

WP11 – Report on Migration, Ethnicity and Resilience

Portuguese National Report

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Introduction

The current report follows the guidelines for Work Package 11 – Report on Migration, Ethnicity and Resilience – of the RESCuE project.

The first chapter of the report offers a brief historical account of the migratory phenomena that have had Portugal as its origin or destination. We will then proceed to present some data regarding the current situation of immigrants and minorities in Portugal, with emphasis on public policy for prevention of racial discrimination, the racism in Portuguese political culture and an overview of indicators of racial inequalities in Portuguese society.

The second chapter is dedicated to everyday experience of immigrants in our sample. It focussed on three subjects: experiences of racism and discrimination; practices of migrants to deal with hardship and on how they converge and diverge with those of non-immigrants; and examples of the operation of transnational networks – for which to the experiences of emigration of Portuguese interviewees.

Finally, the third chapter is dedicated to a discussion of migrations – here extended also to include migrations within the national territory – as resilience processes, making use of the empirical data collected during the RESCuE project's fieldwork phase.

The report also includes in annex a list of the interviewees to help contextualizing quotations.

It should be noted that we opted to use the term Roma/Romani in this report to conform with international literature. However, the terms Roma/Romani are not used neither in academic nor everyday discourse in Portuguese. Instead, the Portuguese word *Cigano* or its feminine form *Cigana* are used by Portuguese Romani to identify themselves – as in the case of our interviewees - and also by activists and associations campaigning against racial discrimination against the Roma in their names.¹ We will thus preserve the word *Cigano/Cigana* in quotations.

¹ Examples are the Associação para o Desenvolvimento das Mulheres Ciganas em Portugal (Association for the Development of Roma Women in Portugal), a member of the Portuguese Platform for Women's Rights; the Associação de Mediadores Ciganos de Portugal (Association of Roma Mediators of Portugal), cultural inter-dialogue or the Associação Portuguesa para o Desenvolvimento da Etnia Cigana (Association for the Development of the Roma Ethnicity).

1. Overview of migration regimes in Portugal

1.1. Emigration

Large emigration fluxes from Portugal have a long history. However, their destinations have varied across time. The first significant ones took place during the Portuguese maritime expansion of the 15th and 16th centuries and were part of the colonization efforts of the deserted Atlantic archipelagos of Madeira and Azores and, to lesser, of outposts in South America, Africa and in the shores of the Indic Ocean. In the early 18th century, Brazil – then a Portuguese colony – took the role of main destiny for Portuguese emigration thanks to a gold rush. However, Portuguese emigration to Brazil would remain high well into the third quarter of the 20th century, with emigrants employed in agricultural activities and then services in the fast growing Brazilian cities.

The United States emerged in the 19th century as a second major destination for Portuguese emigrants, with significant communities establishing themselves in Hawaii – sugar plantation - in the states of New England (particularly Rhode Island and Massachusetts) – shipping and fishing - and later in California – in different agricultural activities.

The fascist dictatorship that was established after the 1926 military coup would attempt to stifle emigration. At the instance of large rural landowners worried with the prospect of increasing wages due to a dwindling workforce, the Salazar government introduced severe restrictions to emigration in the early 1930s and these would stay in place until the mid-1950s. Illegal emigration did continue but, owing to both the global economic depression and later the severe disruption of sea trade and movement during World War II, the 1930s and 1940s saw a sharp decline in emigration.

The late 1950s and the 1960s would witness a new surge in emigration, owing to several factors: a long period of very fast economic growth - the "*Trente Glorieuses*" – in post-war Central and Northern Europe, with a consequent increase in labour demand; the notoriously miserable living conditions in which the majority of the Portuguese population was mired at the time; a mild loosening of emigration restrictions by the dictatorship, which began to regard emigrant remittances as major source of hard currency. Together, these triggered a mass exodus; it is estimated that 1,5 million Portuguese left the country between 1957 and 1974², the majority of which in an illegal way (Pereira, 2012). France would become the major destination of this flux, although countries such as Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and Luxembourg would also host large communities of Portuguese emigrants. The Portuguese Colonial Wars in Africa (1961-1974) also played a role in stimulating emigration. On the one hand, the fascist government increased the settlement efforts to reaffirm its claim over the Portuguese African colonies in the international scene. On the other hand, the dragging on of the war led to an increasing number of youth leaving the country to avoid conscription into the army.

²To grasp the magnitude of this movement, one should bear in mind that the Portuguese population in 1960 was 8,6 millions.

A mild decline in emigration levels - particularly to Brazil and the United States – can be traced back the late 1970s. But it would be the period after ascension to the European Economic Community in 1986 that Portugal would see the sharpest drop. This reflected the increase in life conditions, tied to the fast economic growth (in which the afflux of foreign investment and European Funds played a major role) and the further development of the Portuguese welfare state following the ascension to the EU. Portugal had stopped being, perhaps for the first time since the Middle Ages, stopped being an emigration country to become one of destination.

The economic crisis would change that. Looking closely at the We can discern a two-waved impact of the 2007-8 global crisis. The first phase lasted from 2007 to 2010. At first, the number of emigrants leaving Portugal on a permanent basis more than doubled between 2006 and 2007 standing at 26,8 thousands in the latter year. Yet emigration then proceeded to decline in the next two years – standing at 16,9 thousands in 2009. 2010 marks a transition year, with the number of emigrants rising to 23,8 thousands. The second phase definitely kicks in in 2011. In the context of fast-rising unemployment and the setting in motion of an IMF-ECB-EC-sponsored austerity programme focussing heavily on direct and indirect lowering of salaries, 44,0 thousand persons left Portugal in 2011, a number that would rise to and peak at 53,9 thousands in 2013. This was by far the highest number since the 1970s, according to INE data, and would match – if not surpass – the yearly average of the exodus of the 1960s.³

Table 1 – Main destination countries of Portuguese emigration in 2014: # of emigrants entering the country and their importance in total

Country	# of Portuguese emigrants
United Kingdom	30546
Switzerland	20039
France	18000
Germany	10121
Spain	5923
Angola	5098
Belgium	4227
Luxembourg	3832
Mozambique	3759
Netherlands	2079
Brazil	1934

Source: (Pires, et al., 2015)

The spike in emigration of the 2010s has rekindled old networks and built new ones in traditional destinations, such as France and Switzerland. It also propelled the United Kingdom,

³The highest number of emigrants leaving Portugal in a single year between 1975 and 2006 had been registered in 1992 (22,3 thousands). Note that data before 1975 severely underestimates emigration due to the high percentage of illegal emigration during the dictatorship that ruled Portugal until April 1974 – both to avoid general emigration restrictions in place at the time or specifically to escape conscription into an Army then fighting the Portuguese Colonial Wars in Africa (1961-1974).

which had been secondary as destination in the surge of the 1960s, to the condition of main destination (see table 2). It can thus be said that emigration became a widespread strategy to face the crisis – and particularly unemployment and the degradation of labour conditions that came with it - in Portugal. This is very much present in our sample, as part of the individuals that compose it had either past experiences of emigration or were contemplated the possibility of emigrating as an answer to current hardship. We will delve more deeply into that question in section 2.

1.2. Immigration

Both emigration and the idea of a Portuguese *Diaspora* have played a preeminent role in Portuguese national narratives. Yet Portugal also has a long-standing history of immigration - one that arguably has received much less attention in Portuguese historiography – that is closely related to the colonial empire it maintained between the early 15th century and 1975.

Forced immigration in the form of slave trade was a feature of Portuguese society and economy until the mid-19th century. Historically, slaves in Portugal had two main origins: until the 15th century, most slaves were captives from the wars of the *Reconquista* and later raids and intermittent wars with kingdoms in present-day Morocco – very much following the slave regime ongoing in the Mediterranean basin at the time. This slavery regime would change with the onset of the Portuguese maritime expansion in the Atlantic. Portuguese navigators and merchants then began establishing outposts in the shores of West Africa and the Gulf of Guinea, inserting themselves in existing African slave trade circuits as well fostering and creating new ones.

The presence of a very significant number of slaves in Portugal by the end of the 16th century is well attested. These were concentrated in the South of the country, where the main slave ports of Lisbon and Lagos were located. Working with baptism records in parishes, Fonseca (2002) estimates that slaves constituted 7,8% of the population in the Lisbon area and 8,4% of the population in the Algarve in the late 16th century.⁴The vast majority of these – 83,8% - were of sub-Saharan African origin or descent.

The proportion of slaves in the Portuguese population would slowly decline after the 16th century, as the destination of slave trade shifted from Europe to the Americas. Slavery would be eventually abolished in metropolitan Portugal by successive decrees of 1761, 1773 and 1800 – not without resistance, particularly from landowners in the South of the country – and in 1869 in the Portuguese colonies.

Nevertheless, the presence of Africans and African descendants remained very much a staple of the Lisbon population well after that. Analysing data from death registrations in Lisbon parishes, Lahon (Lahon 1999) estimates that, in some of them, the number of those identified as ‘blacks’ amounted to 3,5% of the total registered deaths. Lahon also points out to the high proportion funerals paid by Church charities where the deceased is identified as black,

⁴Note that these numbers do not include freed slaves.

testifying to marginalization suffered by freed slaves and their descendants. The importance of African and African descendent populations can be felt in Portuguese culture giving rise to what Tinhorão (1988) calls a *silent presence* of Africans in Portugal. One example is the presence of African influences in Portuguese popular music. Another example were the activities of the so-called *Black Brotherhoods*. These were religious associations of freed slaves and their descendants which counted with the patronage of the Portuguese royal family. Officially, they promoted the devotion of a particular Saint of the Catholic Church but also aimed at buying the freedom of slaves as well as to provide some support in sickness situations and also cover funeral expenses (Fonseca J., 2002).

While dwindling, immigration from the then Portuguese African colonies never ceased during the first three quarters of the 20th century. Indeed, the phenomenon of massive emigration that Portugal went through during the late 1950s and 1960s⁵ stimulated a new influx of immigrants from Cape Verde to make up for a depleted workforce, particularly in the construction sector.

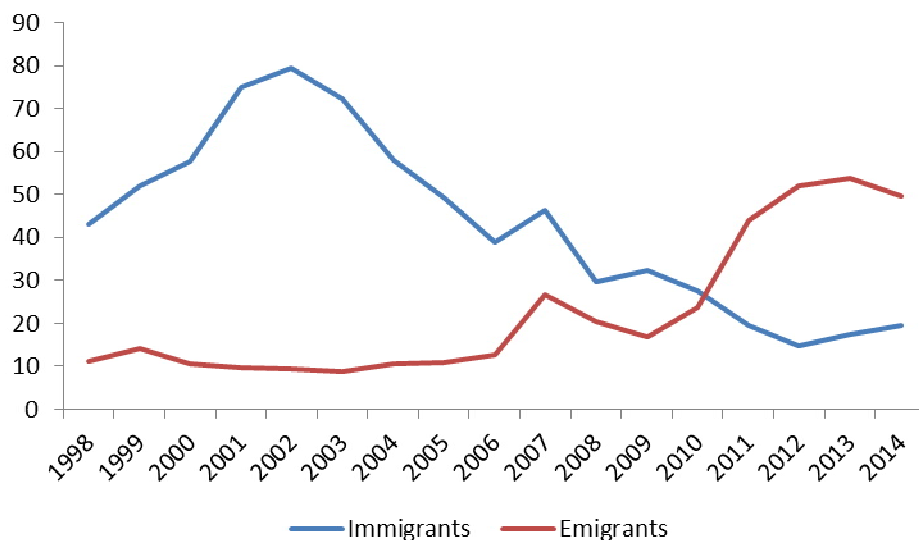
But it would be the decolonization process that followed the democratic revolution of 1974 that would trigger a new boost to African immigration to Portugal. The recognition of the independence of the Portuguese colonies in Africa (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and São Tomé e Príncipe) in 1974-75 led to a massive return of white settlers but also to the fleeing of a significant number of black African families – particularly those that had members in the lower ranks of the colonial administration and in the Portuguese military. Over the following years, migration networks from these countries would consolidate and remain active.

The period of economic growth triggered by the ascension to the EU in 1986 would lead to both to a rapid increase in numbers and a diversification in the origin of immigration fluxes. Immigration from the African Portuguese-speaking countries would remain important but would now be joined by new fluxes having their origins in South America (Brazil), Eastern Europe (Ukraine, Moldova and Romania) and, to a lesser extent, Asia (China).

Yet, this panorama changed considerably in the last decade, following the economic downturn of the early 2000s. Peaking in 2002, when 79,3 thousand persons entered Portugal, immigration began to decline steadily. By 2006, only 39,3 thousand registered immigrants were entering Portugal – a drop 41,6% in relation to 2002. The global financial crisis of the late 2000s and the onset of austerity – which translated into fast-rising unemployment and degradation of labour conditions – further accelerated this trend: by 2012, the number of registered immigrants in Portugal had fallen to just 14,6 thousands, a decline of 81,5% regarding 2002 and a record low in the period in consideration. Despite a very small recovery afterwards, the number of registered immigrants stood at just 19,5 thousands in 2014, still well below the pre-crisis values.

⁵See previous section.

Figure 1 - Number of permanent immigrants entering in and permanent emigrants leaving Portugal per year (1998-2014, in thousands)



Nevertheless, the immigration boom of the 1990s and early 2000s led to creation of significant immigrant communities. According to data from the General Census of 2011, a total of 394 thousand foreign nationals resided in Portugal, representing 3,7% of the total resident population in the country at the time and 74,0% increase relating to the situation in 2001. Of these, Brazilian nationals now represented by far the largest proportion, followed by Cape Verdeans, Ukrainians, Angolans and Romanians.

Tabela 1 – Foreign nationals residing in Portugal

#	Country	2011		2001	Variation 2001-11
		N	%	N	
1	Brazil	109787	27,8%	31869	244,5%
2	Cape Verde	38895	9,9%	33145	17,3%
3	Ukraine	33790	8,6%	10793	213,1%
4	Angola	26954	6,8%	37014	-27,2%
5	Romania	24356	6,2%	2661	815,3%
6	Guinea-Bissau	16360	4,1%	15824	3,4%
7	United Kingdom	15774	4,0%	8227	91,7%
8	France	14360	3,6%	15359	-6,5%
9	China	11458	2,9%	2176	426,6%
10	Spain	10486	2,7%	9047	15,9%
11	Moldova	10475	2,7%	2984	251,0%
12	São Tomé e Príncipe	10408	2,1%	8517	22,2%

Source: INE Census Data (2012)

1.3. Ethnic minorities

One should have in mind that the data presented in the previous section provides only a partial portrait of the ethnic and racial diversity of the Portuguese population. This is because immigrants, as they acquire Portuguese nationality, become “invisible” in official statistics. Data on racial or ethnic self-identification of the Portuguese population is not collected by public institutions, on the grounds of prevention of discrimination.⁶ Thus, the ethnic diversity of the Portuguese population should be seen as considerably higher than the numbers presented in the previous section suggest.

It is also important to bear in mind the case of the Portuguese Romani. Given the alluded restrictions on data collection, there is no official data on their number. Estimations by activists and researchers present considerable variations, with the lower threshold being placed at 30 thousand and the higher at 100 thousand (Castro, 2004).

1.4. Refugees

The refugee population in Portugal is extremely small. Only 699 refugees lived in Portugal in 2014 (UNHCR, 2016), by far the lowest total in the RESCuE sample.⁷ This is partly due to the geographical position of the country, which is situated at the Western tip of the European continent. As such, it is neither a major entry point nor does it stand in the main migration routes that have Europe as its destination (Morehouse & Blomfield, 2011).

This extremely low number of refugees present in the country may explain the lack of research on refugees and on the attitudes of the general population towards them.

On the political level, the stance of the Portuguese national and local authorities towards the hosting of refugees has been extremely favourable. The Portuguese Government has been vocal on its willingness to host a large number of refugees that are currently staying in other European Countries. In April 2016, Prime Minister António Costa declared that Portugal had already offered to receive 9 000 refugees - more than the double of the quota that was initially attributed to the country by the European Commission. Furthermore, Costa has urged the European Union to simplify up the process by which refugees may apply for relocation, in order to speed up their arrival in Portugal (Portuguese Government, 2015).

⁶ This is more a de facto standard practice rather than a de jure restriction. The Portuguese Constitution is often cited as forbidding the collection of such data. However, though collection on data on race for individual processes (say, applications to social benefits) is explicitly barred, the text of the Constitution does make a provision allowing the collection of such data for anonymized statistical treatment (Article 35).

⁷ The closest country to Portugal in this regard in the RESCuE sample is Spain, who hosted 5 798 refugees in 2015.

Aside from the Government actions, there are also signs of a wider social mobilization to receive refugees and support their integration in Portuguese society. The National Platform for Supporting Refugees, an umbrella organization of public and private institutions, was created in September 2015. It currently counts with 234 members scattered through the country, including Municipal and Civil Parish councils, higher education institutions, schools, religious charities from different confessions and civil rights associations. The President of the Portuguese Council for Refugees, the main Portuguese NGO in the area, also declared in late September 2015 that 144 Municipal Councils and Civil Parishes had already declared themselves ready to host refugees (Dias & Oliveira, 2015).

1.5. Instances of discrimination against immigrants and minorities

The Portuguese Constitution consecrates the principle of equality, which explicitly precludes any type of discrimination based on race or territory of origin.⁸The Constitution also explicitly forbids the existence of associations of racist or fascist nature in Portugal.⁹

Aside from facing these strong constitutional barriers, parties with a xenophobic agenda have found only a very residual appeal in general or local elections¹⁰. Episodes of organized violence against immigrants, black Portuguese or Portuguese Romani have been practically non-existent in the history of Portuguese democracy. Likewise, there have been no violent uprisings claiming to stem from the mistreatment of ethnic minorities or to represent their grievances.

This situation owes partly to the strong political investment in integration policies by successive governments since the democratic revolution. In 2015, Portugal ranked alongside Sweden at the top of the Migration Integration Policy Index. Among the traits highlighted by the index were the levels of integration of immigrants in the Portuguese labour market and the quality of implementation of Portuguese anti-discrimination policies as well as the working of the mechanisms to facilitate family reunion and acquire Portuguese nationality (CIDOB/MPG, 2016).

But political culture also plays a significant role in the irrelevance of racist political organizations in Portugal. Indeed, one of the enduring tropes in Portuguese political discourse is the notion that, in contrast to other European nations, the Portuguese are “non-racist” and have a special affinity with a string of non-European peoples – mainly, but not exclusively,

⁸The full article 13th of the Constitution reads “No one can be put at advantage or disadvantage, deprived of any right or exempted from any duty on the grounds of ascendancy, sex, race, language, territory of origin, religion, political or ideological convictions, education, economic situation, social condition or sexual orientation.”

⁹Article 46th Article 160th also prescribes that MPs found guilty of belonging to fascist or racist organizations are to lose their seat in Parliament.

¹⁰ The National Renovation Party, the more notorious far-right party in Portugal, achieved only 0,5% of voting in the 2015 general election.

African peoples. The popularity of this trope has its roots in the fascist dictatorship efforts to legitimize the survival of the Portuguese colonial empire in a post-World War II international environment increasingly hostile to direct colonial rule. Fascist propaganda did so by portraying Portuguese colonialism as something unique: in contrast to other colonial powers, Portugal would actually be a “multiracial society” and a country spreading over three continents.¹¹ Territories such as Angola or Mozambique were not to be seen as colonies but instead as “overseas provinces”, with their inhabitants supposedly being treated in equal terms with European Portuguese.

Both the idea of the Portuguese “multiracial society” and the “non-racism” of the Portuguese have been extensively disproved by scientific research.¹² However, the endurance of the myth of Portuguese “non-racism” even after the democratic revolution did play a very important role in preventing racist discourses from ever taking root on the Portuguese politics (Marques, 2007).

In fact, racism and discrimination based on skin color and ethnicity remain a problem in Portuguese society, albeit one that tends to operate in a more covert way (Vala, Lopes, & Lima, 2008) and whose manifestations take place in tandem with other social structuring processes – and particularly social class (Costa, 2012). This ends up configuring a series of cumulative inequalities, which may have their origin in processes other than race – Portugal is one of European countries the highest levels of social and economic inequality – but nevertheless end up strongly affecting ethnic minorities and immigrants. We will look more closely into four key social areas where such inequalities take a more emphatic shape: political representation; work; education; and justice.

Minorities are severely under-represented in political instances at national level, such as in the Government and Parliament, and at local level, such as in the case of Municipal Councils. In truth, some recent exceptions ought to be noted. The current Prime Minister is of Indian (Goese) descent, the Minister of Justice is a black Portuguese woman born in Angola and the State Secretary for Local Government is a Portuguese Roma. However, this does not mean that participation in the political system is generalized among immigrants and minorities. For instance, there are currently no black or Roma MPs in Parliament nor heading a Municipal Council and active involvement of immigrants in political parties is still reduced. A series of reasons has been put forward to explain this situation, namely the insufficiency of efforts by political parties to integrate immigrants and members of ethnic minorities within their ranks, the absence of measures of positive discrimination and even latent prejudice within parties’ structures (Carvalhais & Oliveira, 2015). Nevertheless, one should not lose sight of the fact that political participation in Portugal is extremely low when compared to the rest of Europe and has fallen even further with the crisis (Viegas, Teixeira, & Amador, 2016). Thus, lack of participation is not a specific feature of immigrants but something transversal to Portuguese society.

¹¹The Portuguese colonial empire also included possessions in India (the enclaves of Goa, Damão and Diu) and East Timor, as well as the administration of the Chinese territory of Macau.

¹²For a comprehensive refutation of the “exceptional character” of Portuguese colonialism see Jerónimo (2012).

Another area where race compounds other inequalities is the labour world. This can be seen regarding wages, occupations and unemployment. Immigrants from Portuguese-speaking African countries¹³ worked in a disproportional part of the lower quality jobs in Portugal. In 2011, 37,0% of these immigrants were in what INE considers low status occupations, against 13,0% for the general population in Portugal. This situation translated into lower wages, with immigrants receiving a monthly average wage of 499€, against 603€ in the case of the general population. Unemployment rate is also higher among these immigrants. In 2011, it stood at 30,0% - more than the double of already high national rate of 13,0% at the time. (Oliveira & Gomes, 2014). Inequality in access to employment is also acute the case of the Romani (Mendes, Magano, & Candeias, 2014).

However, there are considerable differences in this respect between different ethnicities. Working with data from a sample survey taken in 2005, Santos et al. found employment rates vary widely according in this respect. Thus 85,0% of interviewed Ukrainians declared to have a job, a percentage that fell to 67,0% among Romani and to 59,0% among Guinean-Bissauans. (Santos, Oliveira, Rosário, Kumar, & Brigadeiro, 2007). Even though these data precede the crisis, they demonstrate the existence of multi-layered discrimination, with skin color (in the Guinean-Bissauans) coupled long-standing prejudices (such as those referring to Romani) playing a role on these processes.

Education is another area where one can observe inequalities linked to race in operation. Rates of school failure among African descendent students are higher than the general population at all schooling levels. For instance, in the 2013/14 school year, the proportion of students who flunked at secondary education was 2,5 times higher among African descendants than in the total population. In turn, the likelihood of an African descendent student getting into higher education is roughly half of that of the general population. Only 16,0% of African descendants in the reference age were enrolled in a higher education course, against 34,0% in the general population. African descendants were much more likely to be guided to a vocational course than other students, which might indicate the operation of some sort of racist profiling in Portuguese schools. In 2013/14, 78,0% of African descendant students in secondary education were enrolled in vocational courses, against 43,0% of the general population. There is certainly a class element at work here, as a larger proportion of African descendant students come from families with lower schooling and lower social economic status. However, it should be also noted that the difference in this latter regard to the general population is far from justifying the magnitude of the numbers above (Abrantes & Roldão, 2016).

Finally, traces of discrimination can also be found in the operation of the Portuguese judicial system. Portugal features a relatively high incarceration rate, which is a paradoxical situation given that criminality rates in the country are below European average.¹⁴ Immigrants are

¹³ The five African countries where Portuguese is an official language are Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe.

¹⁴ According to Eurostat data, there were 1,1 murders per 100 000 inhabitants in Portugal in the period 2010-12, 18th out of 27 EU countries, considerably below the European average of 1,5. Yet, and according to the World Prison Brief data, it was the 9th EU country with the largest prison population rate: 135 inmates per 100 000 inhabitants.

particularly affected by this situation. In 2011, incarceration rates among immigrants from the Portuguese speaking countries were 15 times higher than in the general population (Roldão, 2016). Portuguese courts also tend to judge foreign citizens more harshly than Portuguese for comparable crimes. Working with data from 2006, Fonseca found that in the case of physical aggression, the ratio of conviction was 28,2% higher for foreigners. Considerable differences were also found regarding drug dealing and stealing, with the difference being 17,0% and 14,1% respectively.(Fonseca G., 2010)

Again, we can find racism intertwining with wider social processes. Indeed, textual analysis of the rulings of Portuguese courts have concluded that they frequently call upon a common sense and essentialist notion of culture in their rulings. This notion of culture fosters the reproduction of negative stereotypical portraits of certain social groups and social classes – including ethnic minorities and immigrants (Cunha & Jerónimo, 2015).

2. Everyday stories of migrant subjects

2.1. Experiences of racism and discrimination

During our interviews, we found few explicit accounts of migrants suffering open racial discrimination or racist slurring or violence.

A major exception was provided by a Roma couple. Despite investing heavily in vocational training and completing secondary education through adult education program, A. (the husband) struggled to find a job – something that both members of the couple attributed to racism. Indeed, they specifically zoomed in on skin colour, contrasting the darker tone of A.'s skin with that of P.'s (the wife), who got a job in a local third sector institution.

A: Our dream was for both of us to have a job.

H: The minimum wage. I wouldn't mind. 505€.

A: Him working and me too. That is a dream that we want to fulfil.

H: Something so simple for everyone else – but a dream for us.

P: We aren't afraid of work, thank God! What happens is that he is not working because nobody gives him a job. He goes to interviews, they look at him, and, as we are of Roma ethnicity, there's racism. We can all say that there is no racism, but it's there. For instance, it was easier for me to get a job because I don't have the look of a Cigano.

A: I have been to several places where I knew they were really in need [of workers], with colleagues of mine who are not Romani. They are hired and I am not. They just give me an excuse: "we'll call you back"...

P: But the phone never rings.

A: And when they [the colleagues] left the room [they say]: 'Hey, nice! I got it!'. To me, they just say they'll call back. There is still a lot of prejudice." [PA/G/R1]

This excerpt is also very revealing by the stress on the desire to work and the involuntary character of A.'s situation of unemployment. Several readings can stem from this emphasis. The centrality of work for personal identity and as source of perceived dignity is a theme certainly at work here. Nevertheless, the preoccupation of the interviewees in stressing the importance of work can also be seen as conscious way to counter the stereotyping of Romani prevalent in Portuguese society – prejudice that frame Romani as a group that sheds away from work and willingly living on social security benefits.

In two other instances, the relation of immigrants with prejudice is more complex. That is the case of LO/L, from São Tomé e Príncipe and GE/L, from Cape Verde. GE/L, a former

construction worker in his 60s, describes his efforts to find housing in the mid-1980s in the following way:

"I had saved some money. I either had to find a room to rent or had to buy a shack. At first, I tried to rent. But I couldn't find any because, in those days, there was that problem: you couldn't, they [the landlords] wouldn't rent houses to coloured people. They had doubts. And maybe they were right, no? So I settled here." (GE/L/R1)

This excerpt reveals an example of racism still prevalent in the 1980s, while Lugarão was still a fast growing suburb in a major metropolitan area. But it is also telling how it presents prejudice as something that might be justified. Even if GE/L was the victim of such prejudice he does admit the possibility of a grounding for it in general. This is even more striking in the case of LO/L. LO/L is a woman in her early 40s, who emigrated to Portugal as a small child after her parents' death. Two years before our interview, she opened a small restaurant after losing her job.

"LO/L: To attract more [customers] I started to make other dishes. In weekdays, normal cooking: bean stew, fried fish with rice, something like that. Wednesday, muamba. Saturday, cachupa.¹⁵ On Sundays, I sometimes cook Portuguese stew or dobrada¹⁶. That's how we've done it so far.(...)

Interviewer: And the goal is to get different publics?

LO/L: To attract them.

Interviewer: Who? African community? Whites?

LO/L: No, no, no, no. Portuguese only. Because, basically, only Portuguese go there. I mean, if a coloured person enters I am not going to say: 'Look, I won't serve you'. No. I serve everybody. But I want to avoid it. Why? Because I already know it doesn't work out right. When an establishment has already been stained because of outside people, usually...

I: But why do you say that? Because whites become afraid of going there? Are you afraid of trouble?

LO/L: Yes. It always creates confusion. They drink a few pints and that's enough to start causing trouble." (LO/L/R1)

This excerpt is remarkable on three different levels. Firstly, it hints on instances of race-based frictions in everyday life. Secondly, it fuses "Portuguese" and "whites" as two equivalent categories – which is the more notable as she herself, despite being black and born in São Tomé e Príncipe, has Portuguese nationality and has lived in Portugal since she was a child. But above all, it is the idea of "justified prejudice" that emerges in her reasoning. This implies in her case, like in GE/L's, a split between oneself and an abstract portrait of "blacks" in an unfavourable light - thus pointing to the hidden but nevertheless pervasive operations of racism.

¹⁵ Muamba and cachupa are traditional dishes from Angola and Cape Verde, respectively.

¹⁶ Portuguese stew and dobrada are traditional Portuguese dishes.

2.2. Practices of immigrants in coping with hardship

Immigrants in our sample shared much of the experiences of precarity of the Portuguese - particularly those related to precarity at work and unemployment and their consequences such as decline in mental and physical health. A lot of the practices in which they engage as part in resilience processes are also common, such as those relating to budget juggling.

The more salient and consistent differences in this regard are, on the one hand, the participation in non-family gift networks, on the other, a more frequent engagement in the practice of house sharing.

Indeed the only extended networks of gift outside the nuclear family that we came across in our sample were those of immigrants. This is very much the case of GE/L's maintenance work on the shack where he lives:

"I have taken the dirt away, I have added the gravel. Now it's just adding the sand. I make cement. I add a layer. Then a friend comes: a fellow countryman! He joins me, mixes the screed and clears some things up. Because there is little money and it almost isn't worth to spend a lot, as the neighborhood is going to be demolished soon." (GE/L/R2)

So too PE/L, an Angolan immigrant, mentions how he feels obliged to help friends with small sums of money, even if he has very little to spare for himself:

"Well, it's that thing that we Angolans have, right? Man, I don't have much but hey! Take 10. Look, take 20 something. Sometimes there are friends like this over here. For instance, I, with the little money I have... Last month, when I received, I remembered there was a friend up in [nearby neighborhood] who was going through a bad patch. So I said to him: "Look, I don't have much; but, here, have 2 euros. At least it's something"" (PE/L/R1)

Likewise, ML/L, a Guinean-Bissauan, refers to this type of network in action.

"Yes, neighbors and friends whom I have good ties with [money gifts]. Acquaintances from Africa and from here. When they are a little better and I have more difficulties... they can help. It can't be all, but some help, yes." (ML/L/R1)

We also found the practice of house sharing to be more frequent among immigrants. It arises as an answer to situations of severe financial pressure, caused by the loss of a job or a sudden illness.

"So, in 2009, 2009. I was back again at the house of that friend of mine who gave me shelter. By chance she is my spouse now, that's it. I back, I had my mouth trembling [from a heart attack], I didn't have there any wage. I didn't even have money - I had some money but I didn't have any safety." (LO/L/R1)

"When I finished my degree in 2012 I had been there wandering, looking for a job. I had seven, eight, hard months there, in the trenches. I ended without home and at the time I had a girlfriend here in the neighborhood, here at Olivença Street. She took me. After a short time I found a little work on the construction. And how much time did I work? Six or seven months. It gave me balance." (PE/L/R1)

In most cases housemates were found through informal contacts made in the neighborhood or through fellow immigrants. There are also cases where families welcome other family members. Thus DI/L, a Guinean-Bissauan, PE/L and EL/L, a Brazilian, all engaged in this type of practice.

"I live at home here, in a room here. [With] a cousin that rented the house. (...) He's also single. (...) I pay the rent to him and then he pays [to the land lord]. He sublets me the room." (DI/L/R2)

"I share the house with a man that is a friend of my landlord [that] is already sixty four years old. It really was that necessity; but well, we share it there. Sometimes he is a little annoying, he, but well. He has his room and I have mine." (PE/L/R1)

"Before, I was living in a house almost for one year. (...). I left that house because my landlady wanted to raise the rent. I left it and I met this friend of mine trough a Brazilian woman and I explained and she told me that if I wanted, I could stay at her house and as I was unemployed, she would help in what way she could and I accepted." (EL/L/R1)

2.3. Transnational networks

An example of a transnational practices is the insertion of migrants in transnational networks. Such integration had different modalities .A very common one was the immigrant as a provider for its family back in the home country. An extreme example of this is ML/L. He reported to us how his family in Guinea-Bissau expected him to provide for needed goods - such as medicines – even if he himself was – thus forcing him to recur to gift networks and thus further indebting him regarding his friends.

"ML/L: Staying alone and leaving the family in Africa... Sometimes I think of going back.

I: But you do you want to come back?

ML/L: No. It is difficult. When you are in Europe, family trust is all upon you. When it doesn't go well, one gets disoriented.

I: Do you send something to your family in Guinea?

ML/L: Yes, I have to! In disease or some difficulty, they ask for help.

I: They ask you for help. And you send them...

Yes. Prescriptions and medicine. Sometimes, they have difficulties with food. I make my request and I have to find a way to send things there [to Guinea-Bissau]. Every month I have to send something there. Such as food and the like." (ML/L/R1)

A second modality is home as reference. In this case, the family network plays the role of an emotional bond which help giving meaning to the current hardship and suffering. This is very much the case of EL/L, who is constantly in contact with her mother back in Brazil via Facebook and for whom her current predicaments were a way of providing a better future to her children and to one day being able purchase a house in his hometown and return home.

"Well, in certain things I see that I haven't reached my goal of having the means to buy a house in Brazil and say 'I am leaving. If I leave, I'll have my house'. Otherwise, if I leave, I will have to live with my mother. I won't be able to stay with my children. Their father will not give me custody for living with them. So I think: 'If I have to suffer, better that I suffer here alone'. Of course I suffer because I haven't reached that goal of mine. But on the other hand, to arrive there and not being able to help my children... I'd rather be here alone knowing that, if I get work, I'll be able to send something back and help them. It isn't easy, of course. It's hard."
[EL/L/R1]

The third modality is the translation of the network. This is the case of immigrants that have no intention of returning but instead want to establish themselves in the host country and whose actions are – at least partially – oriented towards creating the conditions for bringing their family to live with them. This is the case of PE/L, who had the long term goal of bringing his children from Angola to Portugal.

"I have two children. The first is a son, who is 19 years old. The second is a daughter, who is 17 (...). They want to come [to Portugal]. It is I who have not met what is required. Last year, I tried something better and I have already applied to SEF¹⁷. SEF answered back that, to be granted family reunion, I have to have a [house] lease in my name (...). So, last year, I applied to a tender [for social housing] by the Municipal Council. I am waiting for the result. Let's see what happens." (PE/L)

The workings of emigration networks were also detected during our fieldwork. CL/L is a Portuguese woman in her late 40s. She and her husband lost their jobs almost simultaneously in 2014. Between our first and second interviews, husband left for the UK and CL/L was strongly inclined to join him. The decision to emigrate was not an individual one but something

¹⁷ The SEF (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras – literally Service of Foreigners and Borders) is the branch of the Ministry of Internal Affairs that is responsible for carrying out the government policy regarding immigration and asylum seeking.

that was taken inside a network, with his cousins – who were already established there - facilitating the obtainment of a job in a factory and providing him with housing on arrival.¹⁸

NA/G is a Portuguese man in his early 70s, who returned to his native village after retirement. His case gives us the other side of the operation of these networks. In his case, he was supporting his elder son establishing himself to Brazil through money transfers, stepping in while he was engaging in training and acquired a local Brazilian certification. At the same time, he was housing his grandchildren something that was putting a heavy burden in a budget.

“NA/G: I didn't see it coming. I did thought it could happen. He divorced and went to Brazil. The mother [the son's wife] hurt the children, but first she hurt the father (...) He nearly went mad with grief. I spent a lot of money with that. And then he left for Brazil

I: You were still supporting him when he was in Brazil

NA/G: Yes, I had to. He moved there. Now he's remarried. But, in the beginning, all the expenses until he was well established there... We sold a vineyard and all the money went for them to buy a house. They have a house that is theirs, fortunately. But all those expenses, it was I who bore them.” (NA/G/R1)

¹⁸ The relevant quotation can be found in chapter 3.

3. Migrations as resilience processes

Migrations can be understood as part of processes of resilience, as they involve both mobilization of resources and shifting of risk. Mobilization of resources is often performed through family networks, for both funding traveling and welcoming in the destination. Shifting of risks is done in space and time, as the migrant person switches the primary risk of poverty, unemployment or low wages in his place of origin for vulnerability to secondary risks – e.g. discrimination - in his place of destination. Critically, this applies not only to international migrations, but to ones occurring within the national territory as well.

Indeed, migrations constitute a shock which alters individual's lives in different levels, but are sometimes also a response to other events that would also qualify as turning points.

Indeed, migrations have a bidirectional relationship on one's networks, both shaping and being shaped by them. Family networks in particular played an important part in our interviewees' migrations. We saw how the presence of relatives was important element in framing CL/L's husband decision to emigrate. Other examples can be alluded to, such as JU/L, a Romanian immigrant whose father and brother respectively preceded him and later called for them to join. EL/L is another case at point too. Although lacking in family or friends in Portugal, she did move to Portugal with her boyfriend.

Yet, also interesting is to take into consideration the cases in which the family network played a more mitigated role. The case of PE/L is very interesting in this regard, because of the ambiguous feelings has towards his family in Portugal, to the point downplaying their role in favour of friends he made afterwards.

"In truth, when I came [to Portugal], it was a friend of mine that was supposed to receive me. But I arrived on a Saturday and this friend was not answering his phone. He knew I had this aunt, sister to my late father, who lived in [suburb of Lisbon]. But I didn't want to go there. By fate, I ended there anyway, because there was no-one at the airport to receive me. So I went there. I stood there for just three months, then rented a room... She didn't know I was coming. It was an uncle of mine that had told me back [in Angola]: 'Look, if you are going to Portugal, there's this aunt of yours – here's her number". But I had little proximity to her – she's a half-sister of my father – and I had decided not to call her. But I ended up stranded in the airport, so I had to... When you are lodging, and particularly when it wasn't arranged beforehand, one has to make concessions, right? We can't really demand things, can we? Well, it could have gone a little better, but that's OK. It was a lesson for me... While I was looking for a job, I got to know a guy from Guinea-Conacry – he lives in Switzerland now. So he told me 'man, but you don't have any privacy; you live at your aunt's and don't have the keys to the house. I live in this place where they rent room – for that money [he was paying his aunt], you can have your own room." So I pondered and went for it... He called the landlord and by the end of the day we met. We talked it over, he gave me a key to my room and I gave him €100. And that's how I began living alone [laughs]" (PE/L)

Migration processes are sometimes naturalized in the interviews (most of them came from places where emigration is a common option). In these cases, the act of migration itself is associated with specific events (illness, pregnancy, marriage, etc.), but this decision is always framed in a dynamic of social expectations that frame migration as a natural step towards a better life. This is in some cases even reinforced by the fact that a considerable part of the relatives have themselves already immigrated - as in cases like AS/L – a Cape Verdean immigrant - or JU/L. AS/L thus narrates the circumstances of how she came to Portugal in very much this way:

"I lived alone with my sisters [in Cape Verde]. My mother came here very sick. She's been here for more than thirty-odd years. And so I stayed with my three sisters, it was I who took care of them. My father, in quotation marks, he lived in another house, supported us, yes, but it was I who took care of them. And then my sister came to here, sick with anemia, and we kept coming ..." (AS/L/R1)

Likewise, LO/L describes the fact that she came to live in Portugal as something out of her control:

"Interviewer: When did you come to Portugal?"

LO/L: In '89. I was nine years old.

I: Did you come with your parents?

LO/L: No, I came with my aunt. (...) I was young, I didn't have option, I couldn't choose.

I: It was your parents who told...

LO/L: No, my grand-mother did. I don't have father or mother. So, I came with my aunt. Supposedly it was also to start studying – I would study during the day and she at night. It didn't happen." [LO/L/R1]

However, a lot of international migrations in our sample were explained by interviewees as a planned attempt to improve poor living conditions – and thus shifting risks. It was the case of PE/L or JU/L, who left for Portugal from Angola and Romania, respectively. EL/L also left Brazil for Portugal in search for better working conditions than at home.

"I listened to people saying: "It's Europe. And Portugal is a very good place to work". I asked myself "Is it really?" I had this curiosity to find out. I had heard that it was good place to earn money and good place to find work... My goal was to provide for a better life for my children... But there's certain things I saw and I couldn't make it. Not in the way I had imagined, at least... I thought I could get a job and earn well enough, so that I could send something for them [the children] to buy what they wanted. I used to hear a lot of people saying "Hey, this guy is in Europe, he is earning good money. He already bought a house in Brazil, he has this and that." And I think: 'What kind of services do this people do? Can it be just honest services?' Because that is not easy when one has an honest job. Money doesn't fall off the sky!... Of course I suffer because I did not reach my objective of returning and buying a house for me and my children. But, on the other hand, if it is just for suffering, get there and not being able to help my

children, then I'd rather remain here alone, knowing that, when I get work, I can send home something and help them." (EL/L/R1)

A 20-year-old LU/G left his native village near Gótica for Belgium in 1984. He justified this decision with the scarcity of jobs and the short-term contracts associated with the existing ones.

"I had just finished my [compulsory] military service. I left the army in April and I went away [to Belgium] in September. There were very few jobs here – and all were on one-year contracts... When I was 15, I began working for [car workshop] where I learnt car paintwork. The contract ran out and I signed a six-month contract with the [Olive oil company] factory. I was then called up for the Army – and when I finished it, I went there [to Belgium] – where I stood until 2009." (LU/G/R1)

Between our first and second interviews, CL/L's husband decided to emigrate to England, with the support of a cousin who was already established there, and she was seriously considering joining him soon.

"So he made this cooking course, but he was finding nothing but internship after internship. His cousin came to visit us about a month and a half ago. He [the husband] said to him: "Man, this situation is very stressing, very tough. I am thinking of trying something elsewhere". "So why don't you come and join us?". And I said to my husband: 'Look, maybe it is for the best that we emigrate. You already had thought about leaving to Germany anyway... And then I told him – because, if the option was to go alone he wouldn't go. I would sooner see myself going than him. He wouldn't go. So I told him: "You have the support of your cousins. Your other cousin is moving there also. Your godson – he is godfather to one of her children - is moving there. The children are all going there. You have help, you have support and you can speak Portuguese at home at the end of the day. What else can you want? [Cousin] says he can find work for you there – you can't have any better!"'" (CL/L/R2)

A rarer reason put forward by interviewees for emigration was studying. The instances we found are both of Cape Verdean immigrants – though, in both cases these intentions quickly fell by the wayside. In AS/L's case, an early pregnancy is also strongly intermingled in the decision of leaving for Portugal.

"I did the 9th grade in Cape Verde. Then I came here to study, but I never actually went to school, because it was my mother who was helping out with my son [You had your son here in Portugal?]. No, I had a son in Cape Verde, when I was 15. It was my mother who was always there for me. Afterwards, I came here to study but I didn't go to school, so that my mother didn't have to bear all the expenses. And the work schedule was also not suitable. Then I was to study by night, but I have been postponing it until today... At the beginning, I was planning to return [to Cape Verde]. But she didn't want me to return with my son. She wanted that I went back alone, because she thought I would be able to concentrate on studying that way. But I didn't want to go back without my son, so I ended up staying." (AS/L/R1)

"[I came to Portugal] in 1989. I was 9... I came with my aunt. Supposedly, so that I could study during the day and she could study at night. It didn't work out that way. I didn't study. I stood

at home to take care of her children – she already had three children back then... She was working as a cook assistant, a cleaner or something like that – I don't remember that well. And she was taking a primary teacher course at night... I kept holding out until I was 16 – and then I left.” (LO/L/R1)

Internal migrations in our sample seem to be more diverse in motivation. These included the case of CA/G and the PA/G couple. Both left Gótica after marriage to live with in-laws – to the north of the Country in 2009 in the case of CA/L, and to the Madeira Islands in 2003 in the case of PA/G. Finding an affordable housing solution was another reason for moving within national territory. MR/L moved to his father-in-law house in Lugarão because this allowed her to save on rent and utilities bills. RO/G's husband decided to move to a village near Gótica, which she claims to have reluctantly agreed and was also a response:

“I must have been drunk! [laughs]. And I lived in [city] back then, do you believe it? I lived in [city] and ended up here... My brothers-in-law were living here and founded this [housing] cooperative. We would pay this share to become members. We got a bit carried away with it. I still thought: ‘we move to [village] and then we have no work and this and that’. But in the end we became members and now we have this fine house.” (RO/L/R1)

An element that is often present in migration processes is the aspiration to return to one's origin place in a more or less distant future. Our sample did comprise three cases where did this happen. We already saw how CA/L return to Gótica in the wake of her separation. The other two cases at point are those of NA/G and LU/G, who have both return to their native village – the former after retiring and the other after 25 years spent in Belgium. Yet, in both cases, the fulfilment of a long-lasting expectation is referred to in disillusioned terms:

“If you go back to the provinces after 30-something years living in Lisbon you're going to feel it. It's different, even if were not completely disconnected, as we came here once in a while for family reasons. Of course, we lost the relations we had with our friends. And when you live in Lisbon, you are bound to create some habits. I remember one thing that cost me a lot. I used to travel around, to sell and contact clients. I experienced the outside more. But then my parents were ageing and I thought: ‘What I'm I doing here?... It's best we just go there and help our parents through old age’. And so it was. In the year 2000, more or less. We returned here. And I ended selling the flat I had in Lisbon.” (NA/G/R1)

That migrations constitute can also be assessed by their place in our interviewees projects for the future – something that we can hypothesize as being more conceivable for people in the wake of the recent surge in Portuguese emigration. Thus TJ/G, a couple from Gótica, are locked into long-standing family dispute regarding what he claims to be his rightful share of the family's small business. Their plans for the future include moving to Southern Brazil and using his share to open a restaurant. LU/G, who invested all his savings from 30 years working abroad in a small café in his native village near Gótica, showed himself as disillusioned with his option of returning and repeatedly claimed that his only chance out was moving back to Belgium. BA/L, a young woman from Guinea-Bissau, is contemplating immigration to England upon finishing the vocational course. In turn, CL/L was now enthusiastic with the prospect of following her husband and confident she would also find a job in the UK. She also cherished

the prospect of her young son becoming proficient in both Portuguese and English, and also of providing her younger daughter with the chance to study in a British University.

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Annex

List of interviewees

Lugarão (Urban Area)

#	Name	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Nationality
1	TJ/G	F&M	48 (T), 50 (J)	Secondary (T), Basic (J)	Assistant at nursery home (T), unemployed (business owner)(J)	Portuguese
2	PA/G	F&M	36 (P), 38 (A)	Basic (P), Secondary (A)	Assistant at nursery home (P), unemployed (travelling salesman)	Portuguese (Roma)
3	FA/G	F	45	Basic	Library clerk	Portuguese
4	TE/G	F	43	Secondary	Municipal clerk	Portuguese
5	CR/G	F	34	Basic	Masseuse	Portuguese
6	MT/G	F	37	Basic	Factory worker	Portuguese
7	CA/G	F	43	Secondary	Taxi driver	Portuguese
8	NO/G	F	42	Basic	Assistant at nursery home	Portuguese
9	NS/G	M	73	Secondary	Retired (industrial draughtsman & business owner)	Portuguese
10	LU/G	M	49	Basic	Café owner	Portuguese
11	RO/G	F	72	Basic	Retired (cook)	Portuguese

Gótica (Rural Area)

#	Name	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Nationality
13	ML/L	M	66	None	Unemployed (Construction worker)	Guinean (Bissau)
14	JU/L	M	39	Basic	Unemployed (Construction worker)	Romanian
15	EL/L	F	31	Basic	Unemployed (Waitress)	Brazilian
16	BA/L	F	24	Basic*	Cleaning worker	Guinean (Bissau)
17	CL/L	F	39	Tertiary**	Unemployed (estate agent & cook)	Portuguese
18	AS/L	F	36	Basic	Unemployed (supermarket cashier)	Cape Verdean
19	NV/L	M	65	Basic	Retired (former business owner)	Indian
20	DI/L	M	25	Basic	Unemployed (construction worker)	Guinean (Bissau)
21	MA/L	F	55	Basic	Cleaning worker	Cape Verdean
22	MI/L	F	39	Basic	Cook/Cleaning worker	Cape Verdean
23	LO/L	F	41	Basic	Restaurant owner	São Tomean
24	PE/L	M	37	Basic	Waste collector	Angolan
25	AR/L	F	53	Basic	Unemployed (hairdresser)	Portuguese
26	GE/L	M	62	Basic	Unemployed (construction worker)	Cape Verdean

*Currently enrolled.