Demographic Challenges: A Reflective Look At The Portuguese Case

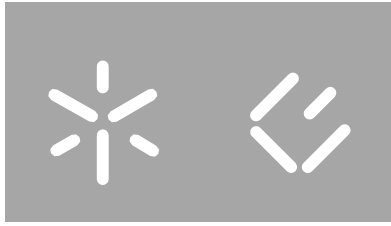


Universidade do Minho
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Diogo Miguel Oliveira Martins

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**The Role Of Migration Policies In
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Demographic Challenges**

A Reflective Look At The Portuguese Case

Dissertação de Mestrado
Mestrado em Economia

Trabalho realizado sob a orientação de
Professora Doutora Priscila Ferreira

May of 2024

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And finally, to myself. It's been a challenging road, but through determination and resilience, I've persevered. Here's to embracing the journey, celebrating the victories, and learning from the challenges along the way.

Integrity Statement

I declare that I have acted with integrity in the preparation of this academic work and confirm that I did not engage in plagiarism or any form of misuse or falsification of information or results at any stage of its preparation. Furthermore, I declare that I am aware of and have adhered to the Ethical Conduct Code of the University of Minho.

THE ROLE OF MIGRATION POLICIES IN ADDRESSING CONTEMPORARY DEMOGRAPHIC CHALLENGES: A REFLECTIVE LOOK AT THE PORTUGUESE CASE

Abstract

This dissertation investigates the role of replacement migration in addressing contemporary demographic challenges, particularly demographic ageing. Throughout this study, various aspects of replacement migration are examined, including its economic, social, and demographic impacts. The analysis revealed that while replacement migration can indeed have positive effects, such as bolstering the workforce, stimulating economic growth, and partially alleviating the fiscal pressures associated with an ageing population, can not be considered as a miraculous solution by itself. This investigation, advocates for a comprehensive approach that includes integration policies, productivity enhancement, family support policies, quality employment, economic growth, and improved quality of life.

This research underscores the need for an integrated policy, based on the implementation of measures and the definition of economic incentives tailored to promote birth rates. Promoting the quality employment is another vital component. Economic growth that enables wage increases and job creation should be a priority. Public policies that stimulate innovation, infrastructure development, and support for key industries can create a vibrant economy capable of supporting a growing population. Promoting entrepreneurship and creating an environment conducive to business development are essential for generating high-quality jobs and fostering economic resilience. It is also important to develop policies to reduce the social vulnerability of the immigrant population. Finally, improving the overall quality of life is indispensable for retaining talent and reducing emigration. By integrating these measures, countries can build resilient and dynamic societies capable of adapting to the challenges of demographic ageing and ensuring long-term sustainability.

Keywords: Demographic Ageing; Replacement Migrations; Immigration; Portugal; Migration Policies

O PAPEL DAS POLÍTICAS MIGRATÓRIAS NO COMBATE AOS DESAFIOS DEMOGRÁFICOS CONTEMPORÂNEOS: UM OLHAR REFLEXIVO SOBRE O CASO PORTUGUÊS

Resumo

Esta dissertação investiga o papel da migração de substituição no combate aos desafios demográficos contemporâneos, especialmente o envelhecimento populacional. Ao longo deste estudo, são examinados vários aspetos da migração de substituição, incluindo os seus impactos económicos, sociais e demográficos. A análise revelou que, embora a migração de substituição possa ter efeitos positivos, como reforçar a força de trabalho, estimular o crescimento económico e aliviar parcialmente as pressões fiscais associadas a um envelhecimento populacional, não pode ser considerada, individualmente, como uma solução milagrosa. Em vez disso, defende uma abordagem abrangente que inclua políticas de integração, o aumento da produtividade, políticas de apoio à família, emprego de qualidade, crescimento económico e melhoria da qualidade de vida.

Esta pesquisa destaca a necessidade de uma política integrada, baseada na implementação de medidas e na definição de incentivos económicos adaptados para promover a taxa de natalidade. A promoção do emprego de qualidade é outro componente vital. O crescimento económico que permite aumentos salariais e criação de emprego deve ser uma prioridade. Políticas públicas que estimulem a inovação, o desenvolvimento de infraestruturas e o apoio a indústrias-chave podem criar uma economia vibrante capaz de sustentar uma população em crescimento. Promover o empreendedorismo e criar um ambiente propício ao desenvolvimento empresarial são essenciais para gerar empregos de alta qualidade e fomentar a resiliência económica. Também é importante desenvolver políticas para reduzir a vulnerabilidade social da população imigrante. Por fim, melhorar a qualidade de vida global é indispensável para reter talento e reduzir a emigração. Integrando estas medidas, os países podem construir sociedades resilientes e dinâmicas capazes de se adaptar aos desafios do envelhecimento populacional e garantir a sustentabilidade a longo prazo.

Palavas-chave: Envelhecimento Demográfico; Migrações de Substituição; Imigração; Portugal; Políticas Migratórias

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List of Acronyms

ACM – Alto Comissariado para as Migrações

EU – European Union

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

INE – Instituto Nacional de Estatística

IOM – International Organization for Migration

PEM – Plano Estratégico para as Migrações

PII – Plano para a Integração de Imigrantes

PNIPGM – Plano Nacional de Implementação do Pacto Global das Migrações

SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals

SFI – Synthetic Fertility Index

TFR – Total Fertility Rate

UN – United Nations

WW – World War(s)

1. Introduction

The history of migration may be as old as humanity itself. Since the time of the earliest hominids, the planet has witnessed human migrations across regions and continents, driven by a wide variety of reasons. However, it was around 80,000 years ago, during a great migration from the heart of Africa, that the "colonization" of the rest of the planet began. (Associação de Professores de Geografia, 2021).

Due to human necessity for travelling between different locations, pathways were formed that influenced the dynamics of regions, causing changes in the areas they passed through (Associação de Professores de Geografia, 2021). When a large number of individuals migrate, these movements have lasting effects on the regions they leave behind, as well as significant social, economic, demographic, and environmental consequences in the areas they arrive at. This study endeavors to meticulously evaluate the repercussions of migrations on societies, with a particular focus on exploring the significance and efficacy of contemporary migration policies in addressing the demographic challenges stemming from heightened migratory flows.

According to the "Guide for the Design of Municipal Plans for the Integration of Immigrants," developed by the Alto Comissariado para as Migrações (ACM), the work of maintaining and preventing migration issues that has been carried out over the past years, since 2003, in Portugal, has seen significant improvements, which is a positive development in the Portuguese political landscape. (ACM & Logframe, 2015). Nonetheless, recognizing that the continuous pursuit of higher integration levels is crucial and that a significant and effective improvement in immigrant reception and integration policies can only be achieved through collaborative and well-coordinated efforts among various stakeholders, it has become vital to develop strategies that ensure unified actions by the different entities involved in this area, both at the national level (e.g., the Plano Estratégico para as Migrações (PEM) 2015-2020) and at the local level (ACM & Logframe, 2015).

This investigation is configured as a systematic literature review, aiming to evaluate the various scientific contributions of recent years. When studying a topic, we often encounter contradictory results. A coherent approach to clarify controversies is to rely solely on the highest quality studies on the subject. From this principle emerged a new research design: the systematic literature review. This is a type of investigation focused on a well-defined question, aimed at identifying, selecting, evaluating, and synthesizing the relevant evidence available (Galvão & Pereira, 2014).

The intention is to meticulously examine whether the existing literature is adequate to address the complex issues arising from migratory flows. The analysis will encompass a broad spectrum of studies and research, seeking to identify gaps in current knowledge and highlight areas where research has proven most effective. Additionally, the study will aim to understand the evolution of theoretical and methodological approaches over time, assessing their ability to respond to the new dynamics and challenges imposed by contemporary migrations. Ultimately, the goal is to provide a comprehensive overview of the sufficiency and relevance of existing scientific contributions in addressing the migratory phenomena and their social, economic, and political consequences. Finally, the author will present some alternatives to address the demographic challenges.

With the primary objective of conducting an in-depth analysis of the topic of migratory flows and their associated issues, the following research question was developed:

"To what extent are current migration policies adequate in addressing the contemporary demographic challenges facing Portugal?"

In particular, this research aims to achieve the following general objectives:

- i. Examine the historical context and evolution of human migrations from the earliest hominids to contemporary times.
- ii. Conduct a systematic literature review to evaluate the adequacy of existing research in addressing complex issues arising from migratory flows.
 - a. Analyze the lasting social, economic, demographic, and environmental impacts of large-scale human migrations on both departure and destination regions.
 - b. Evaluate the significance and effectiveness of contemporary migration policies in addressing demographic challenges in Portugal.
 - c. Assess the capability of these approaches to respond to new dynamics and challenges posed by contemporary migrations.
- iii. Present alternative strategies to address contemporary demographic challenges stemming from migration.

This dissertation is organized as follows. The next chapter is dedicated to the theoretical framework, where an analysis of the constructs forming the basis of this research is conducted, providing context for the study's objectives. The third chapter focuses on an essential concept for this investigation:

replacement migrations. In this chapter, relevant conclusions about this concept as a viable solution to the demographic problem of population ageing are drawn. Additionally, the contributions of various studies conducted by João Peixoto over recent years, particularly the study "Migration and Demographic Sustainability" (Peixoto et al., 2017), are presented and discussed. Following this, the fourth chapter analyzes the Portuguese migratory context, referencing some notions previously established by the author. This analysis includes the Planos para a Intergração de Imigrantes (PII) and the Plano Estratégico para as Migrações (PEM) from recent years, reflecting on some of the impacts and challenges of migrations. The fifth chapter establishes some alternatives and complements to replacement migrations. The last chapter concludes.

2. Literature Review

This chapter reviews the literature on the key constructs of the research. It begins with the historical contextualization of migrations, discussing their origins as well as the conceptual differences between emigration and immigration, then moves to the study of globalization as a key concept for current migratory flows. Finally, I explore how controlled migratory flows offer a feasible solution to social problems, such as demographic challenges (e.g., ageing population) in Europe and, more specifically, in Portugal.

2.1 The history of migration

The history of migration is intrinsic to the human experience, dating back thousands of years. Since the beginnings of civilization, humans have been moving in search of better living conditions, economic opportunities, safety, and religious and political freedom. Throughout the centuries, various historical events and socio-economic changes have influenced migration patterns worldwide. Migration, since the dawn of humanity, has been a response to basic needs and environmental pressures, as well as a means of seeking better living conditions. Over millennia, migratory movements have helped shape the geographical distribution of humanity and laid the foundations of modern civilizations.

2.1.1 Beginnings

Early Homo Sapiens emerged in Africa approximately 300,000 years ago. Studies suggest that around 70,000 years ago, our ancestors began migrating out of Africa. This movement was driven by climatic changes, resource scarcity, and the need for new territories, leading to the colonization of diverse environments in the Middle East and eventually other parts of the world, including Europe, Asia, and much later, the Americas and Oceania (Stringer, 2000).

In the 19th century, the Industrial Revolution propelled large-scale internal and international migration. Millions of workers left rural areas for cities in search of factory jobs, while others emigrated to countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and Argentina in pursuit of better living conditions.

During the 20th century, events such as the two world wars (WW's) and civil wars in various regions of the world triggered waves of mass migration. The forced displacement of millions of people due to conflicts, political and ethnic persecution, and natural disasters led to the creation of refugees and internally displaced persons worldwide (Zolberg, Suhrke, & Aguayo, 1989). Migration continued to be a response to environmental and economic pressures, but also began to be influenced by social and political factors. Population growth and the search for new fertile lands led to the expansion of agricultural communities. Additionally, migration became a tool for the formation of trade networks, the diffusion of technologies, and cultural exchange (Bellwood, 2005). Castles (2014) emphasizes that migration is a historical constant, deeply embedded in the human experience. He argues that migration has been a fundamental aspect of human societies since their inception, driven by a variety of factors including economic necessity, environmental changes, and social transformations.

Given the context of migrations and the dynamics of entries and exits, it is crucial to delineate two key concepts that differentiate the processes of leaving and entering a country. These concepts are fundamental in understanding migration patterns and their impacts on both the countries of origin and destination. According to the United Nations (UN), an emigrant is a person who departs from their country of origin to reside permanently or temporarily in another country. This term emphasizes the act of exiting or leaving one's homeland. Understanding these definitions is essential for analyzing migration flows and their socio-economic effects. In their seminal work, (Castles & Miller, 2009) explore the dynamics of global migration, providing a comprehensive analysis of how emigration and immigration shape societies. They argue that migration is not only about the movement of people but also about the exchange of cultures, skills, and economic resources.

2.1.2 Globalization

In recent years, globalization (the growing interconnectedness and interdependence of nations), technological advancements, and climate change have played significant roles in migration patterns. Economic migration, displacement due to conflicts, and environmental migrations have been predominant themes, with millions of people leaving their home countries in search of better opportunities, safety, and resilience to climate change.

The mechanisms of globalization have streamlined the movement of individuals across borders, thanks to advancements in transportation, communication, and international business (Castles & Miller, 2009). In the context of globalization, migration is propelled by a lot of factors, including economic opportunities, social networks, political instability, and environmental pressures (De Haas, 2010). Economic globalization, characterized by the integration of global markets and the liberalization of trade, has generated a dual impact on migration, presenting both opportunities and challenges. The demand for labor in developed nations has spurred the recruitment of migrants from developing regions to address shortages in sectors such as agriculture, construction, healthcare, and technology (Baldwin & Venables, 2013). On the other hand, social globalization, characterized by the dissemination of information, culture, and ideas, has emerged as a crucial factor influencing migration patterns. The appearance of social media and communication technologies has streamlined the dissemination of information about opportunities abroad, facilitated interpersonal connections with family and friends across borders, and simplified the logistics of the migration process (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). Political globalization is characterized by the dissemination of political ideas, norms, and institutions, has exerted a substantial influence on migration policies and international cooperation. International agreements and organizations, such as the UN and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), play indispensable roles in addressing migration-related challenges, safeguarding migrants' rights, and fostering safe and orderly migration processes (Betts & Milner, 2013). Nonetheless, political globalization has also engendered a trend towards stricter immigration controls and ignited debates concerning national sovereignty and security. Finally, environmental globalization, encompassing global environmental changes and crises, has emerged as a significant driver of migration in recent years. Climate change, natural disasters, and environmental degradation have compelled individuals to abandon their homes in pursuit of safer and more sustainable living environments (Hugo, 2013). These environmental migrants, often referred to as climate refugees, represent a burgeoning and pressing issue necessitating concerted international cooperation and robust policy interventions.

The process of globalization has been instrumental in shaping contemporary migration patterns, with far-reaching implications for societies worldwide. As global interconnectedness has deepened through advancements in technology, communication, and trade, migration has emerged as a prominent feature of the global landscape (Sassen, 1996). Along with that, social and cultural globalization, driven by the diffusion of information, media, and cultural practices, has facilitated the formation of diaspora communities and transnational social networks, influencing migration decisions and integration processes (Vertovec, 2009). Consequently, contemporary migration is deeply intertwined with the forces of

globalization, reflecting the complex interplay of economic, social, political, and environmental factors shaping human mobility in the 21st century.

2.2 Contemporary migration

Contemporary migration represents a sophisticated interplay of economic, social, political, and environmental factors, shaped by the forces of globalization. As societies become increasingly interconnected and interdependent, migration has emerged as a prominent feature of the modern world. This section explores the dynamics of contemporary migration, examining key trends, drivers, and implications in the context of globalization.

The contemporary landscape of migration is marked by a multitude of challenges, ranging from economic disparities to social tensions and political upheavals. As highlighted by Hatton and Williamson (2005), the globalization of labor markets has intensified the movement of people across borders, driven by the pursuit of better economic opportunities and improved living standards. However, this phenomenon has also exacerbated inequalities, with migrants often facing exploitation, discrimination, and precarious working conditions in destination countries (Castles & Miller, 2009). In addition to these challenges, contemporary migration is also influenced by demographic pressures, particularly in ageing societies. As highlighted by Lee & Lee (2020) and Kritz et al. (2011), migration has emerged as a potential solution to the demographic decline and labor shortages facing many developed countries. By attracting skilled migrants and young workers, host countries can mitigate the adverse effects of population ageing, stimulate economic growth, and sustain social welfare systems.

In response to these challenges, several approaches have been proposed to improve the governance and management of contemporary migration. This includes the development of comprehensive immigration policies that balance security concerns with humanitarian principles, as advocated by Freeman (2006) and Joppke (2010). To boot, efforts to promote the legal migration pathways, facilitate the integration of migrants, and address the root causes of migration through development assistance and conflict resolution are essential for fostering sustainable and equitable migration outcomes. The path from contemporary migration to the challenge of demographic pressures can be traced through the concept of replacement migration, which emerged in the European Union (EU) in the 2000s. Replacement migration refers to the idea of using migration to offset declining birth rates and ageing populations, particularly in developed countries facing demographic decline. This concept underscores the recognition of migration as a potential solution to demographic challenges, highlighting

the interconnectedness between migration dynamics and demographic trends in contemporary societies (United Nations, 2001).

Replacement migration refers to the rush of immigrants to compensate for the declining native population and workforce. Otherwise, contemporary migration presents a range of challenges and opportunities in the modern global landscape, as illuminated by scholarly research. One of the foremost challenges is the issue of illegal immigration, which poses legal, social, and economic dilemmas for both sending and receiving countries. The process of integration involves facilitating migrants' access to education, healthcare, employment, and social services while promoting social cohesion and mutual understanding among diverse communities. However, integration efforts are often hindered by systemic barriers, cultural differences, and discriminatory attitudes, necessitating comprehensive policies and programs to address these challenges. Ensuring social cohesion in the face of increasing diversity is another challenge. Public perceptions of immigration and multiculturalism can influence the success of integration policies. Research by Pimenta (2005) suggests that fostering intercultural dialogue and inclusive narratives can help mitigate xenophobia and promote social harmony.

Migration has deep economic impacts on host countries. Immigrants often fill labor shortages, contribute to entrepreneurship, and bring diverse skills and perspectives. In many developed countries, immigrants play crucial roles in sectors such as healthcare, technology, agriculture, and construction (Peixoto, 2019). In conclusion, contemporary migration faces a multitude of complex challenges, including economic inequalities, political conflicts, social tensions, and environmental pressures. Addressing these challenges requires comprehensive and coordinated efforts at the local, national, and international levels to ensure the rights, dignity, and well-being of migrants and host communities alike. Immigrants also contribute to economic growth through consumption, paying taxes, and starting businesses. Studies have shown that immigrants are more likely to start businesses than native-born citizens, creating jobs and contributing to economic dynamism.

2.3 Demographic Challenges

In this section, I address the demographic challenges affecting Portugal, focusing on two main issues: population ageing and low birth rates. Population ageing has become a growing concern, resulting in a higher proportion of elderly individuals and a decrease in the active workforce. Low birth rates further exacerbate this situation, as the number of births is not sufficient to replace the ageing population. Analyzing these demographic issues is crucial to understanding the need for migration policies and other strategies that can mitigate the negative impacts on Portugal's economic and social development.

2.3.1 Population ageing

Population ageing is a global phenomenon characterized by an increase in the relative proportion of elderly people within the total population. This trend results from the combination of two factors: the progressive increase in life expectancy and the decline in fertility rates. Europe is particularly affected by this trend, with a gradual convergence of ageing indicators among its countries (Peixoto, 2009).

Europe stands as one of the most aged continents globally, a consequence of initiating demographic transition earlier than other regions. Since the 1960s, many countries in Europe have witnessed fertility rates below replacement levels, emphasizing the increasing significance of migration as a key factor in European population dynamics. For several decades, Europe has been a destination for immigrants from other parts of the world, primarily due to the persistent socio-economic disadvantages in Southern Hemisphere countries (Castles et al., 2014). Despite declining fertility rates and increasing life expectancy being observed trends in populations worldwide, there exist highly varied demographic realities across the globe. Countries in the Northern Hemisphere show signs of deceleration, stagnation, or decline, while many countries in the Southern Hemisphere still experience high rates of demographic growth (Duwicquet et al., 2014). Migration flows between countries and regions of the world have, to some extent, been compensating for these population imbalances (Alho, 2008).

Migratory movements, along with natural movements of birth and death, are crucial for studying the dynamics of population growth. Portugal has experienced demographic aging over the years, and in 2018, it was the third most aged country in the European Union, according to the aging index data from Pordata (2020). Between 1974 and 2022, the population in Portugal grew from 8.8 million to 10.4 million, and the demographic profile changed significantly: there are fewer children and young people under 15 years old (-45%), and the number of people aged 65 or older nearly tripled (+190%). Over five decades, Portugal was the European Union country where the senior population increased the most and the third country that lost the most children and young people. It was also the EU country that most dramatically reversed its aging index position: from being the country with the fewest elderly per young person to the second country with the most elderly per young person. (Pordata,2024). Ageing index has worsened substantially since the beginning of the century. Currently, there are 182 elderly people for every 100 young people, compared to 128 in 2011 and 102 in 2001. The data also reveal that nearly a

quarter of the Portuguese population is over 65 years old (23.4%), making Portugal the third most aged country in the world.

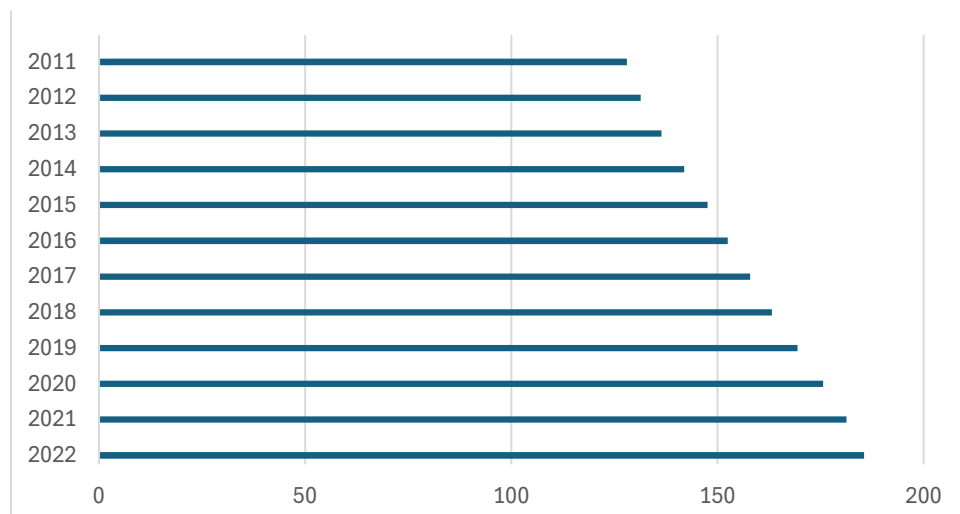


Figure 1 Ageing Index
Source: INE

Demographic ageing brings substantial economic challenges. A shrinking workforce means fewer active workers to sustain economic productivity and growth. This reduction can lead to decreased economic output and increased dependency ratios, where fewer workers support a growing number of retirees. Furthermore, the costs associated with healthcare and social security rise as the population ages, placing additional strain on public finances. Governments face increasing expenditures on pensions and medical care, which can lead to budget deficits and reduced investments in other critical areas such as education and infrastructure. Population ageing has emerged as a significant demographic phenomenon with profound implications for societies worldwide. Advances in healthcare and sanitation improved longevity.

2.3.2 Birth Rate

Birth rates¹ have been decreasing over time as a result of a general process of socioeconomic development and changing attitudes toward having children. This trend reflects broader shifts in society, such as increased participation of women in the workforce, greater access to education, and evolving cultural norms regarding family and parenthood (Lesthaeghe, 2010). The issue of low birth rates is a pressing demographic challenge that has garnered significant attention from researchers across various scientific fields. This focus aims to understand the underlying causes of declining birth rates and why they remain below the replacement level necessary to sustain population levels. This metric is crucial for

¹ According to the Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE), the birth rate refers to the number of live births per 1,000 inhabitants in a given year.

understanding population dynamics and planning for future economic and social policies. Maintaining a stable workforce to support the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is becoming increasingly challenging. The current demographic trajectory necessitates a critical examination of the factors influencing couples' decisions to start families and a reevaluation of the fertility models in European civilizations, as the Total Fertility Rate (TFR)² in these societies falls below the replacement level of 2.1 children per woman (Frejka & Sobotka, 2008).

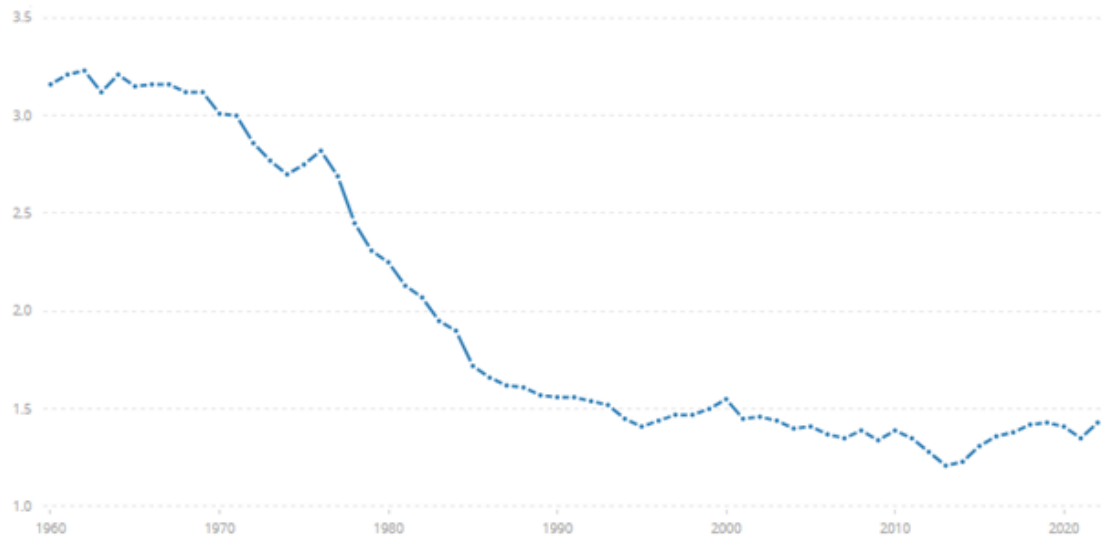


Figure 2 Total Fertility Rate in Portugal. 1960-2022

Source: Worldbank

Frejka and Sobotka (2008) observed that the transition to below-replacement fertility levels has been a phenomenon in many European countries since the 1970s. In Portugal, the TFR has dramatically decreased from 3.1 children per woman in 1960 to approximately 1.3 in 2019 as we can see in figure 2. This sharp decline can be attributed to various social and economic changes, including increased female participation in the labor market, urbanization, and shifts in attitudes towards marriage and childbearing (Lesthaeghe, 2010). In an increasingly ageing society, it is crucial to reflect on the factors that influence Portuguese couples' decisions to start families. Moreover, reconsidering the current fertility model in European societies is vital, given that the Synthetic Fertility Index (SFI)³ is below the level needed to ensure generational replacement in all of them.

² Total fertility rate represents the number of children that would be born to a woman if she were to live to the end of her childbearing years and bear children in accordance with age-specific fertility rates of the specified year.

³ The Synthetic Fertility Index for a particular year represents the average number of children each woman would theoretically have if she lived through her entire reproductive period and bore children according to the current age-specific.

Economic conditions also play a crucial role in determining birth rates. Becker (1991) argues that the decision to have children is influenced by economic considerations, including the costs associated with raising children and employment opportunities for parents. In Portugal, labor market precariousness and the lack of effective work-family reconciliation policies have contributed to couples' hesitation to have more children (Pires, 2019).

In Europe, immigrant populations tend to consist predominantly of individuals in their working age, contributing to a growing share of young adults in the age structure of host countries. Besides this direct demographic effect, immigrant populations also produce offspring, contributing to an increase in new births, often proportionally more than native women (Peixoto, 2017).

Low birth rates are one of the main demographic challenges faced by many developed countries, including Portugal. In recent decades, birth rates have declined significantly, resulting in an ageing population and a reduced workforce. As declining birth rates and fertility are a common feature of developed countries, Portugal is among those where fertility levels have fallen the most over the past decades and have been very low in recent years. The long-term impacts of this trend worsen the country's demographic prospects, but above all, it means that the conditions for people to have and raise children in Portugal are still perceived by many young couples as insufficient (Banco de Portugal, 2015).

Low birth rates have direct implications for the demographic and economic future of Portugal. An aging population increases pressure on health and social security systems, while reducing the base of active contributors necessary to sustain these systems (Caldwell, 2008). Therefore, addressing low birth rates is essential to ensure sustainable growth and a balanced society in the future.

3. Replacement Migration

Population ageing, low fertility rates, and the sustainability of social security systems are pressing issues for many developed countries, including Portugal. To mitigate this type of problems the concept of “replacement migration” was introduced in the literature. By increasing the number of immigrants who possess more favorable age structures and higher activity levels, this approach aims to counterbalance the ageing native population. As suggested by the United Nations (2000), replacement migration could serve as a significant component in addressing this demographic challenge.

Population ageing, characterized by a higher proportion of elderly people, results from increased life expectancy and declining fertility rates. Europe is significantly impacted by this trend, with ageing indicators converging across countries. Migration, influencing population age structures, plays a crucial

role in determining ageing intensity in European regions. Replacement migration is seen as a potential solution to offset population deficits and mitigate ageing effects.

3.1. Replacement Migration: Studies Over the Years

The concept of "replacement migrations" emerged when the potential of migrations to address the problem of population ageing began to be considered. It gained particular interest at the turn of the 20th to the 21st century, notably in a publication by the United Nations (2000). This publication was regarded by the scientific community as a fundamental milestone on the topic. Nonetheless, despite the importance of this research, studies based on the concept of "replacement migration" can be traced back to the late 1980s.

One of the first studies related to this topic was presented by Blanchet (1989) and concerns the French population. In his research, the author calculated the annual net migration⁴ needed to maintain the ratio of people aged 20 to 60 to those over 60 at a level equivalent to or higher than that observed in 1982, over a century (1982-2082). Blanchet's (1989) projection highlighted some limitations of a policy based on demographic targets but still considered the significant role of migration in mitigating the effects of ageing in France. Years later, Gesano (1994) conducted a projection study in the Italian context, simulating the number of immigrants needed for Italy to address the demographic ageing problem over a decade (1991-2001). This projection demonstrated the challenges in compensating for population decline, considering that the ageing of the immigrant population necessitates increasingly larger inflows of immigrants over the years. This poses a problem, particularly concerning the sustainability of integration.

Ryder (1997) explored the Australian context, projecting necessary changes in fertility and migration to achieve "population replacement" from 1995 to 2095. He concluded that "replacement migration" is doable, but his study is limited by assumptions about the emigrant population's age structure, qualifications, and fertility. For Australia and New Zealand, Kippen & McDonald (2000) reached similar conclusions to Ryder (1997) for the period 1997-2097. They calculated that to maintain a stationary population, Australia would need an annual net migration of over 80,000 people, while New Zealand would need over 10,000, considering different fertility rates. This migration would counteract population decline trends, and even to ensure a population structure with the highest concentration in working ages, provided that fertility does not fall below the levels specified in the baseline projection. In

⁴ The same as migration balance, which means the number of immigrants minus the number of emigrants, including citizens and noncitizens.

the case of Russia, following the same line of thought as the previous authors, Vishnevsky (2000) calculated that to maintain the population size between 2000 and 2050, at least 690,000 migrants per year would be necessary. These figures, while optimistic, are somewhat difficult to achieve.

The aforementioned studies preceded the seminal United Nations (2000) study, which pioneered the concept of replacement migration. This study explored the role of replacement migration in mitigating population decline and ageing from 1995 to 2050. It focused on eight countries (Germany, South Korea, France, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, Russia, and the United States) and two regions (Europe and the EU 15). The study concluded that to offset the population decline in the EU15 from 1995 to 2050, net migration would need to be positive and similar in magnitude to that seen in the 1990s. However, to maintain a working-age population or the potential sustainability index, much higher net migration balances⁵ would be required. For instance, to maintain the working-age population at 1995 levels, the EU would need nearly double the annual net migration balance from the late 1990s. Alternatively, to sustain the potential sustainability index at 1999 levels throughout the century, the net migration balance would need to increase almost 15 times. In conclusion, the researchers asserted that while "replacement migration" offers some potential, it's a limited solution and cannot solely address generational ageing problems (United Nations, 2000). They emphasized the critical need to review integration policies and programs for immigrant populations, along with revising social policies related to employment and retirement, to align with ongoing demographic changes (United Nations, 2000).

After the release of the study described above, the scientific community's concern with the topic of "replacement migrations" grew rapidly. Some authors such as Espenshade (2001), Burcin et al. (2005), and Saczuk (2013) became avid critics of the type of language used, as well as the conceptual approach and methodological choices adopted in the United Nations (2000) study. Coleman (2000, 2008) further argued that the replacement migration approach, as outlined in the UN report, fails to consider the potential adverse effects linked to immigrant population integration, especially regarding social cohesion and national identity preservation.

Despite criticisms, the approach outlined in the UN report brought visibility to the debate on the role of migration in the demographic evolution of more developed countries. Habcsek and Tóth (2002) analyzed replacement migrations concerning the preservation of Hungary's population size. They found

⁵ Refers to the difference between the number of immigrants entering a country and the number of emigrants leaving that country during a certain period of time, usually a year. When the migration balance is positive, it means that more people are entering the country than leaving, contributing to population growth. Conversely, a negative migration balance indicates that more people are leaving the country than entering, which can result in a decrease in population.

that to counteract population decline from natural growth, a net migration balance of approximately 40,000 people annually between 2000 and 2050 would be necessary. However, they highlighted the limitations of immigration in mitigating population decline, as the required values are high and challenging to achieve, merely delaying population decline onset. Nonetheless, migrations were deemed crucial, with scenarios calibrated based on various fertility and mortality developments. Years later, Burcin et al. (2005) adapted the UN report methodology for the Czech Republic, finding that while the necessary net migration balance to maintain population size resembled the 2005 level, significantly higher and increasing balances would be needed to sustain the working-age population or the potential sustainability index. The study underscores the impracticality of the required migrant numbers and implications for population growth and immigrant percentages compared to residents.

The concept of replacement migration has gained significant relevance over the past decades in the debate on the consequences of population aging. It provides a way to quantify the evolution of ageing and its possible implications by projecting future population deficits and assessing the role that migratory flows can play in this equation. The first generation of studies on replacement migration, notably marked by the publication of the UN report in 2000, presents the estimation of necessary migratory balances based on demographic targets, assuming the stability of other trends. At this stage, two conclusions can be identified. The first is that the migration flow required to compensate for population aging is very high, especially in calculations concerning populations of more developed countries. The second is that, even assuming an increase in migration, replacement migration can only mitigate or delay the evolution of aging and population decline. In other words, a strategy based exclusively on increasing migratory balances to mitigate the effects of population aging appears to be insufficient and hardly sustainable.

In summary, the first generation of studies on replacement migrations analyzes migration's impact on demographic structures by assessing fertility, mortality trends, and estimating migration requirements to achieve demographic goals. They highlight significant migration needs, reflecting population ageing, while also cautioning about the limits of viewing migration in isolation from other factors. In the following section, I will delve into the projections outlined by Peixoto et al. (2017), who have tailored the United Nations (2000) study to the context of Portugal. Their aim is to confront and provide remedies for the limitations identified in prior discussions.

3.2 Migrations and Demographic Sustainability

In this section, I will present the findings of the research project "Replacement Migration and Demographic Sustainability: Perspectives on the Evolution of Portuguese Society and Economy." This

project, which ran from October 2015 to January 2017, was carried out by a multidisciplinary team of researchers from the University of Lisbon (ISEG and IGOT), ISCTE - University Institute of Lisbon, University of Aveiro, and Polytechnic Institute of Castelo Branco. I will discuss some of the projections made by this study concerning replacement migration and the demographic challenges. Finally, I will highlight the key findings of the study.

The study by Peixoto et al. (2017) represents one of the most innovative contributions to the topic of replacement migration, addressing demographic, economic, and social policy dimensions simultaneously. In the Portuguese context, it complements previous approaches in several aspects: demographic and economic estimates have been updated based on the most recent data, including the study "INE Projections, 2015-2060."

In this research, the projections provided by INE (National Institute of Statistics) for Portugal as of December 31, 2014, were analyzed. The study highlights the factors that influenced this decision: 1) among the various projections made, only those from INE and EUROSTAT have a regional dimension, considering all NUTS II regions; 2) INE, being more familiar with the Portuguese reality at both national and regional levels, tends to offer projections that are more closely aligned with the national reality. Therefore, this work utilized population estimates by sex and age, year by year. Through this approach, the research aims to contribute to the debate on the challenges posed by population ageing to the future sustainability of the Portuguese population. While population ageing reflects significant gains in lifespan and quality of life, it also entails various implications that need to be addressed.

The project aimed to assess future trends in the resident population of Portugal, considering the migration volumes necessary to ensure its sustainability. From a demographic perspective, it seeks to evaluate the extent of the migratory balance needed to offset the processes of ageing and population decline. From a social policy perspective, it aims to understand the impact of migration on the stability of the social security system, particularly regarding the old-age pension system. Given that Portugal faces a combination of a negative natural balance⁶, resulting from one of the lowest total fertility rates in Europe, and a reduced or occasionally negative migratory balance, as was the case following the financial crisis of 2011, such an exercise is particularly relevant.

⁶ The difference between the number of births and the number of deaths recorded over a period.

3.2.1 Projections

In this section, the projections by Peixoto et al. (2017) for the demographic dimension and the social security dimension will be evaluated. These components, as mentioned throughout the study, are crucial for understanding the true impact of migratory flows.

Demographic Projections

The projection of the resident population in Portugal, when calculated based on natural growth (birth⁷ and death⁸ rates), indicates a process of decline and rapid population aging. The table shown in figure 3 systematically presents the evolution of population characteristics between 2015 and 2060.

	Volume (em milhares)						Grupos etários (%)			
	2015	2030	2045	2060	Diferença	Taxa de variação (%)	2015	2030	2045	2060
População Total	10.374,8	9.700,9	8.950,9	7.826,6	-2.548,2	-24,6				
População Jovem	1.490,2	1.104,1	1.005,3	841,0	-649,2	-43,6	14,4	11,3	11,2	10,7
População Idade Ativa	6.779,4	5.978,5	4.780,3	4.061,1	-2.718,4	-40,1	65,3	61,2	53,4	51,9
População Idosa	2.105,2	2.688,4	3.165,4	2.924,5	819,3	38,9	20,3	27,5	35,4	37,4
ISP	3,22	2,22	1,51	1,39	-1,83					

Figure 3 Evolution of the resident population (total and by age group) according to natural growth (2015-2060) (in thousands)

Source: Migrações e Sustentabilidade Demográfica, (Peixoto, et al., 2017. p.149)

From the analysis of Figure 3, it becomes apparent that in this scenario there is a decrease in the resident population volume right at the beginning of the projection. By 2060, the projected natural movement would result in a loss of approximately 2.5 million people, which corresponds to about a quarter of the base year's population. This leads us to inquire: what would happen in a scenario where there were no migrations at all? In that case, Portugal would have a resident population of less than 8 million people by 2060, which does not represent an optimistic scenario for the country's demographic future. Over this period, the young population experiences the most significant proportional decrease: a loss of about 650 thousand young individuals, representing 44% less than the population recorded in 2015. This scenario also leads to a decline in the volume of the working-age population. Consequently, Portugal would have around 2.7 million fewer people of working age by 2060, resulting in a decrease from about 6.8 million to approximately 4 million individuals, representing a decline of about 40%.

On the other hand, the elderly population would tend to increase, both in absolute and relative terms, with over 800 thousand more people over 65 years old, whose relative weight in the total population almost doubles (from about 20% in the base year to approximately 37% in the end). The

⁷The number of live births per thousand of population per year.

⁸The ratio between deaths and individuals in a specified population during a particular time period.

projected intensification of the aging population process in Portugal in this scenario is also evident in the projected evolution of the potential sustainability index.

The analysis estimated the necessary replacement migrations to ensure the maintenance of the total population, the working-age population, and the potential sustainability index. The calculations were carried out for the total Portuguese population, as depicted in figure 4.

Migrações de substituição Necessárias para:	Valor médio anual				Total acumulado
	2015-2030	2031-2045	2046-2060	2015-2060	2015-2060
Manutenção da população total	34,9	46,5	61,6	47,4	2.179,8
Manutenção da população em idade ativa	63,3	97,9	63,9	74,8	3.439,9
Manutenção do índice de sustentabilidade potencial	354,3	596	834,5	589,7	27.126,2
Manutenção da população em idade ativa prospetiva	25,9	71,6	67,4	54,3	2.499,6
Manutenção do ISP prospetivo	151,2	269,4	240,1	218,7	10.061,3

Figure 4 Classic and prospective replacement migrations (2015-2060) (in thousands)

Source: Migrações e Sustentabilidade Demográfica, (Peixoto et al., 2017)

The Table above presents the average annual and cumulative results of each defined replacement migration scenario for the national population. Upon observation, it's easy to identify the most demanding replacement migration scenarios. Maintaining the potential sustainability index above 3 working-age individuals per elderly person, both defined according to classical criteria and prospective criteria, would require extraordinary volumes of migration, much higher than those estimated for the other replacement migration scenarios. The other replacement migration scenarios (maintenance of population volume and maintenance of prospective working-age population) present more reasonable values for replacement migrations, implying annual migration balances similar to those observed in the early 2000s.

It is important to clarify that this study is based on migration balance, which is calculated as the number of immigrants minus the number of emigrants. Essentially, to achieve a positive migration balance, the number of incoming immigrants must exceed the number of outgoing emigrants. The data confirm that controlled immigration and the containment of permanent emigration are crucial for maintaining a consistently positive and growing national migration balance. Such conditions are perhaps indispensable to prevent the demographic decline of the country and to ensure the maintenance of the current working-age population. Although, as discussed at the beginning of this book, the concept of demographic sustainability is not easy to define, ensuring a higher volume of immigration compared to emigration seems essential for securing the future of Portuguese society and economy.

As demographic and economic trends suggest an increasing need for migrants in the coming decades. The positive migration balance, meaning more people entering than leaving, also impacts the financial sustainability of Social Security pension systems. Therefore, it is essential to assess the effect of migration dynamics on future revenues and expenditures. Peixoto et al. (2017) focused solely on the impact of immigration on the old-age pension subsystem, given its dominant weight in the pension system and the complexity involved in analyzing all possibilities. They assumed the maintenance of the overall pension system architecture and projected trends based on parametric assumptions.

	2015	2020	2025	2030	2035	2040	2045	2050	2055	2060
Milhões de euros										
Alto	-7.349	-6.926	-6.381	-6.630	-7.156	-7.968	-8.321	-7.604	-6.188	-4.745
Baixo	-7.349	-7.479	-7.485	-8.146	-8.917	-9.803	-10.217	-9.743	-8.710	-7.643
Histórico	-7.349	-7.017	-6.575	-6.918	-7.524	-8.401	-8.829	-8.226	-6.954	-5.663
Milhões de euros										
Alto sem migrações	-7.349	-7.128	-6.935	-7.721	-8.868	-10.503	-11.689	-11.621	-10.663	-9.589
Baixo sem migrações	-7.349	-7.504	-7.599	-8.453	-9.439	-10.631	-11.296	-10.920	-9.877	-8.770
Histórico sem migrações	-7.349	-7.182	-7.034	-7.834	-8.962	-10.536	-11.648	-11.540	-10.575	-9.503

Figure 5 Evolution of financial balances related to revenues and expenses in old-age pensions of the Social Security contributory system at constant 2015 prices, by economic scenario, without replacement migrations (2015-2060)

Source: Migrações e Sustentabilidade Demográfica, (Peixoto, 2017. p.149)

As we can see in Figure 5, the projection by Peixoto shows a significant improvement in the public finances balance with the impact of migration. Although it is not sufficient to achieve a positive balance, it results in a substantially reduced debt. In the study, estimates were also made to demonstrate the implications of human resource constraints on the financial balances of the old-age pension subsystem within the Social Security system. The authors confirm that the influx of replacement migrants has a positive impact on the balance between revenues and expenditures, as opposed to scenarios with constraints, i.e., if the economy relies solely on natural dynamics without migration. More broadly, the entry of immigrants (coupled with a reduction in emigrant outflow) will not only enhance the functioning of the economy by meeting labor needs but also contribute to the financial stability of the old-age pension system.

3.2.2 Key Findings

Portugal needs immigrants, is the fundamental conclusion of the study. This necessity arises from Portugal's status as one of the most aged countries in Europe, coupled with a fertility rate below the

generational replacement level since the early 1980s and ongoing negative migratory balances since the end of WW II. The combination of high emigration and low fertility rates has led to a severe demographic crisis in Portugal and many of its regions. The country has been experiencing a significant population decline, exacerbating economic and social challenges. To ensure demographic, economic, and social sustainability up to 2060, Portugal requires a positive migratory balance. Even under unfavorable scenarios, such as weak economic growth and strong ageing trends, the needed population input must approach the high migration attraction values observed in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

Migration is essential not only for demographic reasons but also to meet future human resource needs. This includes balancing the workforce across different qualification levels and ensuring the sustainability of the social security system, particularly the pension schemes. While an ageing population indicates improvements in life expectancy and quality of life, it poses significant challenges for social and economic structures. Addressing these challenges requires careful planning and the integration of comprehensive migration policies. According to the central hypotheses on mortality and fertility projected by INE in 2014, the resident population in Portugal, without considering migration, is expected to decrease from the current 10.4 million to approximately 7.8 million by 2060. This demographic decline will be accompanied by an intensified ageing process. The number of young people is projected to decrease by 44%, the adult population by 40% (an absolute decrease of 2.7 million), while the elderly population (aged 65 and above) will increase by 39% (an addition of approximately 820,000 seniors). Consequently, the ratio of the working-age population (15-64 years) to the elderly population (over 64 years) – will drop from 3.22 in 2015 to 1.39 in 2060.

To maintain the current population level of 10.4 million, a net migration of approximately 2.2 million individuals will be required by 2060. This scenario implies an average annual net migration of around +47,000 individuals, which is considered a plausible figure. Furthermore, to sustain the current volume of the working-age population, a net migration of about +3.4 million individuals will be necessary between 2015 and 2060. This scenario requires an average annual net migration of about +75,000 individuals. If the goal is to halt ageing purely through the attraction of migrants, maintaining the 2015 PSI of 3.22, the required net migration figures become implausibly high, ranging between 12 and 67 million for the reference period. Achieving this would result in a population of at least 23 million by 2060, which is not a feasible scenario.

The study calls for long-term strategic planning to manage the demographic transition effectively. This involves not only attracting migrants but also creating an inclusive environment that supports their

integration into the Portuguese society and economy. It is important to highlight that these projections are based on net migration, meaning the number of immigrants minus the number of emigrants. Therefore, curbing emigration is crucial for maintaining a positive balance. Estimates of the impact of replacement migrants on the balance of the old-age pension system within Social Security indicate significant positive effects. However, these effects are insufficient to turn the balance favorable, as it remains consistently negative from 2015 to 2060. The comparison between the population evolution scenario without migration and the scenario incorporating replacement migration indicates that the latter is more financially favorable. In the long term, the influx of immigrants has a positive aggregate impact on Portuguese public finances, especially benefiting the old-age pension system.

One of the main messages from this study is that the ageing process is irreversible. Effective adaptation to this new reality cannot rely solely on immigration, as it is far from a sufficient solution. This is a point on which almost all authors agree. Even with the estimated net migration surpluses required to maintain the total population or the number of people of working age (leading to an overall increase in residents), Portugal's ageing process would not be reversed. It would only be mitigated. Consequently, Portuguese public policies must incorporate measures beyond migration. These policies should focus on retaining young, active individuals, particularly those with higher education, as this segment is expected to face the greatest human resource deficit.

4. The Portuguese Case

Migration has become a pivotal issue in contemporary demographic studies, especially within the context of European countries facing significant population changes. Portugal, with its unique socio-political and economic landscape, provides an insightful case study into the multifaceted impacts of migration policies. This chapter aims to explore the migration strategies implemented by Portugal, examining their effectiveness in addressing demographic challenges and their broader implications on the nation's economy, political framework, and social fabric.

Over recent decades, Portugal has experienced various waves of migration, both as a source and a destination country. These migratory movements have profoundly influenced the country's demographic structure, contributing to population growth and diversification. The Portuguese government has responded with a series of migration policies designed to attract and integrate immigrants, as well as to manage emigration flows of its citizens. These policies encompass legislative measures, economic incentives, and social integration programs, each tailored to address specific demographic and economic

needs. This chapter addresses the challenges that Portugal continues to face in its migration policy, including demographic imbalances, economic sustainability, and political stability. By examining these aspects, this chapter aims to contribute to the broader discourse on migration and demographic policy, offering insights that may be relevant to other countries facing similar issues.

4.1 Migration Plans in Portugal

Migration policies play a crucial role in shaping the demographic, economic, and social landscapes of a nation. In Portugal, the development and implementation of comprehensive migration plans have been pivotal in addressing the challenges and opportunities presented by migratory flows. Over the years, Portugal has introduced several strategic plans aimed at integrating immigrants into its society, enhancing their contribution to the economy, and fostering social cohesion. This chapter will examine four significant migration plans: the Plano para a Integração de Imigrantes (2007-2019), the Plano para a Integração de Imigrantes (2010-2013), the Plano Estratégico para as Migrações (2015-2020), and the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration (2020-present). Each of these plans reflects Portugal's evolving approach to migration, highlighting the policies and measures implemented to ensure effective integration and address demographic challenges.

Plano para a Integração de Imigrantes (2007-2009)

In line with the recommendations of the European Commission in 2000 and 2001 for the implementation of immigration policies, as well as Common Basic Principle No. 10 of the Common Agenda for Integration, the first Plan constituted itself as a landmark program in our country. It prioritized issues of cultural and religious diversity, citizenship, participation, and political rights, taking into account the specific economic and social issues of immigrants, and incorporating integration policies and measures into the most relevant public services. Implemented from 2007 to 2009, the first Plan involved 13 Ministries in 122 measures, spread across 20 sectorial and cross-cutting areas. It was subject to constant monitoring and regular evaluation, as evidenced by two interim assessment reports and the current final report, which is publicly available. It is important to highlight that throughout the implementation of this Plan, changes occurred, not only in context but also directly or indirectly related to the application of the envisaged measures. This had implications for the achievement of the defined goals.

The implementation of the first Plan marked a significant milestone in addressing immigration policies in our country, aligning with European Commission recommendations and principles for

integration. This comprehensive program prioritized cultural diversity, citizenship, and social inclusion, with a focus on specific economic and social challenges faced by immigrants.

Plano para a Integração de Imigrantes (2010-2013)

This second Plan involved both continuity and innovation. In this, there was a restructuring of intervention areas, with some merged and two new regard areas created, resulting in a total of 17 intervention areas. Notably, the areas of diversity and interculturality, previously organized as a cross-cutting axis, and the protection and integration of unemployed immigrants, as well as elderly immigrants, were highlighted to address growing challenges of immigration in Portugal. Additionally, there is a new distribution of different areas, with themes such as media and religious freedom now falling under the new area of promoting diversity and interculturality. Family reunification has been included in reception, and the area of information society is now part of the area concerning immigrant descendants. Another area, sports, due to its dual nature, is integrated into both the new area of promoting diversity and intercultural dialogue and that of racism and discrimination.

Plano Estratégico para as Migrações (2015-2020)

The Plano Estratégico para as Migrações (PEM) stands as a national policy instrument designed to address Portugal's evolving migratory landscape, characterized by its complexity and challenges. Building on the implementation of two previous PII (2007-2010 and 2010-2013), the development of the PEM (2015-2020) emerged as a strategic response to contemporary demographic deficits and the need for comprehensive migrant inclusion policies. Approved by the Resolution of the Council of Ministers No. 12-B/2015 on March 20, 2015, the PEM sets out to address a wide array of challenges through the implementation of 106 measures and 201 indicators, engaging 13 different ministries and various entities from the public administration and civil society.

Portugal faces demographic fragility, underscoring the imperative for a holistic examination of migratory phenomena and the formulation of transversal policies to address its evolution. Migration policy in Portugal must adapt to shifting migratory profiles, recognizing migrations as integral to economic valorization and growth, talent management, and mobility enhancement. Beyond merely addressing domestic labor market dynamics, migration policy should embrace a broader economic and social perspective, emphasizing the recognition and valorization of migrant skills and the creation of new employment opportunities and economic ventures in Portugal. Viewing migrations as a pathway to talent management and valorization is pivotal in transforming produced talents into realized assets, thereby

influencing societal and entrepreneurial landscapes. It is worth noting that the PEM was in effect for three parliamentary terms. Despite shifts in political priorities between 2015 and 2020 and the pandemic situation in its final year of implementation, it remained fully executed over six years.

In quantitative terms, the PEM attained a final implementation rate of 88.1%, corresponding to 417.59 points out of a total of 474 points slated for execution. Regarding the unfulfilled indicators (11.9%), it is noteworthy that 5.3% were included in measures that were partially fulfilled (measures with two or more indicators, with at least one indicator being met). Only seven out of the 106 PEM measures were not fully implemented (6.6%). However, most of these measures required legislative changes, and their execution depended on political decisions.

Plano Nacional de Implementação do Pacto Global das Migrações (2019 - Today)

The National Implementation Plan for the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (PNIPGM) was approved by the Council of Ministers as a comprehensive response to the principles and objectives outlined in the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration. This plan reflects Portugal's commitment to a people-centered approach, international cooperation, national sovereignty, the rule of law, sustainable development, and respect for human rights. The PNIPGM follows the structure of the 23 objectives of the Global Compact for Migration and defines implementation measures for each objective, with clearly identified deadlines and government areas involved. The plan is conceived as an operational document, oriented towards practical and precise results.

The five fundamental axes of the PNIPGM are as follows:

1. Promotion of safe, orderly, and regular migration, highlighting measures such as the approval and implementation of the Mobility Regime of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP) and bilateral agreements with third countries for labor mobility.
2. Improvement of processes for organizing migration flows and integrated border management, including measures to streamline visa applications and authorizations for regular immigration, as well as combatting human trafficking and irregular migration.
3. Promotion of the reception and integration of migrants, ensuring their legal status and facilitating access to services such as housing, health, and education, as well as encouraging their civic participation.

4. Support for migrants' connections to their countries of origin and their return projects, through initiatives such as the Return Program and facilitation of remittance transfers.
5. Increase in partnerships for development with countries of origin and transit, aiming to address the root causes of migration and reduce factors related to material deprivation, inequalities, and lack of work opportunities.

The approval of this national plan reinforces Portugal's commitment to effectively address the challenges and opportunities associated with migration flows, complementing other existing public policy instruments in the country. The PNIPGM represents an important milestone in achieving social justice within the national context, aligning not only with the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) but also with the programs of the XXII and XXIII Constitutional Governments, which reflect Portugal's commitment to promoting safe, orderly, and regular migration as the most effective way to manage the dynamics of human mobility and harness the contribution of migrants to the development of societies of origin, transit, and destination. '

Successful integration of immigrants involves providing access to education, healthcare, housing, and employment opportunities. Policies that promote language acquisition, cultural orientation, and anti-discrimination measures are essential. Nevertheless, the constraints resulting from the pandemic significantly affected and conditioned several deadlines and activities outlined in the PNIPGM. The national strategy and working methodology proved to be a fundamental platform for dialogue in the fight against the pandemic, ensuring a transdisciplinary approach and swift adaptation to emerging needs. Furthermore, the implementation of the PNIPGM has spanned three legislative terms so far, which has additional impacts on the political coordination of the Plan and the capacity to implement structural measures, particularly those requiring profound legislative changes.

Considering the challenges highlighted, close coordination and articulation at both political and technical levels allowed for agile processes of implementation, adjustment, and adaptation to overcome the difficulties experienced, resulting in a high level of achievement of the objectives set for migration and integration policies. Migration policies are in a state of constant flux and alteration. It is crucial for Portugal to maintain continuous monitoring of these plans to meet the needs of migratory movements effectively. While the current plans have shown good execution rates, they lack breadth and scope. With thousands of migrants entering Portugal each year, reports detailing only dozens of cases reveal a lack of representation of the migrant population in these studies. There is a need for a more comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the topic, as well as the measures being implemented.

4.2 The Impacts

In this section, I explore the multifaceted impacts of migration on Portugal, encompassing demographic, economic, social security, and sociopolitical dimensions. Migration, both immigration and emigration, plays a crucial role in shaping the country's demographic trends, economic performance, social security systems, and overall societal structure. By examining these impacts, I aim to provide a comprehensive understanding of how migration influences various aspects of Portuguese society.

The analysis will cover the positive and negative effects of migration, including demographic challenges such as population decline and ageing, economic contributions of migrants, pressures on social security systems, and the social and political dynamics affected by migration. Additionally, I will address the challenges posed by brain drain, irregular migration, and the integration of migrant populations, highlighting the complexities and opportunities that migration presents for Portugal.

4.2.1 Impact of Migrations on the Country's Demography

Portugal faces a demographic deficit that has become a pressing social, economic, and political emergency. Recent trends are characterized by increasing life expectancy, reduced infant mortality, emigration, a significant decline in fertility, and population ageing. These trends have exacerbated the demographic deficit in recent years. However, the declining resident population, the 2011 census by the INE called attention to the positive impact of the foreign population on Portuguese demographics. Portugal faces low fertility rates and an ageing population, resulting in a dropping natural population growth rate, as births have not been sufficient to offset deaths, as we can see in Figure 6. This poses challenges across healthcare, social security, and the labor market.

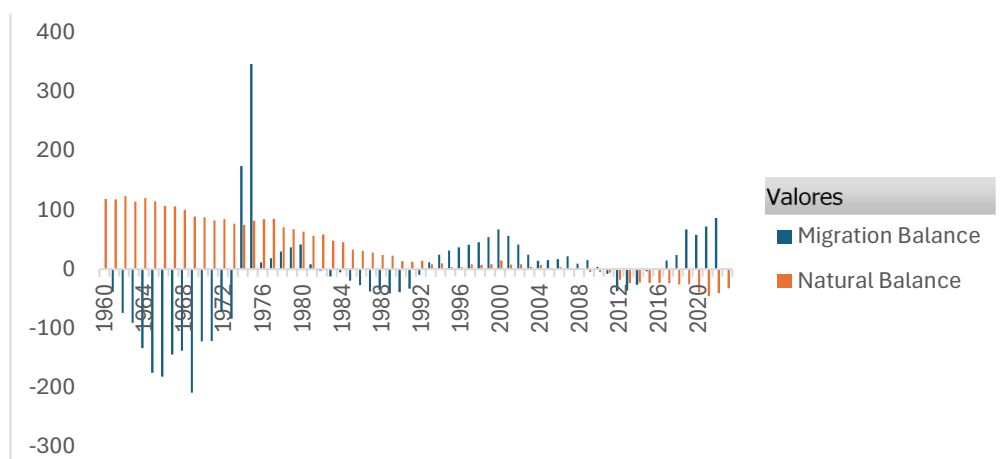


Figure 6 Migration Balance and Natural Balance in Portugal (1960-2022)
Source: INE, Pordata

Although, the foreign population has been crucial in mitigating demographic decline. According to the 2011 INE census, immigrants have partially counterbalanced decreasing birth rates and an ageing population. Their arrival has helped reverse the declining population trend, contributing to a more favorable demographic balance (King & Vullnetari, 2016).

Ano	Total	Portuguesa	Estrangeira	Estrangeira %
2011	96.856	86.853	10.003	10,3
2012	89.841	81.080	8.761	9,8
2013	82.787	75.382	7.405	8,9
2014	82.367	75.147	7.200	8,7
2015	85.500	78.336	7.164	8,4
2016	87.126	79.422	7.686	8,8
2017	86.154	77.838	8.316	9,7
2018	87.020	77.631	9.389	10,8
2019	86.579	75.895	10.683	12,3
2020	84.530	73.175	11.355	13,4
2021	79.582	68.772	10.808	13,6

Figure 7 Live births to mothers residing in Portugal, total and by nationality of the mother(2011-2021)

Source: INE, Pordata

Over the past decade (2011-2021), Portugal lost nearly 196,000 people. The years 2019 and 2020 were the only ones to register a population increase compared to the previous year, with +19,300 in 2019 and +75,700 in 2020. This population growth was mainly due to positive net migration. The natural balance has been negative since 2009, reaching an all-time low in 2021, with 45,200 more deaths than births. Net migration was negative between 2011 and 2016, inclusive, but has been positive since then. However, only in 2019 and 2020 was it high enough to offset the negative natural balances. The outflow of Portuguese citizens gained momentum after the turn of the 21st century. According to data collected by the Emigration Observatory (Pires et al., 2020), this trend saw an increase in departures until 2007, a decrease between 2008 and 2010, and a new rise starting in 2010. It is estimated that approximately one and a half million Portuguese migrated (either permanently or temporarily) between 2001 and 2018, with 685,000 emigrating by 2010 and over 805,000 between 2011 and 2018. The influx of foreign nationals into Portugal has also contributed to birth rates. Of the 79,582 babies born in 2021, over 10,000 had foreign mothers (14%). This proportion has been steadily increasing since 2016, reversing the declining trend observed between 2011 and 2015.

Immigrants tend to have higher fertility rates than natives, positively impacting overall fertility levels (Kritz, Lim & Zlotnik, 2014). By having more children, immigrant families help replenish the population and sustain demographic vitality. Additionally, immigrants bring valuable skills to the labor market,

addressing labor shortages and supporting economic growth (Fonseca & Dinis, 2019). Their participation in various sectors enhances productivity and competitiveness, driving socioeconomic development.

In 2021, approximately 51,000 immigrants entered Portugal while around 25,000 emigrants left, resulting in a positive net migration of 26,000 people. A brief analysis of these groups reveals that the majority of both emigrants and immigrants are in their prime working age (20 to 59 years). However, this age group is more pronounced among emigrants (93%) compared to immigrants (70%). In 2021, 20% of Portugal's resident population aged 15 and over had a higher education degree, and 25% had completed secondary education. Emigration is notably higher among the more educated: over one-third (34%) of emigrants aged 15 and over had a higher education degree, and 29% had completed secondary education. With an estimated 2.3 million emigrants according to United Nations data from 2015, Portugal is not a major emigration country in absolute terms. However, with a gross emigration rate of 22.3% in terms of stock, Portugal ranked as the 12th country in the world with the highest percentage of its population living abroad. Within the European Union, Portugal held the second position in 2015, with 23% of its population emigrated.

If fertility appears incapable of reaching the level of "generational replacement," a level of "replacement migration" that compensates for it may be considered. The results of this calculation, in the original UN study, revealed that the levels of immigration—on a net basis—necessary to maintain those demographic indices would be considerable. While to maintain the total population, immigration levels wouldn't need to be much higher than those of the recent past, to maintain the working-age population, the values would already be quite high, and to stabilize the level of aging, they would reach implausible levels. In conclusion, migration has become vital in shaping Portugal's demographic landscape. Immigrants contribute to population growth, fertility rates, labor market dynamics, and social cohesion, playing a crucial role in addressing demographic challenges and promoting socioeconomic progress in the country. On the other hand, emigration has contributed to population aging, exerting a dual effect. Since most emigrants are of working age, their departure means that these young individuals will not be having children in Portugal.

4.2.2 Impact of Migrations on the Economy

In 2021, Portugal reached over 700,000 foreign residents, marking its highest number ever (INE, 2021). This reflects its successful management of migratory flows, enabling a return to a positive migration balance in 2017 (INE, 2021). Migrants significantly impact the labor market, contributing over 800 million euros to Portuguese social security in 2020 (SEF, 2021). A recent study concluded that

immigration positively affects Portugal's economy, potentially reaching 0.5% of GDP (Lopes et al., 2018). Immigration provides vital labor and enriches market segments, especially amid forecasts of declining working-age populations in wealthier countries (Peixoto et al., 2017). While technological advancements may reduce labor demand, more moderate views suggest continued necessity for human labor (Ford, 2015).

Debates persist regarding immigration's impact on employment and wages. Studies suggest weak effects, with complementarity often prevailing in the medium to long term (Angrist & Kugler, 2003; Carrasco et al., 2008). Immigrant integration in the labor market tends to be segmented, with many occupying secondary, precarious segments (Portes, 1995). The study has analyzed the potential impact that restrictions on migratory movements might have on the revenue and expenditure of old-age pensions within the Portuguese Social Security system. Given that demographic changes driven solely by natural dynamics (birth and death rates) tend to exhibit inertia, it has become imperative to focus on replacement migration as a possible means to ensure less negative, and potentially positive, balances in the pension system accounts.

However, migrations also pose challenges to the social security system, particularly concerning the integration of immigrants and their access to social protection. Immigrants may face barriers to accessing social security benefits due to factors such as language barriers, lack of information, and bureaucratic hurdles. Addressing these challenges requires targeted policies and programs aimed at promoting the social inclusion and integration of immigrants, ensuring that they can fully participate in and contribute to the social security system (Burgoon & Dekker, 2014). Immigration typically benefits destination countries economically. Despite debates and concerns, immigrants often sustain economic activities, that are not so wanted by the natives and contribute positively in technological advancements and shifting labor market dynamics.

In conclusion, migrations have significant implications for the social security system of Portugal, influencing demographic trends, fiscal sustainability, and social cohesion. By adopting inclusive policies and strategies that facilitate the integration of immigrants and maximize their contributions to society, Portugal can harness the potential benefits of migrations while effectively addressing associated challenges. The recent discussion surrounding immigration and immigration policies in more developed countries, especially those highlighted in the media and echoed by public opinion, has largely focused on social and political impacts. From this perspective, there are numerous fears and uncertainties regarding immigration flows. However, a thorough examination of their economic impacts leads to a much more

positive view of this reality. In a time of passionate and heated debates about the impacts of migration, the contributions from economics are invaluable. They ensure that policy design is grounded in thoughtful reflection rather than fleeting emotions.

4.2.4 Impact of Migrations on the Social and Political Context

A broader understanding of development requires linking economic variables to other factors. Currently, Northern destination countries face high levels of uncertainty (Beck, 1992). Reactions to immigration vary, with increasing levels of adversity (Bauman, 2016), fueled by fears of job competition, welfare benefits, and terrorism. Xenophobic political doctrines and nationalist policies have rapidly spread in wealthier countries. Even if research finds many of these fears unfounded, they still significantly influence Northern societies and policy design. The incorporation of immigrants, though economically beneficial, necessitates thoughtful social and political integration policies.

So far, it was observed that migrations have had a positive impact on host countries. Although there have been some challenges, the integration of migrants has been possible due to the scale of migration and the policies implemented, when based on the data from the projections conducted. However, a significant problem arises when the volume of migration becomes so high that integration is no longer feasible. This can lead to conflicts between natives and immigrants, and even with the authorities. We already see this issue in some areas of European countries where there is no longer effective police control. As shown in Figure 8, and based on the projection numbers, this problem could increase adversity.

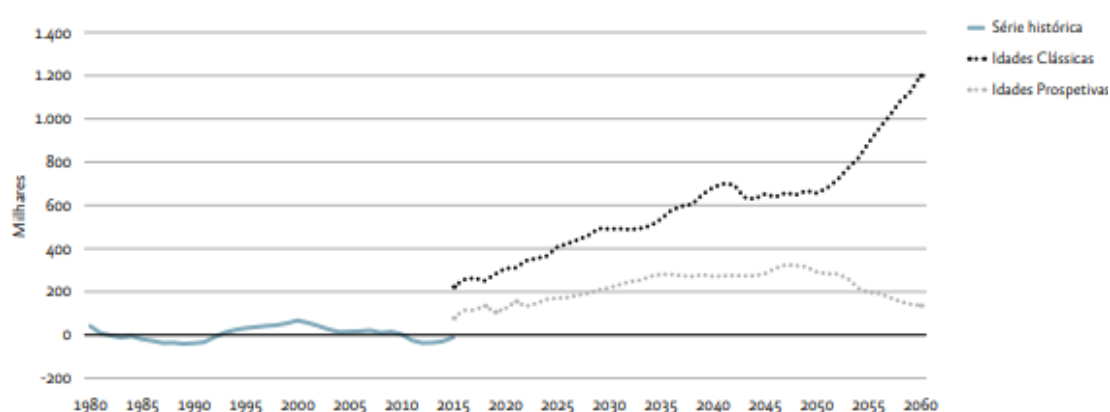


Figure 8 Historical evolution of migration balances in Portugal and projection of necessary migrations to maintain the Social Security System (2015-2060) (in thousands)

Source: Migrações e Desenvolvimento Demográfico, (Peixoto et al, 2017)

Consideration of the SDGs within the 2030 Agenda adds new dimensions to migration and development discussions. Combating poverty and hunger influences migrants' decisions, emphasizing the need for improved living conditions in the Global South. Policies promoting decent work and preventing

labor exploitation are crucial, along with creating legal migration channels and establishing global partnerships for sustainable development. The impact of migrations on Portugal's social and political context is complex. Scholars like Favell (2008) and Koopmans and Michalowski (2015) extensively examine these implications. Migration enriches cultural diversity, fostering multicultural communities and hybrid identities (Favell, 2008). It influences social cohesion, identity formation, and political discourse, with migrant organizations shaping political agendas (Favell, 2008). In conclusion, migrations profoundly impact Portugal's social and political landscape. Embracing diversity, promoting integration, and addressing migration challenges are essential for building a more inclusive and cohesive society.

4.3 Challenges

Portugal is grappling with significant demographic challenges, notably population aging and declining birth rates. These trends, characterized by longer life expectancy and fewer births, skew the country's age distribution towards an older population, straining social welfare and healthcare systems. The resulting imbalance between retirees and the working-age populace poses challenges for sustaining pension schemes and other public services. Moreover, the dwindling birth rate exacerbates the situation by shrinking the available labor force and potentially stunting long-term economic growth. With fewer young individuals entering the workforce and contributing to social security, there's mounting pressure on public resources to support the burgeoning elderly demographic.

In Portugal, the dependency ratio is projected to increase significantly in the coming decades, putting immense pressure on the social security system. According to the INE, by 2050, there will be only two working-age individuals for every retiree, compared to four working-age individuals per retiree today (INE, 2020). This decline in the working-age population not only threatens the financial viability of social security but also limits economic growth and productivity. Therefore, the urgent intervention of public policies to promote childbirth that can ensure a planned and integrated recovery of the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) in Portugal is justified. This should be accompanied by the implementation of short, medium, and long-term strategies that promote the rejuvenation of the Portuguese population so that in the coming decades, Portugal can reverse the current trend of population ageing.

Economic conditions also play a crucial role in determining birth rates and, consequently, the sustainability of social security systems. Becker (1991) argues that economic considerations, including the costs of raising children and employment opportunities for parents, significantly influence the decision to have children. In Portugal, labor market precariousness and the lack of effective work-family reconciliation policies have contributed to couples' hesitation to have more children (Pires, 2019).

Addressing these economic barriers is essential for encouraging higher birth rates and ensuring a steady inflow of future contributors to the social security system. In light of these demographic dynamics, it's evident that migration is indispensable for ensuring Portugal's societal vibrancy and resilience. Therefore, migration emerges as a pivotal strategy for addressing Portugal's demographic challenges, providing a vital infusion of energy and diversity to Portuguese society. The evolution of demography and the dynamics of the economy, as analyzed in previous chapters, point to a growing need for migrants in the coming decades. The social and political context of Portugal faces various challenges related to migrations, including both immigration and emigration dynamics.

		Entradas em Portugal Imigrantes	Saídas de Portugal Emigrantes
Sexo	Mulheres	37,8	35,4
	Homens	62,2	64,6
Idade	Menos de 15 anos	9,4	5,4
	15-24 anos	10,7	25,7
	25-34 anos	22,3	33,8
	35-44 anos	19,8	18,6
	45-54 anos	13,2	11,2
	55-64 anos	11,9	4,3
	65 ou mais	12,6	1,0
Escolaridade	Até ao ensino básico	-	16,6
	Ensino secundário	-	34,3
	Ensino superior	-	47,6
Nacionalidade	Portuguesa	48,8	95,4
	Estrangeira	51,2	4,6
Naturalidade	Portuguesa	27,2	-
	Estrangeira	72,8	-
Residência	UE27, sem Portugal	29,8	51,1
	Fora da UE27	70,2	47,2

Figure 9 Profile of immigrants and emigrants in 2022 (%)

Source: INE, Pordata

One significant challenge is the phenomenon of brain drain, where highly skilled individuals emigrate from Portugal to seek better economic opportunities abroad. This brain drain has implications for Portugal's economy, as it leads to a loss of human capital and talent, hindering innovation and economic development (Khadria, 2016). In Portugal, there is a prevailing notion that emigration constitutes both a symptom of stagnation and an obstacle to development, particularly since the perception has arisen that emigration now has a new, growing component of "brain drain" in the public sphere, what is referred to as "the most qualified generation ever" (Pires and Pereira, 2018).

This perception suggests that emigration not only deprives the country of human resources but also undermines sustainability in social and demographic terms. Today's new Portuguese emigrants are more educated than those who emigrated earlier. In 2011, 33.1% of those who had been living abroad for a year or less held a higher education degree, a percentage that dropped to 8.9% for those who had

been emigrated for over 20 years. This is a significant variation and indicates that Portuguese emigration tends to be more qualified nowadays (Cândido, 2018).

In this context, understanding the future migration options of Portuguese residing abroad, particularly their expectations of returning, is a central aspect in understanding the potential scale of return. Knowing which factors influence the intentions and decisions of return, as well as the prospects for their reintegration, are important issues in planning measures aimed at Portuguese residents abroad and in assessing the possibilities of mobilizing the resources they possess.

Only greater economic growth can reverse this trend, but the country does not seem to have awakened to this reality. It is more politically rewarding to address immediate difficulties than to invest in increasing future wealth. Without this, poverty will increase, and the need to address it will grow (Leitão, 2006).

While immigration enriches societies with diversity and fresh perspectives, it also brings forth a set of complex challenges that demand careful consideration and proactive measures. One of the primary challenges is ensuring the successful integration of immigrants into their new communities. This involves providing access to education, healthcare, housing, and employment opportunities, as well as fostering social inclusion and cohesion. Effective integration policies not only benefit immigrants by enabling them to fully participate in society but also contribute to overall societal harmony and stability.

While replacement migration offers significant benefits, it also poses challenges that require careful policy responses. Effective integration policies are crucial to maximize the benefits of migration and address potential social tensions. Addressing these challenges requires comprehensive anti-discrimination policies, education initiatives, and community outreach programs aimed at promoting social inclusion and combating prejudice. Portugal also grapples with challenges related to immigration, including irregular migration and the integration of migrant populations. The influx of irregular migrants poses legal, social, and security challenges, straining resources, and complicating efforts to manage migration flows effectively (Boucher, 2018). Addressing irregular migration requires a comprehensive approach that combines border control measures, legal pathways for migration, and initiatives to combat human trafficking and smuggling. Furthermore, the integration of migrant populations remains a pressing challenge in Portugal. Despite efforts to promote social inclusion and equal opportunities, migrants often face barriers to accessing education, employment, and healthcare, leading to social exclusion and marginalization (Boucher, 2018).

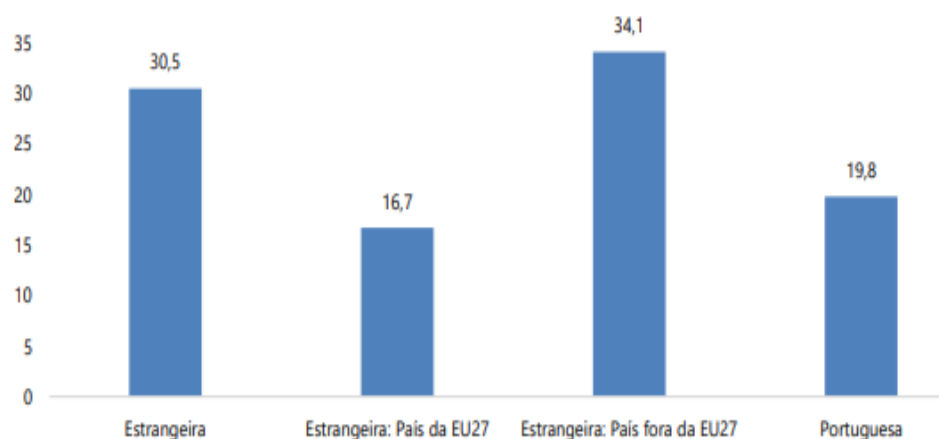


Figure 10 Risk of poverty or social exclusion rate of the population aged 18 or over, by nationality (%)
Source: Eurostat

Language barriers, cultural differences, and discrimination exacerbate these challenges, hindering the full integration of migrant communities into Portuguese society. As highlighted by Massey (2013), immigrants often fill essential roles in industries such as healthcare, construction, and hospitality, where there is a demand for workers. Their participation in these sectors contributes to economic growth and ensures the continued functioning of vital public services. Migrants also face higher unemployment and precarious employment, often taking on jobs that are less appealing to natives (Peixoto, 2012).

The challenges associated with an aging population are indeed significant, particularly concerning the sustainability of social security systems. As populations age and life expectancy increases, there is a growing strain on social security programs, including pensions, healthcare, and other forms of social assistance. Social security systems are fundamental components of modern welfare states, providing financial support to individuals during periods of unemployment, illness, disability, and retirement. In Portugal, as in many other countries, the social security system is primarily funded through contributions from the working population. This pay-as-you-go system relies on a balance between the number of active workers contributing to the system and the number of beneficiaries receiving benefits. However, demographic shifts, particularly the ageing population and declining birth rates, pose significant challenges to the sustainability of social security. The fact that the migratory balance is positive also impacts the financial sustainability of Social Security pension systems. Studies conducted by various authors suggest a positive impact of migratory movements. Alonso (2009), assessing the impact that immigrant flows may have on Social Security systems in the EU 27 countries between 2008 and 2050, concludes that this migratory flow will not be sufficient to balance pension systems. However, it suggests

that it can serve as a supplement, along with other economic policy measures, to mitigate the impact of aging populations and the increasing number of pensioners.

Immigrants play a pivotal role in bolstering social security systems through their contributions as taxpayers and active members of the workforce. In Portugal, immigrants make significant contributions to social security through taxes and social security payments, which help alleviate the financial strain caused by an ageing population and an increasing number of retirees. According to the Portuguese Social Security Institute, the contributions from immigrant workers have become increasingly indispensable in maintaining the viability of the social security system. As demonstrated by numerous national researchers (Peixoto, 2012) without the contribution of migrations and without maintaining a positive migratory balance, Portugal's chances of reversing the trend of decreasing active-age population will be considerably more challenging, risking further exacerbation of the demographic problem associated with population aging. A positive migratory balance allows for offsetting this effect in the short and medium term.

The authors of the ESPON study (2006) highlight the importance of short and long-term policies similar to those mentioned in other studies, emphasizing the significance of implementing measures that promote increased participation in the labor market, labor productivity, fertility, and immigration. This approach also signals the need for policy measures related to territorial cohesion. The authors advocate for the development of measures aimed at regional specialization to ensure competitiveness increases among Europe, implying better management of immigrant flows. In conclusion, Portugal faces significant challenges related to migrations, including brain drain, emigration, irregular migration, and the integration of migrant populations. Addressing these challenges requires coordinated efforts at the national and international levels, encompassing policy reforms, social programs, and community engagement initiatives. By adopting a holistic approach that prioritizes human rights, social inclusion, and economic development, Portugal can navigate the complexities of migration and build a more resilient and inclusive society.

5. Alternatives to Replacement Migration

In this chapter, I delve into alternative approaches to migration beyond the paradigm of replacement migration. Departing from conventional views that frame migration solely as a response to labor shortages or population decline, this chapter explores multifaceted interventions aimed at fostering sustainable demographic dynamics within societies.

5.1 Combating Demographic Ageing

Combating demographic ageing necessitates a multifaceted approach that addresses both the causes and consequences of population decline. In Portugal, like in many other European countries, low birth rates and increasing life expectancy contribute to an ageing population.

Promoting Active Ageing

Active ageing policies aim to keep older individuals healthy, active, and engaged in the community for as long as possible. These policies include promoting healthy lifestyles, lifelong learning, and opportunities for social participation. By keeping older adults engaged and productive, active ageing initiatives can reduce the economic burden on social security systems and healthcare services. Additionally, fostering age-friendly environments and enhancing access to healthcare and social services are essential to ensuring the well-being and inclusion of ageing populations. Overall, addressing population ageing requires a comprehensive and multidimensional approach that encompasses social, economic, and health policies to promote the well-being and dignity of older adults in an ageing society. (United Nations, 2019; World Health Organization, 2020; European Commission, 2015; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2021).

Encouraging Later Retirement

Another approach to addressing demographic ageing is to encourage later retirement. Increasing the retirement age can help maintain a larger workforce and reduce the strain on pension systems, thereby mitigating the economic impacts of population ageing. To support this, governments and employers can offer incentives for later retirement, provide flexible working arrangements, and promote workplace adaptations that accommodate older workers. Japan's "Silver Human Resource Centers," which provide job training and employment assistance for older workers, exemplifies a proactive approach to harnessing the potential of elderly populations (Ogawa et al., 2009).

Enhancing Productivity

One effective strategy to combat the economic impact of demographic ageing is to enhance productivity. Improving productivity can help maintain economic growth even with a shrinking workforce. Investments in technology and innovation are crucial in this regard. Automation and artificial intelligence can help offset the decline in the labor force by increasing efficiency and output in various industries, faced with one of the world's fastest-ageing populations, Japan has invested heavily in automation and robotics to enhance productivity. Additionally, upskilling and reskilling the existing workforce is essential.

Providing continuous education and training opportunities ensures that workers remain competitive and can adapt to changing job requirements. Encouraging lifelong learning can help older workers stay in the workforce longer, thereby reducing the pressure on pension systems and maintaining a larger pool of active workers.

Work Conditions

In the document, authored by the sociologist (Ana Drago, 2022), a set of measures to mitigate this situation is outlined. One of these measures involves reducing job insecurity. Portugal was the third country in the European Union with the highest percentage of workers on non-permanent contracts, with half of the employees aged 15 to 29 in 2020 working on non-permanent contracts, significantly above the European average. In a paper the Promote quality in employment by combating contractual precariousness and fostering all dimensions of decent work. This includes enhancing wages and addressing the wage disparity between women and men to provide the necessary stability for women and men to consider parenthood projects. Promote economic growth that enables, among other effects, wage appreciation, and implement public policies that encourage job creation, particularly through entrepreneurship (CES, 2022).

Supporting Families

Supporting families is another critical component in addressing demographic ageing. Policies that promote work-life balance and family well-being can encourage higher birth rates and improve the quality of life for all citizens. Parental leave policies, flexible working arrangements, and financial incentives for families can make it easier for individuals to balance work and family responsibilities. Since the Fertility and Family Survey in 1997 conducted by the National Institute of Statistics (INE), it has been evident that the primary reason couples opt not to have (more) children is predominantly due to economic reasons. This underscores the critical interplay between socio-economic factors and fertility decisions, highlighting the need for comprehensive policies that address both economic insecurities and family planning support. From this perspective, promoting birth rates and supporting parenthood within the framework of family policy could potentially benefit from integrated, clear, and objective communication of existing public policy measures and their future outlook.

Financial incentives can take various forms, such as tax breaks, child allowances, and housing subsidies. These measures can reduce the financial burden of raising children, making it more feasible for families to have more children. Additionally, providing affordable housing options can help young

families establish stable living conditions, which is often a prerequisite for having more children. Access to affordable and high-quality childcare is a crucial factor in supporting families and encouraging higher birth rates. Free or subsidized childcare services can significantly reduce the cost of raising children and enable parents, especially mothers, to return to work. This not only supports family income but also helps maintain a larger and more diverse workforce.

In Portugal, despite the implementation of some measures, such as maternity subsidies and tax deductions, the coverage and effectiveness of these programs are still insufficient to reverse the low birth rate trend (Aboim, 2010). Countries such as Sweden, Norway, and Denmark offer comprehensive family support policies, including generous parental leave, flexible working conditions, and extensive childcare services. These measures have resulted in higher birth rates and better work-life balance, demonstrating the effectiveness of family-oriented policies in addressing demographic challenges. Similarly, Sweden's comprehensive parental support system, offering generous parental leave and subsidized childcare, has contributed to higher fertility rates compared to many other European countries (Neyer & Andersson, 2008). These examples underscore the importance of family-friendly policies in reversing demographic ageing trends. Examples of these measures include flexible or part-time work arrangements, maternity/paternity leave, tax reduction, financial incentives for large families, and low-cost childcare services. Such policies aim to create an environment where balancing family and professional life becomes more manageable, thereby encouraging higher birth rates.

Review parental leave policies to enhance the gender equality dimension in their formulation, specifically to ensure that maternity and paternity leaves are of equal duration. Literature has increasingly noted that equality between men and women in the use of parental leaves is extremely important for several reasons. Firstly, this sharing makes the costs of career interruption for women less burdensome also looks for more equality.

Addressing the challenges of demographic ageing requires a comprehensive and multifaceted approach. Enhancing productivity, supporting families, providing affordable childcare, promoting active ageing, encouraging later retirement are key strategies. By investing in these areas, countries can mitigate the adverse effects of demographic ageing and foster sustainable economic growth.

5.2 Combating Emigration

Emigration, or the movement of individuals out of a country, poses significant challenges to the socio-economic fabric of the originating nation. This phenomenon can lead to a depletion of human capital, often referred to as "brain drain," where highly skilled and educated individuals leave in search

of better opportunities elsewhere. In the Portuguese context, emigration has historically been driven by economic factors, including limited job opportunities and low wages. This chapter explores strategies to combat emigration by creating an environment that retains talent, fosters economic growth, and enhances the quality of life. The economic consequences of emigration can be severe. When highly skilled individuals leave, the country loses not only their immediate contributions but also the potential for future innovations and leadership. This loss can stifle economic growth, reduce competitiveness, and hamper the development of key industries. Additionally, the departure of young and educated individuals can exacerbate demographic ageing, further straining social security systems and public services (Johnson, 2018).

One of the primary drivers of emigration is the pursuit of better economic opportunities. To retain talent, it is crucial to create an environment where individuals feel they can achieve their career goals and enjoy economic prosperity. Investing in sectors with high growth potential to create new jobs and stimulate economic activity is essential (Smith, 2020). Ireland's experience provides valuable insights, as the country successfully reversed decades of emigration by implementing pro-growth policies and attracting foreign investment (Barrett & Duffy, 2019). Encouraging entrepreneurship through grants, tax incentives, and support programs for startups fosters a vibrant entrepreneurial ecosystem. By promoting these initiatives, countries can create a dynamic economy that attracts and retains talent (Brown, 2019). Ensuring that wages and benefits are competitive with those offered abroad is crucial. This includes providing fair wages, health insurance, retirement plans, and other benefits that contribute to a high quality of life (Garcia, 2021). Promoting the quality of employment is also vital in combating emigration. This involves addressing contractual precariousness and promoting all dimensions of decent work, including wage valuation and combating gender wage inequality. Implementing policies that encourage stable employment contracts and reducing temporary and insecure work arrangements can increase job satisfaction and retention (Jones, 2020). Additionally, implementing policies that enhance wage growth and reduce income inequality, particularly between genders, is essential. This includes enforcing equal pay for equal work and supporting wage transparency initiatives (Miller, 2018).

Economic growth that allows for wage increases and employment creation is fundamental in retaining talent. Implementing public policies that stimulate economic growth and job creation, such as infrastructure investments, tax incentives for businesses, and support for key industries, is crucial (Wilson, 2020). Promoting entrepreneurship to create high-quality jobs with stable employment and higher wages is also critical. This can involve providing access to capital, mentorship programs, and reducing

bureaucratic barriers for new businesses (Lee, 2019). Investing in education and training is essential to combat emigration. By providing high-quality education and continuous learning opportunities, countries can develop a skilled workforce that sees value in staying. Developing and maintaining educational institutions that offer high-quality education at all levels is crucial. This includes universities, vocational schools, and professional training programs (Adams, 2019). Establishing partnerships between educational institutions and industries to ensure that curricula are aligned with market needs enhances the employability of graduates and reduces the mismatch between skills and job opportunities (Thompson, 2020).

A high quality of life is a significant factor in retaining talent. By addressing various aspects of daily life, countries can create a more attractive environment for their citizens. Providing accessible, high-quality healthcare services ensures that individuals and their families can live healthy lives. This includes preventive care, emergency services, and specialized treatments (Johnson, 2021). Investing in affordable housing and modern infrastructure creates safe, clean, and connected living environments that contribute to overall well-being and satisfaction (Brown, 2020). A sense of belonging and cultural engagement can also influence individuals' decisions to stay in their home country. Supporting cultural initiatives that celebrate the country's heritage and promote community engagement, such as festivals, art exhibitions, and cultural centers, can strengthen social bonds. Creating programs specifically aimed at engaging young people, such as youth councils, leadership training, and volunteer opportunities, can empower the youth and foster a sense of ownership and commitment to their home country. Addressing the social and cultural factors influencing emigration is essential for long-term retention. Investing in cultural preservation, promoting social integration, and combating discrimination can create a sense of belonging and attachment to the homeland. Furthermore, targeted measures to retain skilled professionals and promote return migration can help reverse the brain drain phenomenon. Canada's "Express Entry" program, which fast-tracks skilled immigrants for permanent residency, has been successful in attracting and retaining talent from around the world (Hou & Picot, 2018). Similarly, Portugal can implement policies to attract expatriates back to the country by offering incentives such as tax breaks, career opportunities, and support for reintegration. Additionally, fostering diaspora networks and creating opportunities for knowledge exchange and collaboration can leverage the expertise of Portuguese emigrants for the country's benefit.

Combating emigration is a complex but essential task for countries seeking to retain their human capital and ensure sustainable economic growth. By enhancing economic opportunities, investing in

education and training, improving the quality of life, and promoting social and cultural engagement, countries can create environments that discourage emigration and retain its human capital for sustainable development.

6. Conclusions and Discussion

This dissertation explored the role of replacement migration in addressing demographic ageing, a phenomenon that poses significant challenges to the sustainability of economic and social systems in many countries. Demographic ageing, characterized by an increasing proportion of elderly individuals and a declining working-age population, threatens to strain public pensions, healthcare systems, and overall economic productivity. Replacement migration, which involves bringing in younger, working-age individuals from other countries, has been proposed as a solution to mitigate these issues.

Throughout this study, various aspects of replacement migration were examined, including its economic, social, and demographic impacts. The analysis revealed that while replacement migration can indeed have positive effects, such as bolstering the workforce, stimulating economic growth, and partially alleviating the fiscal pressures associated with an ageing population, it is not a panacea. The scale of migration required to fully offset demographic ageing is often unrealistic and may not be politically or socially feasible.

One of the critical findings is that although replacement migration can contribute positively to the economy and demography, it cannot entirely solve the problem of demographic ageing on its own. The influx of migrants helps to rejuvenate the workforce and support economic dynamism. However, relying solely on migration overlooks other crucial aspects needed for sustainable demographic and economic health. This reliance also brings potential challenges, such as social integration, cultural adjustments, and the capacity of receiving countries to effectively absorb large numbers of migrants. These demographic shifts will undoubtedly have detrimental consequences for the well-being of dependents, social harmony, labor productivity, and the sustainability of state and intra-family intergenerational solidarity mechanisms. Urgent measures are required to address these challenges effectively and in a timely manner. However, the existing solutions are few and limited.

In addressing the initial question of whether migration alone is sufficient to combat the challenges of demographic ageing, this dissertation has revealed that while replacement migration can contribute significantly to mitigating some effects, it is not a complete solution. The economic and demographic benefits of migration are evident; it can bolster the workforce, stimulate economic growth, and partially

alleviate fiscal pressures on public systems. However, the magnitude of migration required to fully offset the impacts of demographic ageing is often impractical and may not be socially or politically sustainable.

The limitations of relying solely on replacement migration underscore the necessity of a multifaceted approach. Migration should be viewed as one component of a broader strategy designed to achieve long-term demographic and economic sustainability. Several complementary measures need to be implemented to achieve sustainability. These include enhancing productivity through technological advancements and innovation, which can compensate for a smaller workforce by improving efficiency and output. Investing in education and lifelong learning is essential to maintain a highly skilled and adaptable workforce that can meet the evolving demands of the economy.

Additionally, supporting families through policies that encourage higher birth rates is crucial. These policies might include affordable childcare, parental leave, and financial incentives for having children. Improving the work-life balance and creating a supportive environment for raising children can help counteract low fertility rates, a primary driver of demographic ageing. Several studies find an intrinsic relationship between economic incentives and increased birth rates, in a dynamic and continuous cycle between the economy and health. It is observed that some countries have managed to boost their birth rates, increasing the young and active population, through effective economic incentives. This combats the demographic ageing process, ensuring more favorable economic conditions for individuals, families, and businesses, thus benefiting the economy of each country.

This research underscores the need for an integrated policy, based on the implementation of measures and the definition of economic incentives tailored to promote birth rates. Promoting the quality employment is another vital component. Economic growth that enables wage increases and job creation should be a priority. Public policies that stimulate innovation, infrastructure development, and support for key industries can create a vibrant economy capable of supporting a growing population. Promoting entrepreneurship and creating an environment conducive to business development are essential for generating high-quality jobs and fostering economic resilience. It is also important to develop policies to reduce the social vulnerability of the immigrant population, which translates, among other aspects, into a high exposure to precarious and informal work, with fewer rights and social integration, as well as difficulties in recognizing the skills of more qualified workers (Coleman, 2000; Abreu and Peixoto, 2009; Malheiros and Esteves, 2013). Finally, improving the overall quality of life is indispensable for retaining talent and reducing emigration.

The economic impact of migration in Portugal is significant, with immigrants contributing to labor market dynamics, entrepreneurial activities, and overall economic growth. However, migration also poses challenges, such as the need for effective integration policies and the prevention of social tensions. While implementing these policies, it is essential to consider ethical implications and potential challenges. Ensuring equitable access to childcare, education, and training opportunities is crucial. Policies should be inclusive and support all segments of the population, including low-income families and marginalized groups. Additionally, balancing short-term economic needs with long-term demographic strategies requires careful planning and sustainable policy design. Policymakers must consider the long-term impacts of their decisions on future generations and the overall stability of social and economic systems.

In conclusion, while replacement migration plays a valuable role in mitigating some of the impacts of demographic ageing, it is not sufficient on its own. A holistic approach that includes productivity enhancement, family support policies, quality employment, economic growth, and improved quality of life is essential for achieving sustainable demographic and economic health. By integrating these strategies, countries can build resilient and dynamic societies capable of adapting to the challenges posed by demographic ageing and ensuring long-term sustainability.

The original aim of this research project was to embark on a comprehensive exploration, delving into intricate analyses at the municipal level across various sectors. However, this ambitious pursuit encountered a significant roadblock due to a dearth of official municipal data. This insufficiency not only hindered my ability to proceed with the intended analysis but also emerged as a recurring impediment across multiple dimensions of this study. Consequently, this data deficiency posed a substantial constraint, thwarting our efforts to conduct a thorough investigation. Moreover, the issue of irregular migration emerged as another formidable challenge, further constricting the scope of our inquiry. It is pertinent to underscore that the burgeoning influx of immigrant workers may not be adequately captured within the confines of existing statistical frameworks. This discrepancy is primarily attributable to the exponential surge in immigrant numbers witnessed in recent years, compounded by the inherent complexities involved in accurately monitoring this dynamic demographic by public administrative bodies. A modification of migratory patterns can alter the attitudes of the host population and public authorities. None of these themes were addressed in this study. They should be the subject of future research. In a country where the greatest risk is not excessive immigration but rather emigration, these data are important: Portugal's demographic sustainability requires moderating emigration and ensuring sustained immigration, along with other policy measures.

7. References

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