School of Sociology and Public Policy

Racial discrimination in the Portuguese labor market

The case of Brazilian qualified workers

Liv Cichon

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Advisor:
Thais França, Integrated Researcher,
Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology,
ISCTE – University Institute of Lisbon

Co-advisor:
Prof. Luís Nuno Rodrigues, Professor,
Director of the Centre for International Studies,
ISCTE – University Institute of Lisbon

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Segue o teu destino,
Rega as tuas plantas,
Ama as tuas rosas.
O resto é a sombra
De árvores alheias.

(Ricardo Reis/ Fernando Pessoa, 1916)

Abstract

The main objective of this dissertation is to uncover the perceptions of Brazilian qualified professionals in regards to racial discrimination during their job search, employment and career paths in the Portuguese labor market.

Post-industrial Western societies such as Portugal find themselves in continuous need to analyze labor market mechanisms, as some social groups such as immigrants and ethnic minorities keep experiencing limited and unequal access to these labor markets. Besides difficulties of finding appropriate jobs for their qualifications, immigrants more often than national workers face generally poor career prospects, lower wages, fewer promotion prospects, unfavorable working conditions and frequent verbal or physical harassment.

Economic and political shifts within the past decades, have led to several large waves of Brazilian citizens with diverse social backgrounds and professional qualifications migrating to Portugal, most of them aiming at a labor market insertion through employment and studies. Since the early 2000s, Brazilian immigrants have become the largest group of foreigners with legal residency status in Portugal. Recent years of increased safety issues, violence and political turmoil in Brazil and economic recovery in Portugal, have now attracted a new wave of qualified professionals from Brazil aiming at integrating into the Portuguese labor market.

Partially due to the timeliness of this new migration wave, little research has been conducted in relation to the specific integration of these skilled Brazilian workers in the Portuguese labor market and possible connections to the discrimination of immigrants in Portugal.

During this dissertation, the perceptions of Brazilian qualified workers have been researched in a mixed-method approach through a quantitative survey with 51 respondents and qualitative interviews with six participants. The results of both the qualitative and quantitative studies have shown, that prejudice and discrimination against qualified Brazilians in the Portuguese labor market are common. The perception of racist incidents may differ between immigrants in different work industries, job positions, types of companies and teams. It may also depend on each person's time spent in Portugal, motivation for migration, language skills, bureaucratic possibilities and other factors of the overall personal and professional life. Nevertheless, it has become evident that nearly every participant has had some encounter with prejudice or discrimination during either the job application process, career path or at the work place.

Key words: Labor market, Migration, Discrimination, Racism, Brazil and Portugal

Resumo

O objetivo principal desta dissertação é descobrir as percepções dos profissionais brasileiros qualificados em relação à discriminação racial durante a busca de emprego, dentro do lugar de trabalho e dentro do mercado de trabalho português.
As sociedades ocidentais pós-industriais, como Portugal, encontram-se em contínua necessidade de analisar os mecanismos do mercado de trabalho, como alguns grupos sociais marginalizados, especificamente imigrantes e minorias étnicas, continuam tendo acesso limitado e desigual a esses mercados de trabalho. Além das dificuldades de encontrar empregos adequados para as suas qualificações, os imigrantes com mais frequência do que os trabalhadores nacionais enfrentam más perspectivas de carreira, salários baixos, menos perspectivas de promoção, condições de trabalho desfavoráveis e assédio verbal ou físico frequente.
Mudanças econômicas e políticas ocorridas nas últimas décadas levaram a grandes vagas de cidadãos brasileiros com diversos origens sociais e qualificações profissionais emigrando para Portugal, a maioria voltada para a inserção no mercado de trabalho por meio do emprego e dos estudos. Desde o início dos anos 2000, os imigrantes brasileiros tornaram-se o maior grupo de estrangeiros com estatuto de residência legal em Portugal. Os últimos anos de aumento das questões de segurança, violência e turbulência política no Brasil e recuperação econômica em Portugal, agora atraíram uma nova onda de profissionais qualificados do Brasil com o objetivo de integrar-se ao mercado de trabalho português.
Em parte devido à oportunidade desta nova onda migratória, pouca pesquisa foi conduzida em relação à integração específica desses trabalhadores brasileiros qualificados no mercado de trabalho português e possíveis conexões com a discriminação de imigrantes em Portugal. Durante esta dissertação, as percepções de trabalhadores brasileiros qualificados foram pesquisadas em uma abordagem mista por meio de uma pesquisa quantitativa com 51 entrevistados e entrevistas qualitativas com seis participantes. Os resultados de ambos os estudos qualitativos e quantitativos mostraram que o preconceito e a discriminação contra brasileiros qualificados no mercado de trabalho português são comuns. A percepção de incidentes racistas pode diferir entre imigrantes em diferentes setores de trabalho, cargos, tipos de empresas e equipas. Pode também depender do tempo de cada pessoa gasto em Portugal, motivação para a migração, competências linguísticas, possibilidades burocráticas e outros fatores da vida pessoal e profissional em geral. No entanto, tornou-se evidente que quase todos os participantes tiveram algum encontro com preconceito ou discriminação durante o processo de candidatura de emprego, carreira ou no local de trabalho.

Palavras-chave: Mercado de trabalho, Migração, Discriminação, Racismo, Brasil e Portugal

Index

Index of figures

Glossary of acronyms

ACIDI	Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Dialogo Intercultural *(High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue)*
ACM	Alto Comissariado para as Migrações *(High Commissioner for Migration)*
ACT/ AWC	Autoridade para as Condições de Trabalho *(Authority for Working Conditions)*
APAV	Associação Portuguesa de Apoio à Vítima *(Portuguese Association for Victim Support)*
CICDR	Comissão para a Igualdade e Contra a Discriminação Racial *(Commission for Equality and against Racial Discrimination)*
CITE	Comissão para a Igualdade no Trabalho e no Emprego *(Commission for Equality in Labour and Employment)*
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística *(National Statistics Institute)*
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development
PALOP	Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa *(African Countries with Portuguese as Official Language)*
PORDATA	Base de dados sobre Portugal *(Database for Portugal)*
SEF	Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras *(Immigration and Borders Service)*
UAVMD	Unidade de Apoio à Vítima Migrante e de Discriminação *(Unit for Support to Migrant Victims and Discrimination)*

1. INTRODUCTION

Equal treatment within the labor market guarantees citizens of a democratic society more than just the chance of finding adequate employment, but a definition of their life quality in terms of healthcare, salary conditions, social security, career prospects, self-fulfillment, friendships and relationships, and many more (Avery, Volpone & Holmes, 2018; Cavalcante et al., 2019; Karsten, 2006).

Post-industrial Western societies such as Portugal therefore find themselves in continuous need to analyze labor market mechanisms, as some social groups such as immigrants and ethnic minorities keep experiencing limited and unequal access to these labor markets (Araújo & Matos, 2016; Baganha, 2001; Brito, Lopes & Vala, 2015; Henriques, 2018; Kraal, Roosblad & Wrench, 2009; Mendes & Candeias, 2013). Besides difficulties of finding appropriate jobs for their qualifications, immigrants more often than national workers face generally poor career prospects, lower wages, fewer promotion prospects, unfavorable working conditions and frequent verbal or physical harassment (Colella & King, 2018; Karsten, 2006). Previous research has shown that even with appropriate educational levels, language skills and residency permits, immigrants and ethnic minorities continue to face these labor difficulties through employment discrimination (Avery, Volpone & Holmes, 2018; Cavalcante et al., 2019; Colella & King, 2018; Karsten, 2006; Kraal, Roosblad & Wrench, 2009).

Being a democratic society, Portugal claims to promote equal opportunities for its citizens and current residents, aiming for social and economic wellbeing through fair labor conditions (CITE[1], 2018; Diário da República eletrónico, 2017; EUR-Lex, 2000). However, frequent research publications and case studies suggest that the Portuguese labor market is one of many public spheres in the country that frequently discriminate against minority groups of citizens, including immigrants and foreigners (Araújo & Matos, 2016; Baganha, 2001; Brito, Lopes & Vala, 2015; Henriques, 2018; Mendes & Candeias, 2013).

Economic and political shifts within the past decades, have led to several large waves of Brazilian citizens with diverse social backgrounds and professional qualifications migrating to Portugal, most of them aiming at a labor market insertion through employment and studies (França & Padilla, 2018; Malheiros, 2007; Nunan & Peixoto, 2012; Pinho, 2014; Santos, 2010; Santos, 2016; Schiltz & Silva, 2007). Since the early 2000s, Brazilian immigrants have become the largest group of foreigners with legal residency status in Portugal, significantly surpassing the more traditional communities of citizens from former Portuguese colonies in Africa such as Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique (Padilla, Marques, Góis, & Peixoto, 2015).

Recent years of increased safety issues, violence and political turmoil in Brazil and economic recovery in Portugal, have now attracted a new wave of qualified professionals from Brazil aiming at integrating into the Portuguese labor market (França & Padilla, 2018; Pereira & Esteves, 2017).

[1] CITE – *Comissão para a igualdade no trabalho e no emprego* (Commission for equality in labour and employment) is a national Portuguese commission founded in 1979, with the goal of promoting equal and fair treatment for all job-searchers and employees in Portugal.

Partially due to the timeliness of this new migration wave, little research has been conducted in relation to the specific integration of these skilled Brazilian workers in the Portuguese labor market and possible connections to the discrimination of immigrants in Portugal.

It is therefore in the central interest of this study to uncover the conditions and treatment that Brazilian qualified professionals receive in Portugal during their job search, employment and career paths by examining their perceptions about the Portuguese labor market and possible incidents of racial discrimination.

1.1 Purpose

The general purpose of this thesis as a form of social research case study, is to explore a current social reality and uncover possible social issues and its effects on the study objects (Maxwell, 2005; Sarantakos, 1998; Sarantakos, 2013). Specifically, based on prior research and studies on racial discrimination towards Brazilian immigrants in Portugal, this thesis searches to evaluate the perceptions of Brazilian qualified professionals concering their experiences in the Portuguese labor market. With a multitude of relevant research studies on labor market structures in Portugal (Branco & Cardoso, 2017; Costa, 2015; Pedroso, 2014), racial discrimination in the Portuguese society and labor market (Araújo & Matos, 2016; Baganha, 2001; Brito, Lopes & Vala, 2015) and explicit discrimination towards Brazilian immigrants in Portugal (Costa, 2010; França & Padilla, 2018; Gomes, 2013; Neves et al., 2016), the existing theoretical background allows for a continuation of social research towards the particular case of qualified Brazilian immigrants on the Portuguese labor market.

Furthermore, this study relies on the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data, derived from the particular target group during the author's field work. In this context, the central interest of this research is to examine whether Brazilians with an educational level above a high school diploma are affected by racial discrimination on the Portuguese labor market, (Costa, 2010; França & Padilla, 2018; Gomes, 2013; Neves et al., 2016; Padilla, 2007; Schiltz & Silva, 2007).

This study may thereby facilitate a primary diagnosis of skilled Brazilian workers in the Portuguese labor market and offer a basis for suggestions and alternatives in relation to the social problems that they face, based primarily on the perceptions of the study subjects and the evaluations of the researcher (Sarantakos, 2013).

1.2 Structure

The presented thesis starts with a review of the most relevant current and historic literature on the central topics of this study.

In the **first chapter**, the concepts of race, discrimination and labor discrimination are presented and discussed. It is thereby of central interest to discuss the links between the theories of race, nation and ethnicity, and their relevance for research on racial discrimination against Brazilians. This chapter shall further examine the notions of racial prejudice and stereotypes and their influence on the labor market and racial labor discrimination.

During the **second chapter**, the historical, economic and social developments of the Portuguese labor market are reviewed in order to provide an understanding for present configurations of labor and employment dynamics in Portugal. Current statistics and relevant research publications shall then be compiled with the aim of better understanding how racism and racist discrimination operate within the Portuguese labour market. Lastly, the case of Brazilian immigration to Portugal will be reviewed based on the existing literature.

Chapter three serves as an introduction and examination of the practical research case study in this thesis, consisting of both a quantitative and a qualitative approach and ultimately an integrated analysis the results. It also covers the chosen research question and hypotheses of the study, besides a critical review of possible research limitations.

The findings and results of the research are discussed in the **fourth chapter**, combining the data from the field work in a concurrent triangulation strategy. In this context, the data derived from the mixed methodology shall serve to review the study hypotheses and draw conclusions for the research question.

The **last chapter** aims to present a synthesis of the obtained study results and reflect on critical conclusions for marginalized groups in the Portuguese society and labor market. This final research summary also includes a review of limitations of this thesis and suggestions for continuations of field work on the central concepts.

2. THEORY

This section outlines relevant literature and theories, which support the present study.

First, the concepts of discrimination, stereotypes and racism are discussed as a base for the following chapters and the field work. The second chapter explores the Portuguese context of labor market development since the 1970s up until the present day. Further, current studies and evidence towards racism and discrimination in Portugal will be presented. Continuing, the evolution of Brazilian immigration towards Portugal will be reviewed in order to gain further insight on the relationship and dynamics between the two countries. Lastly, common prejudice and stereotypes towards Brazilians in Portugal will be analyzed, with the goal of awareness about racial discrimination directed towards Brazilian citizens and Brazilian women in particular.

2.1 Discrimination

Discrimination as a broad term describes a person or group of people being treated differently than another person or group under the same circumstances (Colella & King, 2018; Karsten, 2006). This discrimination can be both favorable and unfavorable for the group or individual, with most research focusing on negative forms of discrimination (Colella & King, 2018). The aim of research on negative types of discrimination generally is to show evidence of a problematic social reality and provide suggestions for solutions and improvements (Sarantakos, 2013). Hence, the research study presented will focus on negative outcomes of discrimination against a minority group, namely Brazilian immigrants.

Negative discrimination may occur for a variety of reasons (e.g. race, sex, age, gender, etc.) and in an array of settings (e.g. education, workplace, housing, criminal justice, etc.). It may be shown blatantly and obvious through harassment and discriminatory practices or rather subtle and even unconsciously or unintentional, through stereotypes and prejudice (Paludi, Paludi & DeSouza, 2011). Consequences of discrimination include poor emotional well-being and mental health as well as lowered physical well-being (Avery, Volpone & Holmes, 2018; Cavalcante et al., 2019; Karsten, 2006). Specifically, frequent negative consequences involve higher levels of depression, decreased levels of positive affect and self-esteem, high blood pressure, heart disease and physical aggression (Avery, Volpone & Holmes, 2018). Victims of discrimination often report feelings of humiliation, sleep deficiencies, deterioration of social relationships, feelings of loneliness and failure as well as an increase of drug consumption and dependency (Cavalcante et al., 2019).

2.1.1 Stereotypes and Prejudice

In order to define and describe discrimination, a differentiation has to be made between the terms of 'stereotype' and 'prejudice'. While both concepts are directly linked with discriminatory thinking and behavior, they differ slightly in their own definition and understanding. Colella & King (2018) described stereotypes as "[…] *cognitive beliefs about the traits, attributes, and characteristics ascribed to various social groups*" (Colella & King, 2018, p.8), which allow individuals to evaluate others quickly, instead of creating new evaluations for every new person they come across. Cuddy et al. specficially included a negative connotation to their definition of stereotypes, describing them as a "[…] *uniform antipathy against a social group*" (Cuddy et al., 2014, p.4). Based on over-generalized and pre-stored information, people are therefore categorized according to their cultural and social contexts, and mostly treated conform to this categorization. Stereotypical thinking may be influenced by a person's individual experiences, as well as public institutions, media, education, family, literature and peer groups (Colella & King, 2018; Karsten, 2006). Deeply embedded stereotypes in society frequently find their roots in early race and nation theories which directly link biological features with character traits (Gomes, 2013; Quijano, 2000).
Examples of stereotypical thinking embedded in social structures may thus cover racial groups ("Black people are criminals"), genders ("Women are bad at math"), geographic groups ("Scandinavian people are cold"), demographic groups ("Young people are lazy"), religious groups ("Muslims are dangerous") and more (Bordalo et al., 2015; Karsten, 2006).

This instant stereotypical identifying of an individual with an out-group ("not like me") instead of an in-group ("like me") may also negatively impact labor relations, business management or human resource decisions and directly lead to a general withholding of positive affect or added negative suspicion towards a particular individual (Paludi, Paludi & DeSouza, 2011).

Rather than a *cognitive* process such as stereotyping, prejudice has to be understood as an *affective* reaction to an individual or a group (Colella & King, 2018). Prejudice therefore describes the emotional reaction towards an interaction with people of distinct social groups, according to their perceived characteristics. According to Colella & King (2018), social groups in this sense may be broad ("immigrants", "homosexuals", "muslims") or also very specific, such as members of a particular profession or habitants of a selective part of town. The emotions connected to these groups may vary from positive to negative (e.g. joy, trust, fear, anger, envy or hostility) (Colella & King, 2018). In many cases, prejudice is described as a biased evaluation of a minority group, often related to a perception of threat towards one's personal values, belongings and self-preservation. Simultaneously, these personal beliefs and values are often shared by larger groups of people and rooted in society as a result of historical, economic and political dynamics (Costa, 2010; Gomes, 2013; Neves et al., 2016).
Colonial structures as an example influence global power dynamics until modern times, creating both a historical and modern social prejudice of the colonizer (e.g. Spain, Great Britain, Portugal) as superior and the colonized (e.g. Mexico, India, Brazil) as inferior (Costa, 2010; Gomes, 2013; Neves et al., 2016; Padilla, 2007; Quijano, 2000). Similarily, past centuries of dominant patriarchy have structured societal biased evaluations of men as superior/ strong/ powerful and women as inferior/ soft/ weak (Gomes, 2013; Stolke, 2006). Other examples of socially embedded prejudice may be found in relation to religion (Baker & Burch-Brown, 2016), sexuality (Herek & McLemore, 2013) or social class (Bertl et al., 2013), which are not going to be discussed as part of this study.

As a conclusion, discrimination and specifically racial discrimination therefore often stem from both prejudice and stereotypes, typically directed from a majority group towards a minority group in society. Through these biases, differences between the groups are often exaggerated while possible similarities are minimized, thus creating a bigger gap between the groups and lowering chances of convergence or integration (Paludi, Paludi & DeSouza, 2011).

2.1.2 Race, Nation and Ethnicity

The biological classification of people into races through physical features (such as skin, hair type, eyes, noses and other facial or body features), has become incerasingly inept in modern times times - as people's ancestry, DNA heritage and physical differences are merging on a global level, and specifically in Western societies (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; Bodino, Kaufman & Reilly, 2003; Rattansi, 2011). While there are genetic differences between particular groups of Homo sapiens, dividing humans into four or five specific groups is a concept that out of the pre-historical context is considered inaccurate in the majority of the scientific world (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; Bodino, Kaufman & Reilly, 2003; Holmes, 1994). Increasing numbers of scientists consequentially distance themselves from race as a biological or natural reality and aim towards describing it as a rather social idea about common characteristics of people (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; Bodino, Kaufman & Reilly, 2003; Holmes, 1994).

Through his discours around a 'neo-racism' (cultural racism/ new racism/ differentialist racism), Balibar (1991) set way for a new understanding of race and racism, away from an evolutionary or genetical theory and towards a social and psychological understanding of groups of people.

> *"The idea of a 'racism without race' is not as revolutionary as one might imagine."*
>
> (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991, pp.23)

Balibar and Wallerstein described racism as a social phenomenon, including practices (violence, contempt, intolerance, humiliation and exploitation) which are articulated around stigmata of otherness, such as a foreign name, a different skin color or particular religious practices (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991). The essence of this newer academic understanding of race and racism is a combination of cultural tradition, ideologies and social hierarchies as the base for "[…] *ethological and sociobiological theoretical models*" (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991, p.9). Race in this context is not seen as a fixed natural or biological concept, but much rather a changeable social construct, which can be used by society in order to organize the world we live in (Bodino, Kaufman & Reilly, 2003).

While race is a controversial term in modern sciences, the concept of racism remains a firm element of today's social reality. In agreement with Balibar and Wallerstein, in 2003 Bodino, Kaufman & Reilly described racism as prejudice or discrimination against people based on the assumption that their biology, ancestry or physical appearance defines them. This concept typically includes generalization and in some cases derision, contempt or even open hatred (Bodino, Kaufman & Reilly, 2003).

Not only the definition of racism, but also the perception of its manifestation in everyday life is a matter of subjective interpretation. The perception of racist incidents depends on the collective representation of racism in both victim and perpetrators groups (Mendes & Candeias, 2013). In some groups, racism is quickly perceived in daily events or speech, while others minimize its significance and everyday appearance. Hence, the perception of racism in a social environment also depends on the specific combination of people and their characteristics and general views on racism in society Bodino, Kaufman & Reilly, 2003; Mendes & Candeias, 2013; Rattansi, 2011).

When discussing the construct of racism, two other terms are frequently mentioned in the academic discourse: Nationality and ethnicity (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; Karsten, 2006; Ratcliffe, 2003). Racism, according to Balibar and Wallerstein, "[…] *maintains a necessary relation with nationalism and contributes to constituting it by producing the fictive ethnicity around which it is organized*" (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991, p.49). In a number of scientific discussions, 'ethnicity' is simply used as an alternative term for 'race' (Karsten, 2006), while other scientific scholars argue that it has to be considered a more complex, individual term in the discussion of social reality (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; Ratcliffe, 2003). Wallerstein (1991) noted that an 'ethnic group' is commonly understood as a cultural category with continuous behaviors that are passed on over generations and independent from political systems or state boundaries. In agreement, Ratcliffe (2003) described ethnicity as a classification of people based on "[…] *common ancestry, memories of a shared past and aspects of group identity based on kinship, religion, language, shared territory, nationality or physical appearance*" (Ratcliffe, 2003, p.6). The author however also points out several fundamental problems with this definition: 1. Its generalization, which allows for a creation of a nearly limitless number of ethnic groups, 2. Its rigor, allowing for no fluid elements or changes, 3. Its time limitations, with social ethnicity being an ever-changing concept, and finally 4. Its fictional character, being a purely 'imagined' and socially constructed concept.

Finally, the connection between nationality and race plays a central role in the discussion of the presented research: May discrimination against Brazilians be classified as racial discrimination? Wallerstein (1991) argued that while a nation is typically understood as a sociopolitical category linked to the boundaries of a state, the terms 'nation', 'race' and 'ethnicity" are often confused and used with interchangeable meanings, as the reality of the social constructs of 'belonging' or 'identity' is too complex to sort into clearly defined categories.

> *"What one person might designate as a 'national minority',*
> *others might call an 'ethnic group'"*
>
> (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991, pp.78)

Nationality therefore is not necessarily only linked to a statehood or political entity, but it may also produce a national sentiment and therefore, such as race and ethnicity, a feeling of "us" and "others" (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991). Modern nations consist of people of multiple 'ethnicities' (Ratcliffe, 2003; Rattansi, 2011), yet are often generalized in racist stereotypes addressing just one specific 'race' or 'ethnic group' and their alleged characteristics ("Dutch people are tall", "Irish people have red hair", "French people are arrogant"). Hence, the common understandings of the different terms and concepts of identity or belonging are often

subjective and merged together in over-generalized ideas of people and their attributes. Racism may be directed towards an actual perceived race, as well as an ethnic group, a group of people that share a specific nationality or even smaller unions of people with seemingly shared traits.

It remains to be said that race, racism, nationality and ethnicity are for the purpose of this paper considered complex social, political, historical and cultural compounds of a modern social reality, creating an interconnected concept of classification of people into majority and minority groups and directly influencing their degree of social power in a society.

2.1.3 Labor discrimination

Racial discrimination in labor describes practices related for example to career opportunities or earning potential, due to a person's race or ethnicity (Colella & King, 2018; Karsten, 2006). From a legal perspective, employment discrimination based on race, sex, color, religion or national origin is not accepted in the majority of Western countries, including Portugal.[2] However, as shown earlier, modern racial discrimination often shows itself in subtle and systematic patterns, hence often gaining visibility only after several incidents and accordingly difficult to be legally proven (Paludi, Paludi & DeSouza, 2011).

In the 2018 „*Oxford Handbook of Workplace Discrimination*[3]", Alvery, Volpone and Holmes (2018) differentiate between two types of racially motivated labor discrimination: Formal (institutional) and interpersonal. According to the authors, formal racial discrimination in the labor context describes racial differentiation in official employment processes and outcomes. This may include all topics across the employment life cycle, from talent acquisition to onboarding, training, development, workplace benefits, salary levels, holiday planning, to promotion, career path and termination of contracts. Formal racial discrimination therefore often shows direct impact on an individual's career path through official Human Resource decisions (Avery, Volpone & Holmes, 2018).

Interpersonal racial discrimination on the other hand includes subtle and often covert race-based behavior on the labor market through conversations, exclusion, judgement and other interpersonal actions (Avery, Volpone & Holmes, 2018). Through its informality, this type of racially motivated discrimination tends to be hard to prove or trace and is often overseen by labor officials.

[2] Examples of relevant laws, which specifically prohibit the discrimination of employees in Portugal based on any of the formerly mentioned motivations, are the Portuguese Work Codex articles 23-28 (*Código do Trabalho, Subsecção III, Divisão I, Artigo 23-28*), the Portuguese legislation 93/ 2017 (*Lei n.º 93/2017*), the Portuguese Constitution article 161 (*Artigo 161.º da Constituição*) and the EU council directive about racial equality (2000/43/CE) (CITE, 2018; Diário da República eletrónico, 2017; EUR-Lex, 2000).

[3] *Oxford Handbooks* is an online collection of selected Oxford scholarly publishing, offering current insights to various fields of scientific research (Oxford Handbooks, 2019).

As a common point to any other types of discrimination, labor discrimination may lead to a variety of negative mental and physical health outcomes for the victim, therefore directly creating adverse consequences for employees and employers on the labor market (Avery, Volpone & Holmes, 2018; Cavalcante et al., 2019; Karsten, 2006).

In regards to Portugal, the *Authority for Working Conditions* (Autoridade para as Condições do Trabalho; ACT/ AWC) as state authority for the combat of labor discrimination issued a total of 440 warnings in 2018 in relation to reported discrimination incidents in work places and opened 14 court cases for penalty payments (CICDR, 2018). Despite the clear anti-discriminatory legislations in Portugal, the low number of court cases in comparison to the reported complaints may be an indicator for the complexity of proving a formal discrimination incident in accordance with the respective laws.

2.2 The Portuguese context

The following chapter searches to provide an overview over the labor market in Portugal after the Carnation Revolution in 1974 and in a contemporary context. The shift from a closed economy under the Estado Novo dictatorship to an open and international economic system in the 1980s and 1990s brought significant changes to the country and its overall development. These included social, political and economic reforms such as the early feminization of the labor market and large waves of labor force immigration towards the end of the 20th century. Lastly, Portugal has been strongly influenced by the 2009 financial crisis inside the European Union, both in economic as well as in sociopolitical terms.

In order to provide a chronological picture of relevant developments in Portugal in recent decades, this chapter will first include a review of the Portuguese labor market since 1974, and later the shift towards a unification with the European system and its consequences for the country. Lastly, evidence of the current reality of racism and discrimination in Portugal shall be discussed, with an attempt of showing the deviations between official statistical reports and academic sources.

2.2.1 The Portuguese labor market after 1974

Following the authoritarian dictatorship of the *Estado Novo* between 1933 and 1974 and the Carnation revolution in April 1974, several big social, political and economic interventions were implemented in the Portuguese labor system, many of which are still in place today. The fundamental core of these changes in Portugal post-1974, was the reestablishment of the democracy in the country (Alcântara et al., 2015; Cerejo et al., 2006).

Focus of most immediate changes was the improvement of the living standards of the lowest social classes and reduction of the unemployment rate in order to improve the economic stance of the entire country (Adão e Sliva & Pereira, 2012; Alcântara et al., 2015). Only one-month post-revolution, a national minimum salary was declared for all workers within the new law nº217/74, promising 3300 *Escudos*[4] minimum per month to 68% of the working population (Banco de Portugal, 2002; Diário da República Eletrónico, 2019). New special payments for vacation periods, sick leave and maternity leave were implemented, social security was guaranteed and the pension system for workers over 54 years of age was reformed (Alcântara et al., 2015).

[4] The Portuguese Escudo was the national currency used in Portugal prior to the implementation of the Euro on January 1st, 1999. 1,00 Euro was set to permanently convert to 200,48 Escudos (Banco de Portugal, 2002).

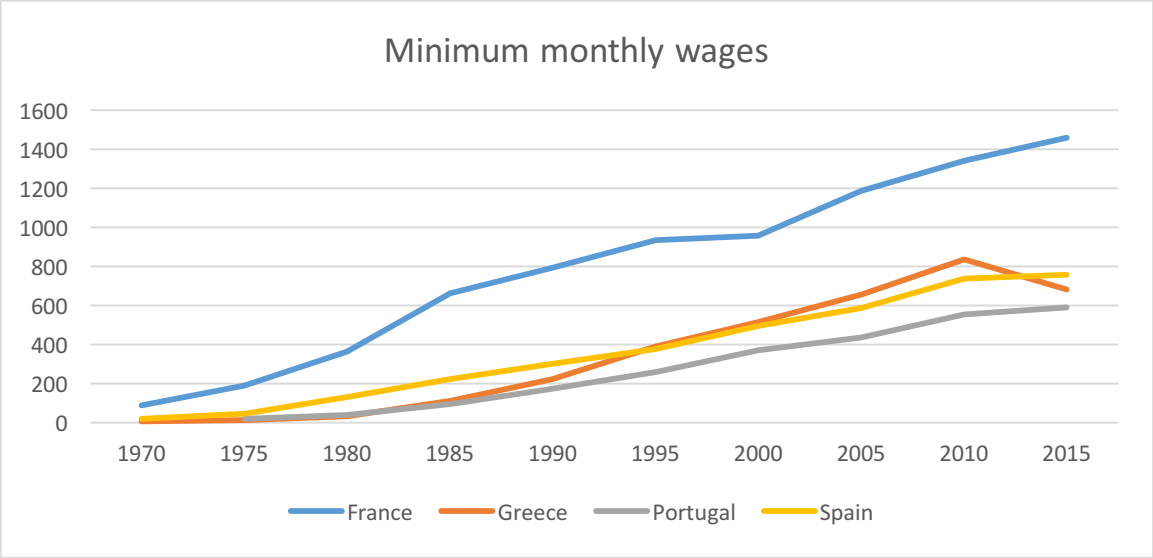

Figure 1 - Minimum monthly wages by country as per current € conversion rate

Source: Own graphic after OECD (2019)

Simultaneously, with the end of the Portuguese colonial wars in the 1970s, half a million descendants of Portuguese families returned to Portugal from the former African colonies, slowly moving Portugal away from a system dominated by emigration to a mixture of both immigration and emigration (Baganha et al., 2009; Peixoto, 2007; Peixoto & Sabino, 2009). Due to a continuous flow of immigration and family reunification, the PALOP[5]-based migrant communities kept growing in the years after, forming nearly half of the entire immigrant population in Portugal in the 1980s (Baganha et al., 2009; Peixoto, 2007; Peixoto & Sabino, 2009; PORDATA, 2019).

The 1970s and 80s in Portugal were further influenced by a decrease in agriculture workers and a simultaneous increase in the public and service sectors such as public administration, education and health, commerce, restaurants, sanitation services and cleaning, laundries and dry cleaners, financial services, public transports and media (Rodrigues, 1985).

Due to the isolation of Portugal during the *Estado Novo* regime, the Portuguese workforce showed low levels of qualification in specialized fields such as health care, IT, publicity and business management (Baganha, 2001; Costa, 2015). These niche sectors appeared as attractive opportunities for skilled migrants, such as Brazilians, who due to the political and economic situation in their country were willing to leave Brazil (Costa, 2015; Padilla et al., 2015). As a result from the immigration movements from the 1970s and 1980s, the number of all immigrants in Portugal with a legal residency status doubled from 1970 (24.703) to 1980 (50.750) and again until 1990 (107.767) (PORDATA, 2019).

[5] The term PALOP (*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*) describes the five African countries with Portuguese as official language: Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe. Since 2007, Timor-Leste has become the sixth member, transforming the term into PALOP-TL (European Commission, 2014).

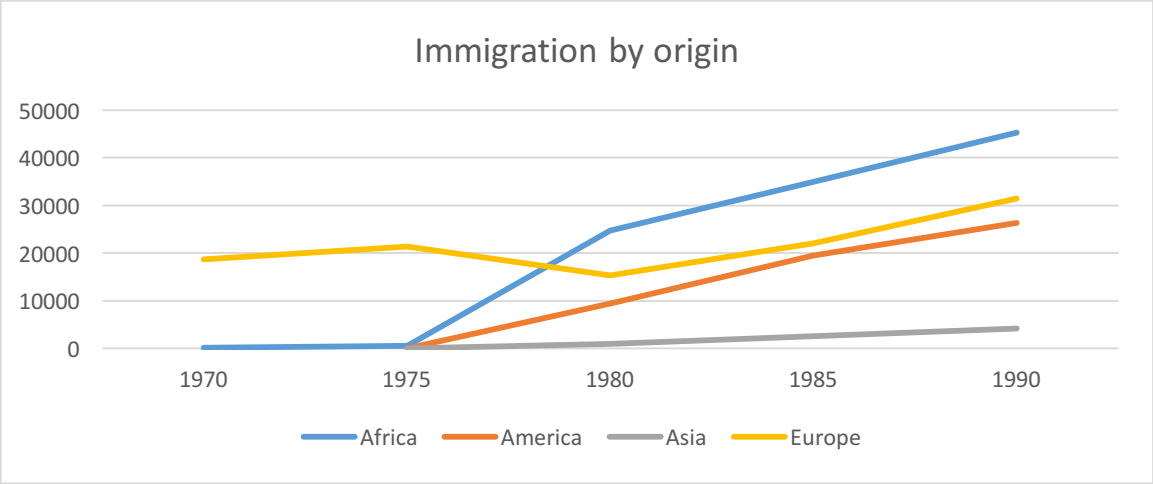

Figure 2 - Number of legal immigrants in Portugal by continent of origin (1970-1990)

Source: Own graphic after PORDATA (2019)

Another feature of the Portuguese labor market that started to be identified in the 1970s and has continued until today, is its strong feminization (Cerejo et al., 2006; Eusébio, 2015; Ferreira, 2010). Through years of dictatorship and the general conservative oppression of women in Europe at the time, Portuguese women had been largely excluded from the national labor market (Ferreira, 2010). In pre-1974 Portugal, women were forbidden to work in certain industries, job positions or leadership roles and, similar to several other European countries at the time, until 1967 had to obtain their husband's permission in order to be allowed to receive a work contract (Ferreira, 2010). After the 1961-1974 war of Portugal in its former African colonies, a shortage of men on the labor market led to an increased number of women being employed in former male employments (Alcântara et al., 2015; Jerónimo & Pinto, 2015). Progressive legislation changes after the 1974 revolution led to first anti-discriminatory labor laws and an early emergence of an "institutional feminism" (Ferreira, 2010). The overall sociopolitical context of the 1970s allowed for Portugal to create some of the most progressive, gender-equal labor structures in Europe at the time (Cerejo et al., 2006). This development was largely supposed to enable Portuguese women to move on from their conservative role of the caring and gentle mother figure to an active and productive member of the employed part of society (Alcântara et al., 2015; Cerejo et al., 2006). Despite positive changes, in large parts of the labor market the participation of women was still influenced by patriarchic power dynamics of the man as the 'leader' and the woman as the 'follower', rarely allowing female employees to progress into leadership positions or positions of strategic decision making (Casaca, 2013).

In general, despite an overall increase in work opportunities and progressive legislations, the Portuguese average unemployment rate continued to grow from 4,0% in 1975 to 6,8% in 1980 (INE, 2014). Some of the main reasons for this growth in unemployment were the shift from primary and secondary economic industries towards the tertiary sector, as well as the return of unemployed Portuguese citizens and disabled soldiers from the former colonies in Africa (Alcântara et al., 2015; Pimenta et al., 2002). Generally spoken, all labor trends observed immediately after the 1974 revolution have deepened in the following decades. The number of unemployed citizens has steadily increased, as has the number of female workers in all public sectors, while the Portuguese labor market overall has moved towards industries related to the tertiary economic sector (Alcântara et al., 2015; INE, 2014).

2.2.2 The Portuguese labor market inside the EU

The construction of a new Portuguese democracy and economy since the 1970s took place during a time, when the European Economic Community (EEC) solidified its strategies for a joint European Union and Council of Europe (Branco & Cardoso, 2017; Costa, 2015; Mendes, 2004). The implementation as well as protection of central democratic institutions in Portugal were a main request of the European council after a first Portuguese EU entry application in 1977, ultimately pushing several substantial changes in the country (Branco & Cardoso, 2017).

After having joined the European Union in 1986, Portugal achieved an average annual growth of its gross domestic product (GDP per capita) of 5,7% (Aguiar-Confraria, Alexandre & Correia de Pinho, 2012; The World Bank, 2019). Financial supports issued through European funds between the 1970s and 1990s significantly enabled technological and economic growth in Portugal, business development as well as improvements of social structures and education quality (Costa, 2015).

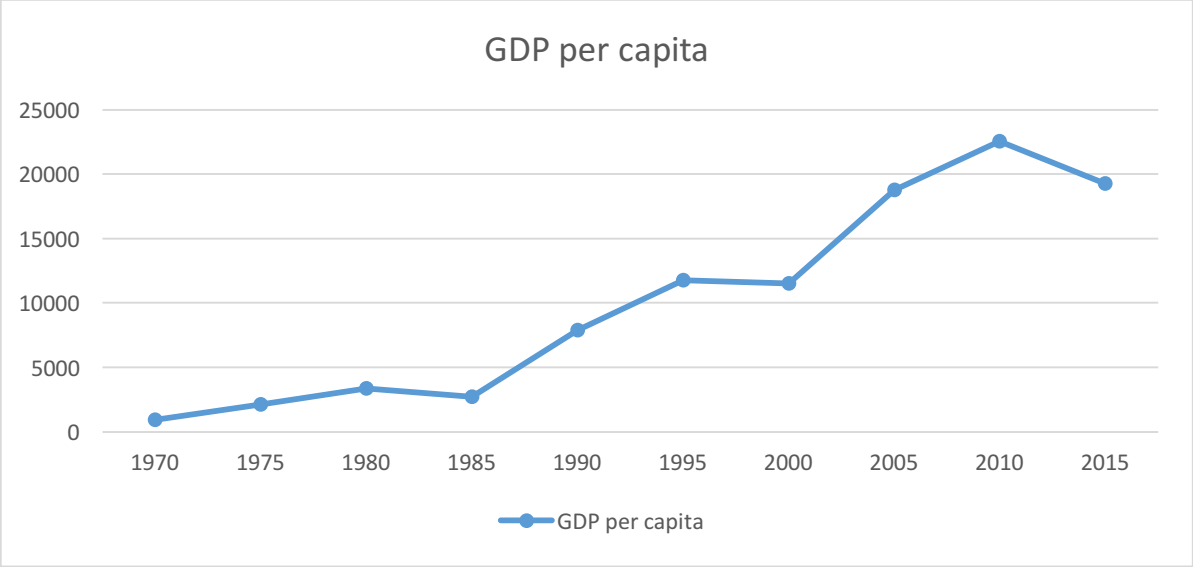

Figure 3 - GDP per capita in Portugal since 1970

Source: Own graphic after The World Bank (2019)

The EU continued to invest in the development of Portugal and among others supported the modernization and growth of infrastructure projects, which improved movement of people and goods inside the country as well as from the outside. The European Employment Strategy (EES) from 1997 as well as the Lisbon Strategy from 2000 aimed at sustainable growth of the Portuguese labor market through more and better jobs, market flexibility, globalized open markets and enhanced economic security (Branco & Cardoso, 2017). These developments would be some of the driving forces behind the immigration waves of the 1990s and early 2000s, opening up thousands of unregulated entry-level job positions in the construction and infrastructure sector, especially for citizens of PALOP countries and from Brazil (Baganha, 2001). While the number of employed citizens in Portugal was rising, as was the economic power of the country, evidence shows that a segmentation of the labor market endured – leaving many workers, especially immigrants and low-qualified workers, in unstable, temporary and insecure job situations (Branco & Cardoso, 2017; Costa, 2015; Pedroso, 2014).

Another important landmark in the Portuguese economy and labor market since the 1980s occurred during the 2009 global economic crisis. Even in the years before the crisis (early 2000s), Portugal was in a pessimistic economic situation with little room to react to the upcoming financial issues (Gurnani, 2016; OECD, 2017; Pedroso, 2014). Low economic growth, a large budget deficit, low economic productivity and the pressure of following EU conditions and requirements left the country in an unfavorable position by the year of 2009, and for the duration of the European economic crisis. As a result, all economic sectors in Portugal were affected by the crisis, however the strongest declines in gross value added (GVA) were observed in the sectors of construction and financial services (Pedroso, 2014). For the labor market, the crisis meant a decline in employment in construction by 39,5% between 2008 and 2014, in manufacturing by 20% between 2008 and 2013 and in wholesale and retail by 11,2% between 2008 and 2013 (Pedroso, 2014). The effect of the recession on the overall employment rate in Portugal was severe, with the total of employed citizens dropping by 14% from 5,12 million people in 2008 to 4,43 million in 2013 (PORDATA, 2019).

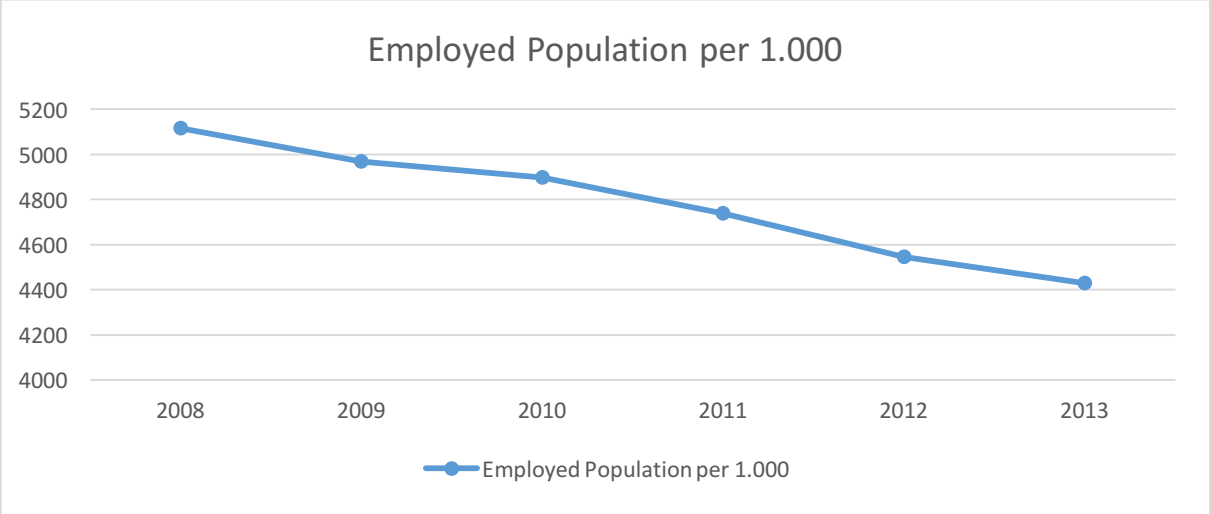

Figure 4 - Total employed population in Portugal between 2008 and 2013

Source: Own graphic after PORDATA (2019)

This decrease in the tertiary economic sector directly influenced the large number of immigrants who had been working in these highly affected employment areas (Adão e Silva & Pereira, 2012). Moreover, emigration levels more than doubled in the years after 2009, often leading to the long-term exit of young qualified citizens from the country. While in the year 2009 a total of 16.899 people emigrated from Portugal permanently (longer than 1 year), in 2011 they were 43.998 and in 2012 a total of 51.958 (INE, 2019; PORDATA, 2019). Of the 20-29 year olds in 2009, 8114 citizens permanently emigrated, while in 2012 the total was of 21.585, an increase by 266% (INE, 2019; PORDATA, 2019). The economic instability as well as lack of work opportunities negatively influenced the labor market and the life of job seekers in Portugal throughout the years after the crisis.

Considering recent labor statistics such as the 2018 report (2nd trimester) of the Portuguese National Statistics Institute (INE), approximately 4,9 million people are currently employed in Portugal, leading to an unemployment rate of 6,7% in the active population (age 15 and older) (INE, 2018).[6] This value is significantly better than throughout the period of the economic crisis in the early 21st century, and the unemployment rate is expected to keep lowering in the upcoming years (INE, 2018; OECD, 2017; PORDATA, 2019).

In terms of economic sectors, most Portuguese employees are currently working in manufacturing (834.000), wholesale and retail (697.900), human health activities and social support (451.700), education (424.200) and hospitality and tourism (328.500) (PORDATA, 2019)[7]. Both the construction and the agriculture industries have continued to lower their numbers of employment significantly within the past 10 years, with 585.300 employees in the agriculture sector in 2008 and 294.200 in 2018, as well as 539.600 workers in construction in 2008 and only 307.000 in 2018 (PORDATA, 2019). This shift towards the tertiary/ quartery sector ("Knowledge economy")[8] is not exclusive to the Portuguese labor market but rather a general development in the global post-industrial economy due to automatization and the rise of modern technologies (Arent et al., 2015; Kenessey, 1987). However, the decline of employment in the primary and secondary economic sectors in Portugal has further been enabled through specifically unstable working conditions in these sectors, including temporary contracts, low employee benefits, low salaries, lack of training and other substantial structural issues (Branco & Cardoso, 2017; Costa, 2015; Pedroso, 2014).

Simultaneously, a rise in new employment opportunities in the tertiary and quartery sectors, an increase in international tourism, emerging start up businesses and large international companies are slowly rebuilding Portugal's economy and attracting new waves of immigration, including skilled workers (Castro, Costa & Nunes, 2016; Fonseca & Oliveira, 2013; International Labour Organization, 2018; Magone, 2017). Youth unemployment for citizens between 15 and 24 years of age has dropped to 19,4%, the lowest value since the crisis (INE, 2018). In their 2017 Issue of the *Employment Outlook*, the OECD measured both the quantity and quality of jobs in Portugal as below average in worldwide comparison, however slightly better than in other Southern European countries such as Spain, Italy or Greece (OECD, 2017).

As of the year 2018, out of 4,9 million active people in the Portuguese workforce, 2,5 million were men and 2,4 million women, maintaining the decade-long path of Portugal as a country with a strong percentage of a female labor force (48,8%) in comparison to other Western and Southern European countries (OECD, 2017).

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[6] The Portuguese National Statistics Institute or *Instituto Nacional de Estatística* (INE) gathers trimestral employment statistics through interviews, online surveys and telephone surveys of companies and individual citizens in Portugal (INE, 2019).

[7] PORDATA, the Database of Contemporary Portugal, founded in 2009, collaborates with over 60 national data institutions such as the National Statistics Institute (PORDATA, 2019).

[8] The "Knowledge economy" is a term related to products and services based on knowledge-intensive activities that are enabled through technical and scientific advances, such as IT, New Media and Computer Networking (Powell & Snellman, 2004).

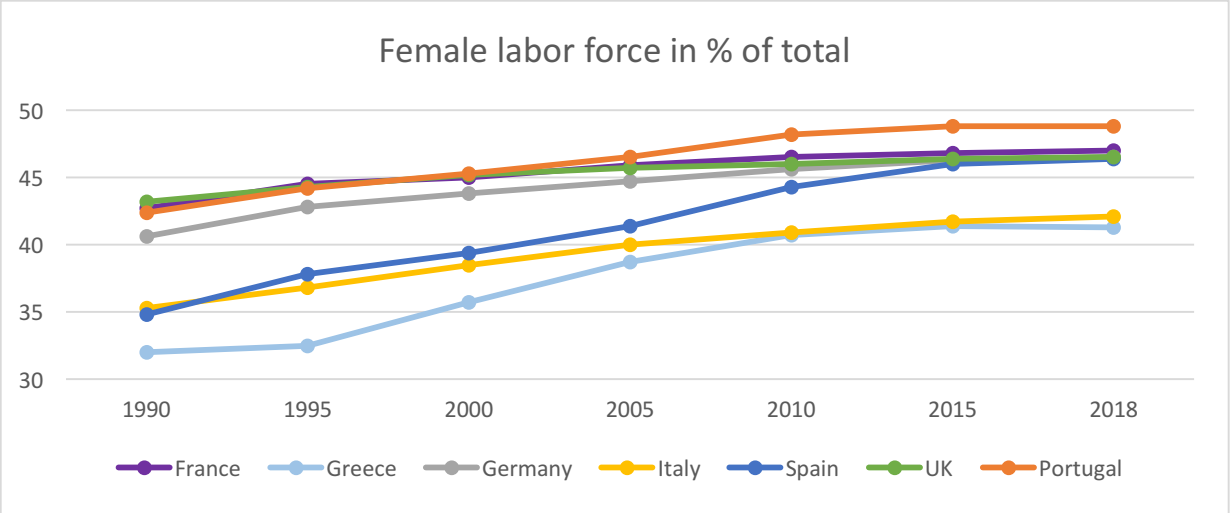

Figure 5 - Female labor force as percentage of the total labor force

Source: Own graphic after The World Bank (2019)

According to the World Bank Development Indicators, the percentage of female workforce in Portugal has since the mid-2000s surpassed those of France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Spain, Italy and Greece. At the same time, the gender income gap and quality of jobs provided to women remain a topic for discussion (Casaca & Perista, 2017; Coelho, 2011; Abrantes, 2013).

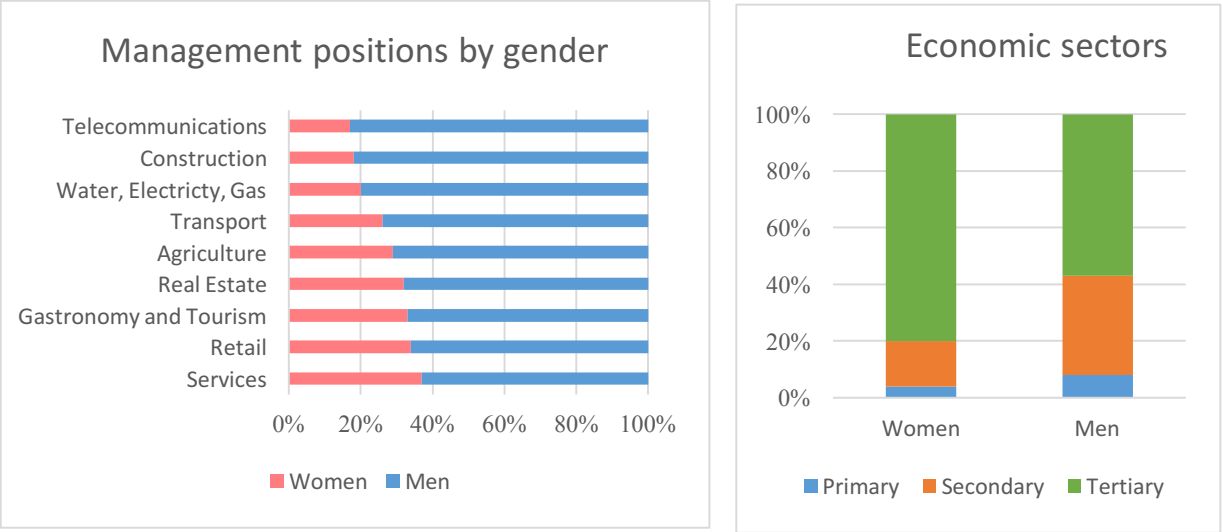

Figure 6 - % of female participation in management positions and economic sectors (2018)[9]

Source: Own graphics after (Informa D&B, 2018; PORDATA, 2019)

[9] The major sectors of economy have in this context been defined as "*Primary*" (Retrieval and production of raw materials such as in agriculture, fishing or forestry), "*Secondary*" (Production and industry of goods as in construction or manufacturing) and "*Tertiary*" (Services such as transportation, wholesale and retail) (Arent et al., 2015; Kenessey, 1987).

An asymmetric dynamic in Portugal between gender and low-qualification versus high-qualification employment as well as economic sectors is dominant up until today (Casaca & Perista, 2017; Ferreira, 2010; Informa D&B, 2018; PORDATA, 2019). Women remain largely (81%) employed in services within the retail, food, tourism, and real estate industries (tertiary economic sector), while men dominate in the fields of telecommunications, IT, construction, electricity and water services, logistics, transports and agriculture (Informa D&B, 2018; PORDATA, 2019). Concurrently, across all economic areas, women in Portugal are currently only covering an average of 27% of Management positions, of which most are in Quality Management, Human Resource Management or Marketing Management (Informa D&B, 2018).

According to Casaca and Perista (2017), traditional views on male and female roles in the labor market are still deeply embedded in the modern Portuguese economy, politics, the educational system and also in private settings and family constellations, which strongly influence the choices of education and career paths of young men and women in Portugal. The authors added to the findings of the OECD in terms of frequent insecure employment conditions for women, low-qualification jobs, difficulties in reaching leadership positions, part-time and temporary work contracts and the general placement of women in “female” professions with lower social status (Casaca & Perista, 2017; Gaio Santos, 2010).

2.2.3 Racism in Portugal

Going by statistical findings from recent surveys and analysis regarding immigration, discrimination and racist attitudes in Portugal, it's possible to draw the initial conclusion that racism is not a dominant issue in the current Portuguese society (CICDR, 2018; European Commission, 2015; European Social Survey, 2016; Eurostat, 2017; Alto Comissariado para as Migrações; 2016). During the *Eurobarometer 437* from 2015, citizens across European countries were surveyed in regards to their attitudes towards minority groups, including ethnic minorities. As part of the questionnaire, 84% of the Portuguese participants declared they would be "totally comfortable" while having a black coworker in their team, 81% said the same about a coworker of Asian descent and 66% about a Roma coworker (European Commission, 2015[10]). All Portuguese results are close to the European average, while showing slightly lower minority tolerance in comparison to the Spanish results, however higher tolerance than Italian or Greek citizens. As in the majority of participant countries, the results dropped significantly lower when asking people how comfortable they would feel if a child of theirs was to be in a relationship with a person from one of the presented ethnic minority groups. Some 69% of the Portuguese participants said they would be comfortable with an Asian partner for their child, 66% with a black partner and 40% with a Roma partner (European Commission, 2015). While the drop in results for the family-related question serves as an indicator for prejudice against minority groups, the values presented by Portuguese participants were again close to the European average and therefore neither "worse" nor "better" than the average European attitude in these matters.

During the 2016 European Social Survey in regards to general attitudes towards immigration in Europe, Portugal achieved similarly average results (European Social Survey, 2016).[11] The only explicitly negative mention of Portugal during the survey concerned the question: "*Would you say that people who come to live here generally take jobs away [...] or generally help to create new jobs?*". Portugal was among the countries declaring the most negative attitude towards immigration and employment, which is being explained with the general high unemployment rate in the country at the time of the survey.

[10] "*The survey was carried out by TNS Opinion & Social network in the 28 Member States of the European Union between May 30th and June 8th 2015. Some 27,718 respondents from different social and demographic groups were interviewed face-to-face at home in their mother tongue on behalf of Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers*."
(European Commission, 2015, pp.6)

[11] *"Over 40,000 face to face interviews were conducted across 21 European countries with questionnaire translation and fieldwork [...] provided by the ESS Core Scientific Team.*"
(European Social Survey, 2016, pp.3)

In their 2017 article on migration flows in the EU, *Eurostat* declared Portugal to be the country with the second lowest total number of immigrants per inhabitants of all 32 European countries measured (Eurostat, 2017)[12]. The Portuguese result was of 3,6 immigrants per 1000 inhabitants, in comparison to a European average of 4,7 immigrants per 1000 inhabitants. At the same time, Portugal was in the top 5 of European countries with the highest naturalization rate, considering that every 4,5 out of 100 foreign residents acquired the Portuguese citizenship in 2017 (European average: 2,1 per 100 foreign residents) (Eurostat, 2017). Hence, the comparably low number of immigrants in Portugal may be caused by the relatively high percentage of former immigrants who become Portuguese citizens every year and thereby are excluded from migration statistics. At the same time, it may also be a result of the dynamic economic, social and political positions of other EU contries in comparison to Portugal, which due to its semi-peripherical postion and less dynamic economy appears as less appealing than the other EU members (OECD, 2019).

In addition to the European surveys, the Portuguese *High Commissioner for Migrations* (Alto Comissariado para as Migrações; ACM) released a detailed statistical report in 2016 regarding immigrant integration in the country. Measuring integration factors such as education, employment, social security, justice, discrimination and demographic characteristics, the report draws a big picture around immigration in Portugal, including both signs of improvement as well as negative results. In regards to personal attitudes towards discrimination, only 9% of Portuguese participants declared that they would feel uncomfortable if the leader of their own country would have a different religion from themselves and 12% would feel uncomfortable if this same person would be part of an ethnic minority (ACM, 2016). Simultaneously, 44% of the participants thought that the skin color or ethnic origin of a job candidate were very likely to influence the career opportunities of this person. Considering countermeasures of discrimination in Portugal, 47% of the participants thought that their country is putting in a good effort at fighting discrimination, while simultaneously 76% thought that new strategies should be implemented to further protect groups of citizens at risk of ethnic or racial discrimination (ACM, 2016). In general, the Portuguese participants responded predominantly positively towards cultural diversity and equality measures in the areas of job recruitment, career development, workplace diversity and employee awareness trainings. According to the ACM, Portuguese citizens for the most part showed a self-perception of being ethnically tolerant, critical of racial discrimination and inclined towards cultural diversity in their society.

In a confrontational stance towards the survey claims of the diverse statistical institutions, an increasing number of researchers and authors disagree with these results and call for an alternative point of view on the reality of race and racism in Portugal. A central statement of these voices is that racism in Portugal cannot be measured only in numbers and statistics, as it is part of a much more deeply rooted colonial mindset and institutionalized discrimination inside the country (Araújo & Matos, 2016; Baganha, 2001; Brito, Lopes & Vala, 2015; Henriques, 2018; Mendes & Candeias, 2013).

[12] As the statistical office of the European Union, *Eurostat* delivers statistical data through research in cooperation with numerous institutes, research centers and universities as part of the Research and Technical Development (RTD) Framework Programs (Eurostat, 2017).

In her recent book "*Racismo no País dos Brancos Costumes*" (*Racism in the country of white customs*), author Joana Gorjão Henriques argues that racism is very much normalized in the mindset of the Portuguese society and therefore seemingly invisible to the people unaffected by it (Henriques, 2018).Through the research of Portuguese institutions and interviews with more than 80 experts on racial discrimination, Henriques states that evidence of racist structures can be found in all areas of modern Portugal, including education and labor, justice, health care, accommodation, transport and social environments (Henriques, 2018). Systemic racism involves the books of elementary school students reflecting racial statements, the professors at universities being predominantly white, the resounding incarceration numbers of non-white citizens, the lack of protective policies for afrodescendants, racial segregation in living quarters, job applications with foreign names being instantly declined, and finally racial segregation in social circles, business contacts and private friendships (Araújo, 2007; Cabecinhas & Cunha, 2003; Henriques, 2018; Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 2017; Pereira & Vala, 2012).

Brito et al. (2015) also argue in favor of the existence of racist dynamics in contemporary Portugal. Within their research, they point out the low level of relevance that racism and racial prejudice receive in modern Portugal, much as if racism was no part of democratic societies in the 21st century, but rather a "*accidental*" and "*exceptional*" incident. The authors suggest an aversive or "*invisible*" racism that is hidden behind institutions, regulations and socially acceptable justifications. In detail, Brito et al. (2015) prove the presence of a very much active racist mindset in modern Portugal, expressed for example in feelings of either ethnic superiority ("*They are not worse than us, but we are better*") or economic inferiority ("*We are doing bad and they have it better than us*.").
In line with the previous authors, Araújo and Matos (2016) shed light on an apparent silence surrounding Portuguese academics and politics in regards to racism and ethnic discrimination. They interpret the negligence of research around the matter in contemporary Portugal as a continuation of the patterns of silence and inertness around racism in a post-colonial context. The authors criticize the dependence of anti-discriminatory institutions on government surveillance and the minimal improvement brought through state legislations over the years, due to alleged research issues:

> "*Several international reports have criticized the Portuguese state's inaction in the fight against racism, noting that authorities have refused to publish data on racial discrimination […]. The Portuguese State has claimed the legal impossibility of collecting such data, given the principle of racial equality enshrined in Article 13 of the Portuguese Constitution, as well as the transposition of legislation on the protection of personal data*."
>
> (Araújo & Matos, 2016, pp. 15).[13]

[13] Original text in Portuguese: "*Diversos relatórios internacionais têm criticado a inação do Estado português em matéria de luta contra o racismo, destacando que as autoridades se têm recusado a publicar dados sobre a discriminação racial [...]. O Estado português tem alegado a impossibilidade jurídica da recolha de tais dados, dado o princípio da igualdade racial consagrado pelo artigo 13º da Constituição Portuguesa, assim como a transposição da legislação relativa à protecção de dados pessoais.*"

This conclusion is aligned with an earlier finding of the General Assembly of the United Nations during a Human Rights Council from 2012, stating in a mission to Portugal:

> "*During their visit, the Working Group found that the challenges faced by people of African descent in Portugal related mainly to their lack of recognition as a specific group in the national policy and legal framework; the lack of recognition of their positive contribution throughout history to the construction and development of the country; the lack of qualitative and quantitative disaggregated data by racial or ethnic origin; the existence of a circle of poverty, unequal access to education, public services, employment, as well as discrimination in the administration and functioning of the justice system; existence of racial profiling and police violence; underrepresentation in political and institutional decision-making processes, as well as the lack of special measures or affirmative action policies in Portugal for people of African descent or other minorities*."
>
> (United Nations, 2012, pp.1)

Consequently, the responsible UN Working Group recommended among others the implementation of new national policies and programs addressing racial discrimination, as well as the revision of existing national legislations with human rights norms and the revision of school curriculums (United Nations, 2012).

As a part of the Portuguese ACM since 1999, the *Commission for Equality and against Racial Discrimination* (*Comissão para a Igualdade e Contra a Discriminação Racial*; CICDR) has in 2017 started to publish yearly reports on ethnic and racial discrimination in Portugal. According to the commission, the aim of the CICDR is to study the reality of discrimination in Portugal not only based on perceptions and surveys, but on data received through formal complaints and reports of racially motivated discrimination incidents (ACM, 2016; CICDR, 2018). As a result, the CICDR's yearly report paints a more tangible picture of the situation in Portugal, in cooperation also with data retrieved by the AWC, the *Unit for Support to Migrant Victims and Discrimination* (Unidade de Apoio à Vitima Migrante e de Discriminação; UAVMD) and other institutions focused on the combat of racism in Portugal. It is to be noted, that the CICDR as well as other important related institutions are organs of state and directed through government officials, a reason for criticism through several European audit organizations over the years (Araújo & Matos, 2016).

According to their 2018 annual report, the CICDR received 346 formal complaints about discrimination, which was an increase by 93% in comparison to the number of complaints in the first year of publishing, 2017. Although the reports are only starting, the commission was able to create statistics and identify tendencies in relation to discrimination in Portugal, alongside with other public institutions. According to the CICDR, 32,7% of the complaints were issued in Lisbon and mostly over either e-mail or social media channels. The reported incidents were related to 28,3% to the area of commerce (supermarkets, shops, bars, restaurants), 9,2% to internet and social media, 5,2% to public services and 4,6% in regards to labor and work (CICDR, 2018). Other areas frequently mentioned were private social life, neighborhood, transport, education and accommodation.

Out of all complaints throughout Portugal in 2018, the largest percentage (22,5%) was regarding racist and ethnic discrimination, 19,1% reported discrimination due to the victim's nationality, 17,9% due to the victim's skin color and 4,9% specifically due to the victim's place of birth.

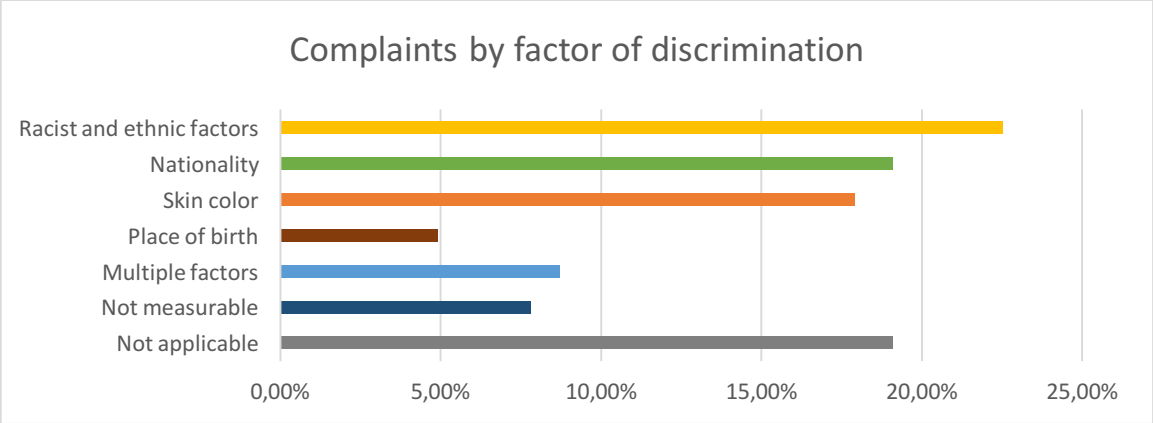

Figure 7 – Yearly complaints to CICDR by factor of discrimination in % (2017)[14]

Source: Own graphic after CICDR (2018)

Besides the studies and publications mentioned, a number of authors in recent years conducted research on the life quality and discrimination exposure specifically of immigrant women in Portugal (Cavalcante, 2019; França, 2012; Gomes, 2013; Duarte & Oliveira, 2012; Menezes, 2010; Malheiros & Padilla, 2015; Neves et al., 2016; Neves, Nogueira & Topa, 2010; Peixoto, 2007; Pontes, 2004). Researchers uncovered evidence of increased racist discrimination towards female immigrants in Portugal in the contexts of the health care system (Neves, Nogueira & Topa, 2010; Padilla, 2013), national media (Pontes, 2004), labor and business structures (Menezes, 2010; França, 2012), and general power structures in society (França & Padilla, 2018; Gomes, 2013; Neves et al., 2016). Immigrant women in Portugal are therefore specifically vulnerable to fall victim of domestic violence (Duarte & Oliveira, 2012), human trafficking (Peixoto, 2007), sexual exploration (Neves, 2010), and labor discrimination in terms of salary, work hours, vacation days and other basic employee rights (Cavalcante et al., 2019; França, 2012). In the case of female immigrants, this may lead to a marginal work experience with dynamics of exclusion and sexual or ethnic-racial segregation, as it will be further developed in chapter 2.3.4.

In conclusion, the existence of a systemic and very much institutionalized everyday racism in Portugal has been shown by a variety of recent researches, affecting the Portuguese society in all economic, social, political and educational layers. Considering the discussed issues in the context of this research, Brazilian immigrants are one of the many groups exposed to this structural racism and its variegated consequences. Especially female Brazilian immigrants in Portugal are at risk of being marginalized and impaired through racial, gender and cultural discrimination and particularely vulnerable to the effects of discriminatory treatment. Further discussion on racism and its implications for Brazilian immigrants in Portugal will be conducted in the following chapter.

[14] In 7,8% of the complaints ("not measurable") the central motivation behind discriminatory actions was not clearly defined and in 19,1% of the cases ("not applicable"), the complaints were invalid according to the Portuguese anti-discrimination law (Lei n.° 93/2017).

2.3 Brazilian migration to Portugal

"Antes, de lá pra cá. Agora, daqui pra lá."
(Before, from there to here. Now, from here to there.)

- A.L. Santos (2010)

The following chapter reviews the most important aspects of migration from Brazil to Portugal. Firstly, migratory movements from Brazil to Portugal will be presented from a historic point of view. Further, current demographic aspects of Brazilians living in Portugal will be considered, alongside with a specific reflection on the professional qualification and employment of the immigrants. Lastly, common prejudice and stereotypes against Brazilians in Portugal will be discussed, including gender-related issues, in order to clarify the pattern of discrimination, which will be studied throughout the practical research in this paper.

2.3.1 Migratory waves

Historically, migratory movements between Brazil and Portugal would involve Portugal being the emitter of migrants and Brazil being the receiver (Pinho, 2014; Santos, 2010; Santos, 2016). Since the arrival of the Portuguese in 1500, Brazil has received waves of Portuguese immigrants and settlers throughout more than four centuries (Santos, 2010; Santos, 2016).

The shift in the migratory pattern that would make Brazil the country of emigration rather than immigration in relation to Portugal occurred in the 1980s as a result of political and economic changes in both countries (Malheiros, 2007; Pinho, 2014; Santos, 2010; Santos, 2016). While Brazil found itself in an economic and political crisis, largely due its outdated economic model of developmentalism and the dictatorship in course in the country, Portugal was building its way into a new state system post-1974 and joining the European Union (Malheiros, 2007; Pinho, 2014). This setting made way to a first migratory wave from Brazil to Portugal between the late 1970s and late 1990s (França & Padilla, 2018; Malheiros, 2007; Pinho, 2014; Santos, 2010). A slowly increasing number of Brazilian professionals immigrated to Portugal, often descendants of Portuguese families and part of an educated upper middle class in Brazil (França & Padilla, 2018; Malheiros, 2007; Padilla, Marques, Góis, & Peixoto, 2015; Santos, 2010). These qualified Brazilians were often part of the health care system (mainly dentists) or of the IT and Marketing sectors and, by the late 1990s, made up approximately 22.000 individuals in Portugal (PORDATA, 2019). Between 2000 and 2010, a second and much larger wave of Brazilian immigration reached the country (Padilla et al., 2015), increasing the total of the Brazilian population in Portugal to 119.000 people (PORDATA, 2019). This wave was largely composed of semi- or non-qualified working class individuals, taking on jobs in construction, production, commerce, gastronomy, nightlife and cleaning services (Machado, 2014; Malheiros, 2007; Pinho; 2014, Schiltz & Silva, 2007). This second immigration wave further added to the increasing feminization of the traditionally predominantly masculine migratory movement (Padilla, 2007; PORDATA, 2018). By the year 2003, Brazilian women had become the largest group of immigrants in Portugal, surpassing the number of Brazilian men and all other immigrant groups (França & Padilla, 2018; Malheiros, 2007; Neves et al., 2016; Padilla 2007).

With the Portuguese financial crisis between 2010 and 2015 and a parallel improvement of the Brazilian economy, a first drop and stagnation in Brazilian immigration was visible in Portugal (França & Padilla, 2018; Nunan & Peixoto, 2012; Pinho, 2014). Simultaneously, the number of Brazilian students at Portuguese Universities was steadily increasing (Nunan & Peixoto, 2012).

By 2015, the Brazilian population in Portugal had dropped to 80.515 people (PORDATA, 2019). Especially the large female population among Brazilian immigrants in Portugal has been directly affected by the increase of unemployment and decrease in public service and health spendings during the years of crisis (Esteves & Pereira, 2017). However, Esteves & Pereira (2017) also noted that while the economic crisis had fundamental negative consequences for many Brazilian employees in the Portuguese labor market, a few niche sectors with high participation of entrepreneurs and self-employed Brazilians (beauty, aesthetic, food, bakery and other services) managed to withstand the crisis.

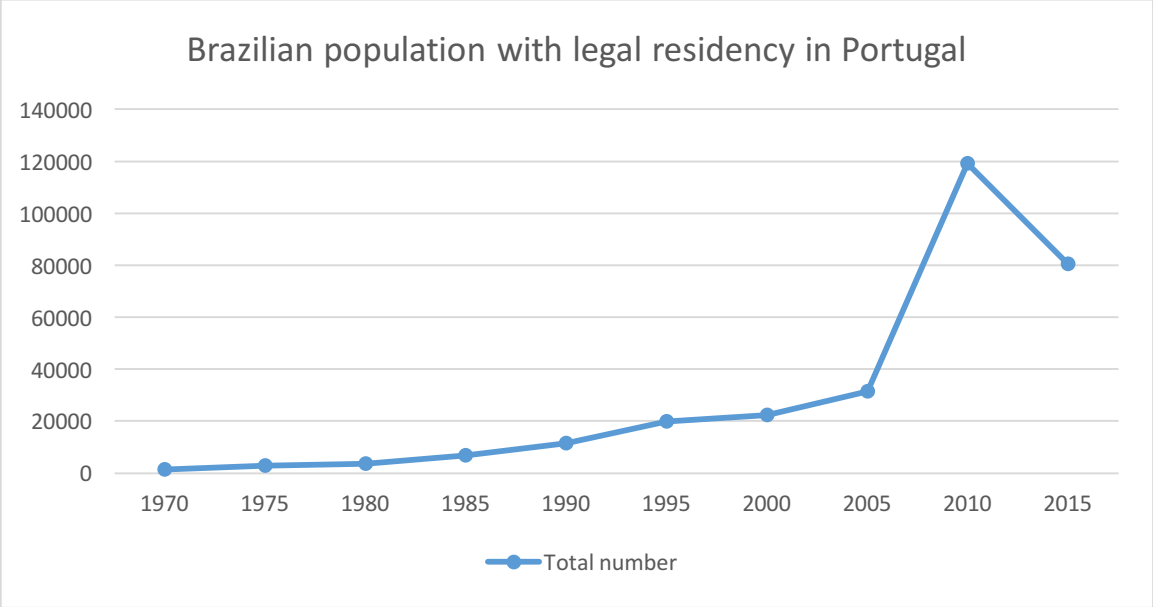

Figure 8 - Total Brazilian population with legal residency status in Portugal between 1970 and 2015

Source: Own graphic after PORDATA (2019)

Since 2016 and 2017, a third wave of immigration has been observed (França & Padilla, 2018). While the economic situation in Portugal has improved and the country is increasingly attracting foreign investment, companies and highly educated foreign work force, Brazil has moved into a political and economic crisis (Borges & Vidigal, 2018). As a result, the number of Brazilian immigrants has raised once again, bringing in citizens with a goal of improved safety and life quality in Portugal (França & Padilla, 2018). The Portuguese urban safety, quality of transport, education, and health services, quality of public spaces and leisure activities, political stability, economic growth and access to other European countries, may be some of the driving motivators for the most current Brazilian immigrants in Portugal (Esteves & Pereira, 2017; França & Padilla, 2018). These “new” Brazilians are described by the Portuguese media as young professionals with high education levels, entrepreneurs as well as middle to upper middle class families which bring financial investments to Portugal (França & Padilla, 2018).

2.3.2 Current demographics

As mentioned previously, the total number of Brazilian citizens with a legal residency status in Portugal has dropped significantly since the economic crisis in the early 21st century from approximately 119.000 people in 2010 to 80.000 in 2015 and back to 83.000 in 2017 (PORDATA, 2019). This leads to Brazilians having made up nearly 25% of the legal foreign population in Portugal in 2010, whereas in 2017 the percentage dropped to 20%. Of the current 83.000 Brazilian residents in Portugal, 40.385 are reportedly living in the Metropolitan area of Lisbon, 9.126 in the Metropolitan area of Porto and 8.217 are split up in between the central cities of Aveiro, Coimbra and Leiria (PORDATA, 2019).

In the same time frame between 2009 and 2017, a total of 48.000 Brazilians acquired the Portuguese nationality, more than citizens of any other national background (PORDATA, 2018). The *Portuguese Immigration and Borders Service* (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras; SEF) 2017 immigration report further shows 2378 acquisitions of the Portuguese nationality by Brazilians through marriage or domestic partnership (SEF, 2017). These marriages or partnerships between Brazilians and Portuguese are the most common type of mixed nationality marriages in Portugal, and mostly take place between Portuguese men and Brazilian women (Machado, 2014; Malheiros, 2007; Raposo & Togni, 2009; SEF, 2017). Between 1996 and 2003 this type of marriages between Portuguese men and Brazilian women saw a significant rise from 122 cases in 1996 to 1165 reported cases in 2003, and the trend remains ongoing (Malheiros, 2007; Raposo & Togni, 2009; SEF, 2017). While these mixed marriages promote integration between locals and immigrants, they may also contribute to the discrimination by Portuguese women directed towards Brazilian women, in the fear of having their husbands or Portuguese men overall 'stolen' (Gomes, 2013; Raposo & Togni, 2009), as will be further discussed in the upcoming chapter.

In terms of education and the participation of Brazilian students at Portuguese universities, Portugal is following a long tradition of hosting international students from its former colonies (França et al., 2018). Through increased investments since the early 2000s, the rise in the number of international agreements between both countries and the Brazilian program 'Science without Borders' (*Ciências sem Fronteiras*), the country has attracted an increasing number of Brazilian students (Antunes, 2005; França et al., 2018; SEF, 2007).

As an overall result of the different migratory motivations and movements, Brazilians of different social levels and educational qualifications have moved to Portugal within the past decades (França & Padilla, 2018). However, a mismatch is often visible between the higher qualification background of many Brazilian immigrants and the low skill jobs and activities that they are employed in (Egreja & Peixoto, 2011; França & Padilla, 2018; Malheiros, 2007; Peixoto, 2007). This mismatch can be directly linked to the discussed racial segregation inside the Portuguese society, discrimination throughout the labor market and general prejudice towards Brazilian immigrants (Egreja & Peixoto, 2011; França & Padilla, 2018).

2.3.3 Prejudice against Brazilians in Portugal

The complexity of a definition of 'race' and 'ethnicity' becomes very much evident when taking into consideration the specific case of Brazil (Costa, 2001; Lima, 2008). While Brazil may be defined as a single nation or political unit, its habitants form a broadly diverse community. Created out of an ongoing fusion of mainly indigenous, African, Hispanic, and European population, the ethnic backgrounds among Brazilian citizens create an extensive spectrum (Costa, 2001; Lima, 2008). Cultural characteristics including traditions, habits, religion, food, music, dances, clothing and others strongly vary between Brazilian regions, states, cities and families (Arruda, 2011; Hofstede & Minkov, 2012).
Despite all physical, genetic and cultural differences amongst Brazilian citizens, discrimination against Brazilians in Portugal is considered racially motivated for the purpose of this research. As discussed previously, while racial discrimination describes the unfair treatment of a person due to their perceived race or racial group, this perception is often vague and inaccurate from an evolutionary point of view (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; Bodino, Kaufman & Reilly, 2003; Colella & King, 2018; Holmes, 1994).

Hence, Brazilians living in Portugal are often racially profiled through their linguistic commonalities, style of clothing, food culture, taste in music and other apparently shared behaviors (Costa, 2010; Schiltz & Silva, 2007). In this sense, traits perceived as "typical Brazilian" may trigger prejudice or stigmata directed against Brazilian immigrants, often reaching back to the colonial imbalance of power: Inferiority, poverty, laziness, delinquency (Schiltz & Silva, 2007).
With the second migratory wave between the years of 2000 and 2010 and the steep increase of the Brazilian immigrant population with no or low professional qualifications, the prejudice against Brazilians has been reinforced in the mindset of the Portuguese society (Costa, 2010; Schiltz & Silva, 2007). The term "*malandragem*" (Trickery or deceit) has become increasingly common to describe stereotypical 'Brazilian' behavior (Costa 2010; Machado, 2014).

Besides openly negative images, positive associations may be just as damaging to an immigrant group (Costa, 2010; Machado, 2014). Costa (2010) described the link between positive attributes and negative consequences as follows:

> "*The Portuguese consider the Brazilians as the group [of immigrants] with which they identify themselves most; 85% attribute them very positive characteristics.*
> *The Brazilians […] are seen as happy, but less professional, less competent and not very serious."*
>
> (Costa, 2010, p.53)[15]

This two-dimensional image of "happy but lazy", translates into the treatment that Brazilian employees may receive in their search for labor: They are expected to be fun/ friendly/ outgoing however also unprofessional and shifty - and therefore especially suitable for easy employment in the food sector, nightlife and tourism (Costa, 2010; Machado, 2014).

[15] Original text in Portuguese: *"Os portugueses consideram os brasileiros o grupo com o qual mais se identificam; 85% atribuem-lhe características muito positivas. Os brasileiros [...] são vistos como alegres, mas piores profissionais, menos competentes e não tão sérios."*

2.3.4 The construct of "the Brazilian woman"

A contrast is noticeable in regards to common types of gendered prejudice towards Brazilian men and women. A central topic in the current literature, Brazilian women in Portugal are confronted with a particularly high degree of prejudice, originating in historic colonial dynamics and continuing through recent immigration patterns (Costa, 2010; Gomes, 2013; Neves et al., 2016; Padilla, 2007, 2007b; Piscitelli, 2008).

> *"As mulheres brancas europeias são construídas como Marias/ mães/ esposas/ virgens e as indígenas, negras ou mestiças das ex-colônias como Evas/ pecadoras/ prostitutas."*[16]
>
> (Gomes, 2013, pp.45)

With the colonization of the "new world" and the power dominance of European soldiers and settlers over indigenous populations throughout Latin America, the dynamics between the male and female as well as the white and indigenous population hardened, leaving indigenous and black women at the very bottom of the global power hierarchy (Gomes, 2013; Stolke, 2006). Violence and abuse against women of the colonies was normalized, as was the idea of an exotic eroticism in relation to the indigenous female. This positioning of the Brazilian woman was maintained in the Portuguese society throughout the centuries and up until current times, as proven in numerous researches (Costa, 2010; França, 2012; França & Padilla, 2018; Gomes, 2013; Neves et al., 2016; Padilla, 2007, 2007b; Piscitelli, 2008; Raposo & Togni, 2009). While the "tropical" image of the "exotic" Brazilian immigrant offers a few positive connotations for male Brazilians (friendly, happy, joyful), it remains largely negative for female Brazilians (sinful, easy to get, poorly educated) (Costa, 2010; Gomes, 2013; Malheiros & Padilla, 2015; Neves et al., 2016; Piscitelli, 2009).

With the 2000s increase of Brazilian women immigrating to Portugal and working in service, food, hotel, health or cleaning related activities, a parallel increase was visible in Brazilian female immigrants being employed in beauty-focused positions (entertainment, sales, beauty, hair and fashion) and sex work (Padilla, 2007, 2007b). The historically stigmatized recruitment of Brazilian women into body- or beauty-focused work in Portugal and other European countries, has on one hand further reinforced prejudice towards the Brazilian female population as a whole (Malheiros & Padilla, 2015). On the other hand, Malheiros & Padilla (2015) demonstrated that in particular cases this aesthetic-corporal image of the Brazilian woman may become a resource for female Brazilian entrepreneurs in Portugal, facilitating the start up and development of businesses in the beauty sector.

Despite the variety of profiles, qualifications and professions of Brazilian women in Portugal nowadays, the hypersensualized social construct of "the Brazilian woman" remains active, at times creating hostility and violence against them (Gomes, 2013; Neves et al., 2016).

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[16] Own translation into English: „*The white European women are constructed as Marias/ mothers/ wives/ virgins and the indigenous, black or mixed race women of the colonies as Evas/ sinners/ prostitutes."*

3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter aims to review the scientific method behind this study. First, its central question and related hypotheses are examined, in order to determine the focus of the mixed research approaches. Concurrently, the general research design of the study is explained, including the chosen research approaches and methods. This consideration then leads to a detailed description of the settings and instruments of both the quantitative and qualitative research methods for this specific investigation. This discussion includes possible limitations and constraints of the research methodology, in order to create a critical assessment of the value and boundaries of the study.

3.1 Research Questions

In order to add new findings to existing relevant research and fulfill the purpose of the study, the following central research questions have been formulated:

> **Do Brazilian qualified workers perceive racial discrimination in the Portuguese labor market? If yes, what are their perceptions?**

The research question aims to unfold the perceptions as well as experiences of Brazilian immigrants with higher education (above high school diploma) who are living in Portugal, in relation to a possible labor discrimination through racial profiling. The research goal therefore is to understand and picture the perception of these subjects in relation to their work experiences and career prospects while living in Portugal and give visibility on possible social issues related to the matter.

This central research topic leads to three hypotheses to be verified within this paper:

> **1.** *Brazilian qualified workers are usually employed outside of their area of expertise when living in Portugal.*
>
> **2.** *Brazilian qualified workers generally perceive that they are not given the same chances in their job search and career prospects as equally qualified Portuguese candidates.*
>
> **3.** *Brazilian qualified workers often identify racial prejudice and discrimination in their working experience in Portugal.*

The hypotheses serve to guide upcoming reflections in relation to the research problem (Sarantakos, 1998). As premises for the research theory, they allow for a deductive research approach in which theories are either confirming or invalidating the initial assumptions (Maxwell, 2005).

3.2 Research Design

The aim of this research is to improve current knowledge and increase scientific understanding of a specific field, rather than developing an application strategy of its results. It can therefore be described as a form of basic research, which aims at the production of knowledge (Sarantakos, 1998; Sarantakos, 2013). This study shall explore social reality for Brazilians living in Portugal, and therefore enable further research on the matter.

The choice of a mixed methodology, allows for the analysis of the topic from multiple perspectives. The empirical part of the research will therefore take place in form of a case study with two distinct types of data collections:

1. **Online survey** (Quantitative approach)
2. **Personal interviews** (Qualitative approach)

The goal of this **mixed-method approach** is to combine the tangible data and results of the quantitative approach with a social reality interpretation through qualitative information. While a mixed method approach allows for a rich and comprehensive result collection, the integration of qualitative and quantitative data also proves to create a challenge in terms of equal weight distribution for different data and simultaneous collection and analysis of qualitative and quantitative findings (Santos et al., 2017).

Hence, the discussion of the results of both methodological approaches will take place in a concurrent triangulation strategy (Santos et al., 2017) within a shared chapter, weighing the outcomes of both research methods and identifying parallel outcomes as well as differences in an attempt of "*objective versus subjective, generalization versus uniqueness, rationalism versus naturalism*" (Sarantakos, 2013, p.47). In this approach, the qualitative and quantitative data have equal weight and are mixed upon integration in order to verify the central research question and hypotheses (Santos et al., 2017).

3.3 Quantitative approach

The research starts with an **online survey** as a quantitative approach of collecting data. This method employs quantitative theoretical and methodological principles, while focusing on measurability and statistics (Sarantakos, 1998; Sarantakos, 2013). It is thereby possible to approach study objects of a specific social phenomenon, collect quantifiable data from them and later measure the findings in order to draw relevant conclusions (Sarantakos, 2013). This empirical approach values objectivity and neutrality, clarity in design and procedure, as well as accurate measurement and precise quantification (Machamer & Silberstein, 2008; Sarantakos, 1998; Sarantakos, 2013).

In the case of this thesis, the online survey serves as a starting point in order to gather data and perceptions from a larger number of relevant individuals and receive a representative overview of the current situation of qualified Brazilians in Portugal.

The target group for the survey consisted of Brazilian citizens over the age of 18, with a professional qualification above a high school diploma, who are currently living in Portugal with the goal of working or finding work in the country. The survey was initially distributed online on channels with frequent use of Brazilians in Portugal with higher qualification, such as LinkedIn and specific Facebook Groups for Brazilian Engineers, Lawyers or Entrepreneurs in Portugal. The survey was further distributed digitally in a Call Center company in Lisbon which employs a large number of Brazilians and which served as initial point of contact of the author with Brazilian work colleagues. As a majority of the participants were approached within the same workplace, the sample selection allowed only for a limited scope of participants rather than a truly random sample. Several of the participants are working in similar positions, share similar tasks and might work in the same team. Yet, they were considered relevant samples as their social and educational backgrounds proved to be diverse, as were their perceptions of life and work in Portugal.

While the sample size is large enough to compare data and draw conclusions, it is too small to achieve findings that would be representive of the entire community of Brazilian professionals in Portugal. Time and organizational constraints did not allow for a significantly larger sample size at the time of research, however it can offer food for thought for future researchers.

The survey consists of 32 questions, including 10 extra questions, which will only show if the participant chose a relevant answer previously (for example the answer “I have a different EU nationality then Portuguese” leads to the question “Which EU nationality do you have?”). The objective is to individualize the survey for each participant and achieve purpose and relevance in all questions asked, hence increasing the number of participants that will fill in the survey until the end. The survey is arranged into 13 questions regarding general information (Age, nationality, gender, visa status, etc.), 17 questions regarding professional information (Type of education, type of employment, type of work contract, number of work hours, etc.) and 2 questions about life and happiness in Portugal. The general questions will help categorize participants into groups of age, gender, educational background and others, in order to draw relevant conclusions about privilege and discrimination in the labor market. The professional questions will help create a picture of working conditions, promotion predictions and labor satisfaction of the participants.

Lastly, the remaining questions about life satisfaction shall briefly summarize the most urgent issues and benefits, which participants perceive in relation to their life in Portugal.

The survey largely includes multiple-choice questions (23 out of 32) in order to enable its fast conclusion by the participant and a tangible analysis for the author. Every multiple-choice question also includes the option “other”, to provide participants with the opportunity to formulate their own, more individualized answers. Depending on the value for the analysis of results, some of the multiple-choice questions allow for more than one option to be chosen, in which case this possibility is indicated to the participant.

Further, the survey includes seven short-answer questions, which are intended for the participant to write a simple, short answer to a question (E.g. “Please specify your area of study”). These questions largely enable the participant to share personalized answers, which due to their versatility would not be ideal to be summarized in a multiple-choice pattern.

Lastly, two out of 32 are long-answer questions, providing an opportunity to the participant to write as long of a text as desired (E.g. “Why don’t you believe that in your company you receive equal treatment to your Portuguese colleagues?”). These questions allow for participants to share their experiences and stories in more detail and therefore to add qualitative value to the quantitative survey.

Finally, 17 out of the 32 questions are optional, while 15 are mandatory to be filled in in order to continue with the survey. The mandatory questions are necessary components of a complete analysis of the results and ensure that the answers submitted are of scientific value (E.g. gender, age, nationality).

The timeframe for the survey distribution was between the 10th of April 2019 and the 11th of May 2019.

3.4 Qualitative approach

The quantitative approach through a measureable online survey is followed by a qualitative research method of **in-depth interviews** with a limited number of chosen participants. This type of research supports the underlying belief that there is no objective reality or truth in social phenomenons, and qualitative research shall focus on interpreting meaning, intentions, tensions and contradictions (Sarantakos, 2013). Consequently, results cannot be measured through statistical data or emprirical calculations. Instead, a content analysis has been chosen as the method for qualitative analysis, with the aim of collecting and organizing qualitative data and interpreting meaning and significance in an objective approach (Bengtsson, 2016).

The in-depth interviews serve to fill potential knowledge gaps, and provide a space for respondents to speak more freely about personal experiences and opinions. The aim is to receive further insights of people involved in the matter, than possible in a qualitative study.

During the implementation of qualitative interviews and the subsequent content analysis, the researcher was motivated to present a neutral and objective stance towards participant answers and the interpretation of such. Due to the characteristics of a social research study however, data may always be to some degree affected by the time and place of the interviews, affected by the questions and verbal or non-verbal reactions of the interviewer or interpreted in a different meaning than what was intended by the informant (Bengtsson, 2016). Through the interpretive nature of qualitative research, a margin of error in the capture and analysis of data has to be considered likely.

Target interview candidates were participants of the preceding survey who optionally shared their e-mail information in order to be contacted for a follow-up interview. Hence, they belong to the same target group as the survey participants, yet build a smaller sample of respondents. All participants were informed orally and in writing about the study before the interviews took place, and were guaranteed confidentiality of their personal data. They were further let known that the interviews would be recorded for academic puposes only, and that they could withdraw their data from the study at any time without affecting their relationship with the researcher (Bengtsson, 2016). All participants were given the choice of partaking in the interview in either a personal meeting or an online call with or without camera. Three interviews were conducted personally in public locations, three were conducted over Facetime, two of which without camera usage and one with camera. The interviews had timespans of between 30 and 60 minutes and were recorded as audio, no written notes were taken during the talks. All results were taken from the audio recordings; interview summaries can be found in the appendix. While questions of interest were prepared as a guide for the interviews, the focus of this qualitative research approach was on enabling an informal, trustfull conversation with a dynamic flow. Hence, no written of fixed questions were presented to the participants. Instead, they were encouraged to share personal stories and perceptions in a dialogue with the researcher based on a guide of questions of interest for the interviews, which will be added to the appendix of this thesis.

4. DISCUSSION

This chapter intedents to provide an overview of the main results from both the quantitative and qualitative research conducted previously. First, the quantitative survey findings will be presented in related charts and numeric data while being complemented through the qualitative findings from the personal interviews with survey participants. The goal of this step is to bring together findings from the exploratory qualitative method and the explanatory quantitative approach in a concurrent triangulation strategy, in order to allow for a rich and comprehensive result discussion (Santos et al., 2017). Later, the final evaluation of the study findings will allow to answer the initial research question and hypotheses for a conclusion of this study.

4.1 Demographics

At the moment of evaluation, 58 participants had completed the online survey. Out of these, 51 participants fit the survey target of having completed an education higher than a 12th grade high school degree. Hence, the analysis will be reduced to these 51 participants.

51% of all participants were male and 49% were female. It is to be mentioned that this gender balance is likely to be a bias from the specific research sample, as the percentage of female Brazilian immigrants in Portugal is generally larger than the male. The years of birth of the participants were between 1962 and 1994, leading to an age group of between 24 and 57 years of age. Out of all participants, 76% had the Brazilian nationality, 22% had both the Brazilian and Portuguese nationality and 2% had both the Brazilian and Italian nationality.
From all participants, 2% had completed a professional course after 12th grade (*Ensino Profissional e Tecnológico*), 31% had completed a Bachelor's degree (*Ensino Superior/ Licenciatura*) and 67% had completed a Master's degree or PhD (*Pos-graduação, Mestrado ou Doutorado*).

After the conclusion of the survey, interviews have been conducted with six respondents, three men and three women of diverse ages between 27 and 44 years. They had spent different time spans in Portugal, lasting from only one year to up to 17 years. They further differed in their social background, educational degrees, work industries and labor positions.

Name[17]	Birth year	City of origin	Date of entrance in PT	Highest education degree	Current labor situation
Juliana (f)	1975	São Paulo (SP)	06/2016	Master	Self-employed
Rafael (m)	1980	Belo Horizonte (MG)	04/2002	Bachelor	Employed (Supervisor)
Bruno (m)	1982	Uberaba (MG)	04/2013	Master	Employed (Manager)
Adriana (f)	1990	Vitória (ES)	09/2016	Master	Employed (Supervisor)
Felipe (m)	1987	São Paulo (SP)	06/2018	Bachelor	Recibos Verdes
Lorena (f)	1991	São Paulo (SP)	04/2017	Master	Employed (Mid-level)

Figure 9 - Profiles of interview participants

[17] All names have been changed to protect the privacy of the participants.

4.2 Migration

As an initial observation, only 27% of the sample had no connections whatsoever in Portugal when emigrating from Brazil. The remaining 33% had family in Portugal when moving there, 26% had Brazilian friends or acquaintances, 8% had Portuguese friends or acquaintances and 6% had a boyfriend or girlfriend in the country.

All participants had the chance to mention up to three main reasons why they left Brazil. Out of the participants, 55% mentioned the violence and lack of safety in Brazil as a central reason for leaving the country, 29% wanted to continue their studies, 25% mentioned general economic reasons, 16% saw a lack of professional opportunities in Brazil, 12% had political motives, and 8% mentioned personal or family reasons.

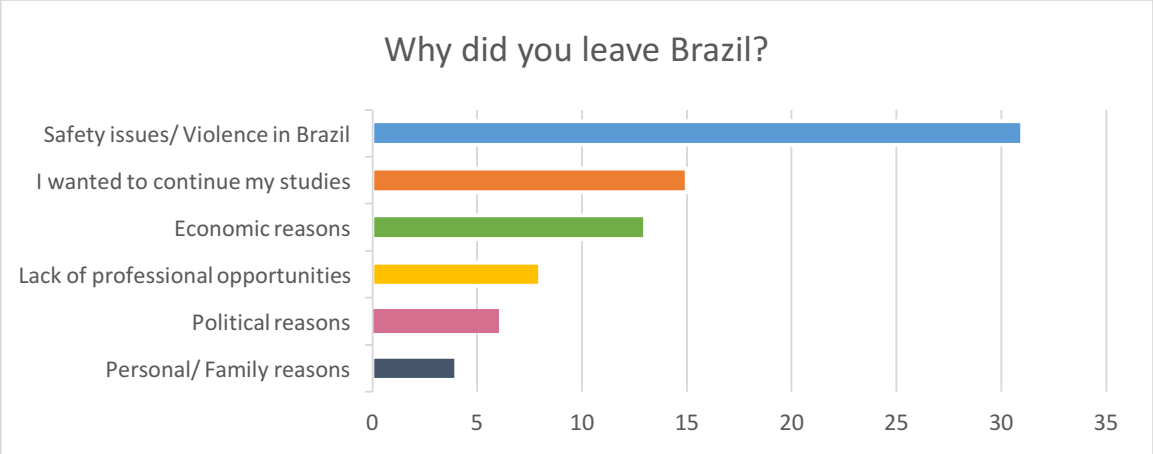

Figure 10 - Survey: Reasons for leaving Brazil

Considering that only 16% of the respondents mentioned a lack of professional opportunities as a primary reason for leaving Brazil, a first observation may be that most qualified Brazilians who participated in the study, had job opportunities in Brazil and did not have to leave the country in order to find work (Albuquerque & Gennari, 2012; Da Silva, Fernandes & Peixoto, 2018).

Out of 55% of the participants that mentioned safety issues as a central motive for having left Brazil, 50% were male and the other 50% female, indicating no obvious gender difference in the perception of violence and danger in Brazil. This result may however stem from a bias of the specific study sample and would have to be verified in future research, as women are generally considered to be more exposed to urban violence than men (Duarte & Oliveira, 2012; Neves, 2010; Neves et al., 2016; Peixoto, 2007).

Among the 55% of participants who moved to Portugal for safety reasons, only 11% migrated before the year 2016, the remaining 89% had left Brazil between 2016 and 2019. While this may be partially due to the selection of study participants who in its majority, 76%, belong to the latest wave of migration, it may also indicate that Brazilian immigrants since 2016 have been increasingly motivated to leave Brazil due to the rise in urban violence or political instabilities (Borges & Vidigal, 2018; França & Padilla, 2018). In comparison, the participants who moved to Portugal before 2016, primarily named family reunification and academic studies as their main motives for migration.

The high crime rates and lack of safety were also mentioned in several of the personal interviews that were conducted, namely by the participants who had moved to Portugal within the past 3 years. Felipe, Lorena and Juliana, who are all from São Paulo, communicated safety issues as one of their central motivators to have left Brazil. Felipe described his experience in the large Brazilian city as a "*constant state of stress, comparable to a country that is in war*". He said it was impossible to feel safe in the city and that he always had to watch his back, even when sitting in a restaurant or walking through a shopping mall. Robberies and attacks were familiar to him as well as to the other respondents, either through their own examples or through experiences from friends and family. Several interview participants told me that they enjoy walking through Lisbon with their mobile phones openly in their hand, even alone and at night, and without a fear of being robbed, such as in this example with Felipe:

> Liv: *"Do you feel safer now, since you are living in Lisbon?"*
>
> Felipe: *"Much safer. Lisbon is a very safe city and it's very calm living here. When I first arrived here I couldn't believe how openly people were walking with their phones, handbags, headphones, wallets. Like: Are you crazy? You are going to be robbed! But then I spoke to some other Brazilians and they told me that they had the same impression first, but now they trust everybody a lot more and no one ever had any issues with robberies or pickpocketing. I mean, in the very touristic spots maybe, but not in everyday life."*
>
> Liv: *"So do you walk around alone now, also with your phone open in your hand?"*
>
> Felipe: *"Yes absolutely, all the time. I never had any problems. I even walk home at night after parties sometimes which takes me almost one hour and there are few people on the street. I would never have done that in São Paulo, that would have simply been very stupid. Within a few minutes, two guys would have stopped next to you with a motorbike and pointed a gun at you and taken your backpack, your phone, everything. But it's not like this in Lisbon."*

In relation to the question why participants specifically chose Portugal as a destination country, the answers were more heterogeneous. In accordance with the previous question, 35% out of the 51 participants mentioned the low violence and high safety in Portugal as a central motive for their choice. Other reasons were the Portuguese nationality and the possibility of obtaining a legal residency status (31%), the common language (29%) or the goal of studying at a Portuguese university (27%). Further motives for Portugal as a destination were family reunification (14%), economic reasons (10%), job offers (8%) or influence by friends (6%). Individual participants also mentioned that they had enjoyed Portugal during previous visits (4%), that Portugal is LGBTQ-friendly (2%) or that they were hoping to receive better medical care in Portugal (2%).

Figure 11 - Survey: Reasons for moving to Portugal

These results may again indicate that Brazilian skilled professionals don't necessarily choose Portugal as a destination for its job opportunities or labor market, but rather for its safety, bureaucratic facilitations (including the common language) and study opportunities.

In the interviews, Rafael and Adriana both actively supported this hypothesis. When Adriana came to Portugal in 2016, she had already finished both a Bachelor's and a Master's degree and had worked as a Junior Manager in Singapore for two years, gathering international experience. Her reason for moving to Portugal was mainly that her Visa for Singapore was expiring and she did not want to return to Brazil, but stay in either an Asian, European or North American country. As her grandmother was Portuguese, Adriana received the Portuguese nationality and moved to Portugal in the hope of benefitting from the facilitated entry regulations and common language. Her Brazilian husband could only enter on a Tourist Visa and therefore wanted to stay in Portugal for at least 5 years in order to receive the Portuguese citizenship. Although Adriana was strongly disappointed in the prejudiced treatment she perceived in Portugal and the low-level job offers that she received, she stayed in the country for the sake of its safety, language and mostly because of her husband and the hope of moving to another European country together in the future. This dialogue from her interview shows the difficulties, that Adriana perceived when moving to Portugal:

> Liv: *"Why did you move to Portugal?"*
>
> Adriana: *"Honestly, I needed to leave Singapore because the Visa was running out, and my husband only has the Brazilian nationality, but we did not want to return to Brazil. So we researched and figured out that Portugal would be the easiest country for the two of us to stay until he got a European passport. I would have preferred staying in an English-speaking country like England, Australia or Canada, but it was very difficult with the work permits."*

Liv: *"And what was your experience like when you arrived in Portugal?"*

Adriana: *"I expected difficulties, but not like this. You know, I have two very good degrees from Brazil and I have made an effort to get valuable working experience abroad. I was a Junior Manager in Singapore, I worked in a large and modern company, in a very chic building with lots of glass and well-dressed people. My team was international, people were super friendly, they had a good image of Brazilians. Clichés like Samba, Football, Caiprinha, all that. But all happy, all friendly. That all changed when I came to Portugal. I immediately noticed the change, but I was still shocked at how rude people where to me. It started at the airport when I arrived, they asked me for a personal check and went through all my stuff. They probably thought that a young Brazilian woman travelling from Asia to Portugal had to bring drugs, or whatever. And it continued when looking for an apartment and then for the job. For example, I remember asking my Portuguese landlord for hints, how to find a job in Lisbon and he just looked at me with pitty and said: 'Why don't you try cleaning somewhere or helping a family in their household? That's a good start.' And I heard the same from recruiters. When I explained them my professional backgrounds, they recommended me to 'start small' and said that I wouldn't find anything better than a Call Center agent job. So eventually I accepted an offer like this, I mean, I needed money."*

In comparison to Adriana, Rafael already came to Portugal in 2002, as part of the large migration wave of the early 2000s. Rafael says that Portugal offered the most accessible Visa regulations for his immigration, as well as a shared language, which is why he chose to move to Lisbon at the age of 22. Besides, Rafael is homosexual and was not feeling accepted nor safe in his family and circle of friends in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais. He had previously witnessed an open and progressive LGBTQ-scene during a six-month language exchange in Ireland and was hoping to find the same in Portugal. When being asked about his early days in Portugal in 2002, Rafael remembered the time like this:

Liv: *"Why did you choose to come to Portugal in 2002, do you still remember?"*

Rafael: "*Yes, absolutely. I had loved my time in Ireland, where I had felt really free and I could be myself and experience life. So I wanted to return to Europe. I knew from other people who were going to Portugal and that it was easy to find work there, because they needed people who spoke Portuguese. I knew it would be small jobs in the beginning, but I just didn't want to stay in Belo Horizonte with my family and my father who didn't want to know that I was gay. So I came to Portugal. It was crazy at first, I was sharing my room with other people, I was working 12 or 14 hours a day in a 'quiosque', making food and cleaning. But I didn't mind. We were all young, I felt free and I could party all night and come to work in the morning and have another beer, the Portuguese owner didn't mind it. I was doing a good job anyway and had lots of fun and my boss gave me my money in cash every week. It was very little, maybe 100 Euro per week, but I knew people in every bar and shop and knew how to get around."*

Rafael told me that at the time of his entry in Portugal in 2002, homosexuality was not a big topic in his social circle and work places in Lisbon. However, the LGBTQ community has grown significantly over the years (also through the immigration of LGBTQ Brazilians) and he feels very happy, safe and open to express his personality and sexuality in Lisbon nowadays.

As another motivating factor, Rafael also had the hope of eventually studying at a Portuguese University, which he now did at the age of 36, finishing his Bachelor's degree in Business Administration. In terms of jobs however, Rafael has started in 2002 by working in unregulated, exploitative food sector jobs with long working hours and low pay, and 18 years later he is now still working in a job which does not require specialized skills or a higher education, despite working in an international company. In the past 4 years in his company, he has applied for a promotion 9 times, but so far has been rejected.

Finally, all 51 survey respondents were asked to choose up to 3 most relevant positive aspects and 3 negative aspects of living in Portugal nowadays. These answers might help to give an impression of why participants might choose to stay or not stay in Portugal in the future.

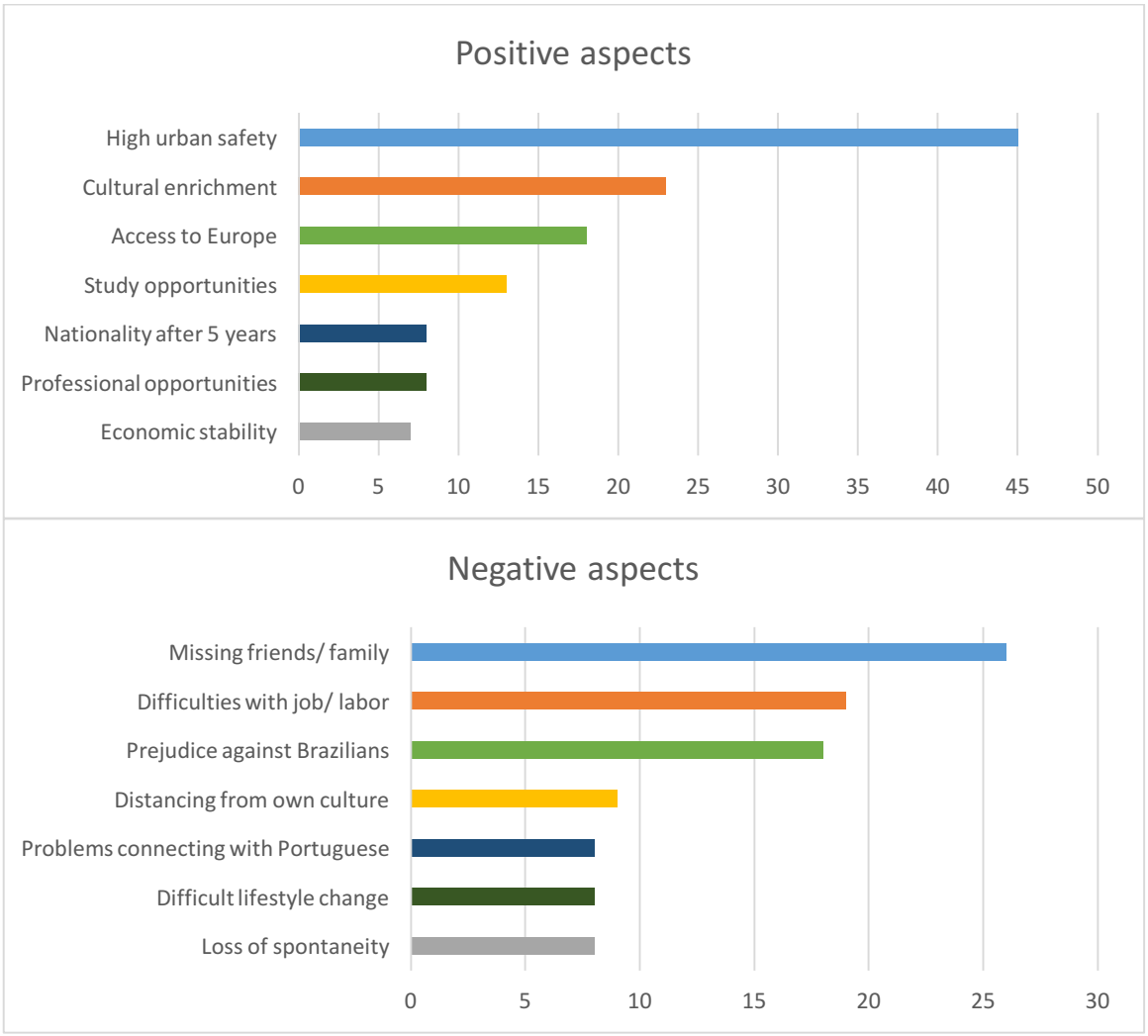

Figure 12 - Positive and negative aspects of life in Portugal

As an initial observation, the participant's perceptions about positive aspects of life in Portugal seemed rather unambiguous than the negative perceptions. Out of 51 participants, 88% named the urban safety in Portugal as one of the best factors of living in the country. This supports the earlier statements of why participants had chosen to leave Brazil and move to Portugal instead, with the violence and lack of safety in Brazil being a central motivator. Another 45% of all participants indicated cultural enrichment or the contact with a different culture as a positive aspect of living in Portugal. Some 35% mentioned the easier access to other European countries through residency in Portugal, 25% the study opportunities for

themselves or family members, 16% the chance of receiving the Portuguese nationality after 5 years of residency, another 16% professional opportunities in Portugal and 14% appreciated the economic stability in the country.

The conclusion is again, that most survey participants did not primarily choose Portugal as a destination because of job opportunities, nor do they appreciate life in Portugal particularly for the sake of its labor market, but rather for safety, cultural enrichment, studies and bureaucratic possibilities.

In terms of the most negative aspects of life in Portugal, the opinions of the respondents showed a broader spectrum. Besides, more participants chose to add personal comments and perceptions to their multiple choice answers. The three negative aspects that were most frequently mentioned, where loneliness or missing friends and family (53%), difficulties with jobs or labor integration (37%) and perceptions of prejudice against Brazilians (35%). Another 17% of respondents said they felt that they were distancing themselves from their own culture, 15% had difficulties connecting with Portuguese people and the Portuguese culture, again 15% perceived a general negative change in lifestyle and finally 15% of participants felt that they had lost spontaneity and their way of living when moving to Portugal. These last four options with lower numbers of respondents were all in some way related to a question of culture and lifestyle in Portugal and might be connected to the challenge of integrating a person's personal and national identity into the Portuguese culture. Similarily, a feeling of loneliness was dominant for most of the participants, and indicates further difficulties in the process of acculturation and cultural adaptation (Neto, Neto & Oliveira, 2017). Neto et al. (2017) suggested that a strong national identity as well as a perception of discrimination might further enable loneliness, assimilation, separation and marginalization. The larger number of respondents, who perceived both loneliness and prejudice against Brazilians in Portugal, supports these findings.

Finally, a majority of participants perceived difficulties of finding matching job opportunities and successfully integrating into the Portuguese labor market. This indicates an unsuccessful absorption of skilled Brazilian professionals on the Portuguese labor market, which will be further discussed in the upcoming chapter.

4.3 Labor

In total, 80% out of the survey's participants were employed or self-employed in Brazil before their move to Portugal, indicating once more that the majority of respondents did not migrate primarily due to a lack of employment or job opportunities in Brazil.

In total, 86% of the participants arrived to Portugal without a secured employment and only later found a job. Most participants (55%) found employment without further support, some had the help of Brazilian family or friends (15%), of Portuguese friends (7%) or had already received guaranteed employment before their immigration (6%). Besides, 2% were self-employed and 12% were not working due to their studies or because they had not found any job so far.

The job searching process took between a few days and up until 1,5 years, with the majority (55%) being within 3 months. This data seems to be in agreement with the general Portuguese population, where 55% of the unemployed find a job within a year and 45% search for employment longer than a year (PORDATA, 2019).

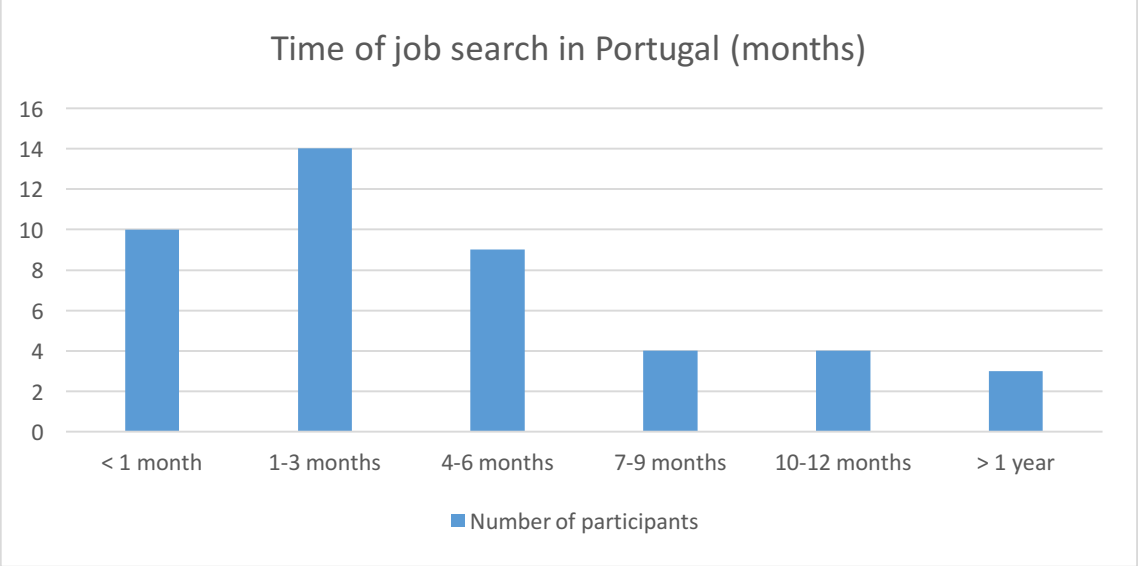

Figure 13 - Survey: Time of job search in Portugal (months)

All participants who had worked both before and after their move from Brazil to Portugal, were questioned in regards to their job position right before their move and in their first employment after arrival. As an initial observation, the majority of participants (78%), who had answered these questions, had been working in a job in Brazil which matched their field of studies. In this case, the respondent's last job before migrating to Portugal was a job that usually required their specific type and level of education. After having moved to Portugal however, only 33% of the participants were able to achieve a job according to their field of studies, indicating an overqualification of Brazilian skilled professionals in the Portuguese labor market. Fonseca & Oliveira (2013) argued that these common situations of highly skilled immigrants inserted in precarious and manual activities of the Portuguese labour market, may result in frustration, lack of work experience in the activities that they are performing, and even an increase in workplace accidents and security incidents.

Field of studies	Last job in Brazil	First job in Portugal
Architecture	Interior Designer	Door to Door Salesman
Communication	Marketing Analyst	Call Center agent
Social Communication	Trainer & Coach	Real Estate Consultant
New media and online practices	Web editor	Call Center agent
Geology	Driver (Service)	Hostel receptionist
Theology	Salesman	Telecommunications Salesman
International Relations	Shop Salesman	Call Center agent
English & Portuguese Literature	Teacher	Call Center agent
Scenic Art	Theater actor	Restaurant waiter
Gastronomy	Brewery master	Beer sommelier
School Administration	School secretary	Cleaning personel
Computing Sciences	IT System Consultant	Telemarketing agent
Marketing Management	Sales Account Executive	Call Center agent
Management	Bookkeeper	Call Center agent
IT	Cloud Engineer	Cloud Engineer
IT	Senior Software Engineer	Senior Software Engineer
Electrotechnical Engineering	Telecommunications Technician	Electrotechnical Engineer
Engineering	Sales Coordinator	Commercial Engineer
Audio and Visual Production	Production Assistant	Call Center agent
International Relations	Pedagogical Coordinator	Admissions Manager
Ergodesign and Interface Usabillity	Social Media Manager	Content Curator
IT	IT Analyst	IT Technician
Industrial Engineering	Planning Coordinator	Consultant
Human Resources	HR Consultant	HR Consultant
Project Management	SAP Consultant	Trainer & Coach
Business Management	Team Manager	Plumbing Technician
Business Intelligence	Senior Manager	Call Center agent
Architecture	Architect	Architect
Pharmacy	Clinical Research Assistant	Clinical Data Analyst
International Finances	Risk Analyst	Financial Analyst
IT	Senior SAP Engineering Consultant	Senior SAP Engineering Consultant
Journalism	Book Editor	Call Center agent
Business Management	Financial Manager	Salesman
Text Editor/ Literature	Book Editor	Book Revisor
Marketing / Business Management	Technical Supervisor	Call Center agent
Product Engineering	Product Engineering Consultant	Call Center agent

Figure 14 - Study and job comparison Brazil/ Portugal

Scale: Job according to studies/ Job not according to studies / Undefined

Half of the participants (50%), had changed their working area from their jobs in Brazil to their jobs in Portugal. It is evident that this kind of change in the majority of cases meant an evident drop in job level, usually to an entry-level job or unqualified positions. Some 33% had remained in the same job area in spite of their move from Brazil to Portugal, which in most cases were specialized fields of expertise in IT and Engineering.

Noticeably, all survey participants who had arrived to Portugal before 2016 are among those that had to change working field when looking for a job after their immigration, in all cases moving towards either call center or food sector jobs. This result may on one hand be caused by the low range of job choices during the years of economic crisis (namely 2009-2014), but it may on the other hand also confirm the strategic placement of Brazilian immigrants in

"friendly" and "entertaining" service positions, especially in the earlier years of migration (França & Padilla, 2018; Machado, 2014).

Both the story of Rafael (earlier mentioned) and Bruno support this theory. Bruno arrived in Portugal in 2013, still in the aftermath of the economic crisis, and with a Bachelor's degree in Marketing Management and Communications. He was then 31 years old and had worked as an Event Manager for several years in Minas Gerais and São Paulo.

In order to stay in Portugal, Bruno accepted an unregulated job as a waiter (no contract) and started jobbing in several bars over the next years. Despite successfully finishing a Master's degree in Business Administration at a Portuguese university, Bruno had to start his first corporate work in Lisbon as a customer agent in an international Call Center. He has since been promoted to Team Manager and later Operations Manager of the project, however his early years in Lisbon are an example of the common mismatch of highly skilled Brazilian immigrants with low-level entry jobs in Portugal.

> Liv: *"Upon your arrival in Portugal, you switched from being an Event Manager to a waiter in the restaurant and are now an Operations Manager in an international company. How do you feel about this employment path?"*
>
> Bruno: *"Ah, I think it's pretty normal. I have many wonderful team members at work who are architects, dentists or even lawyers and work in a Call Center. Your job title doesn't mean much in Portugal. You can't be too proud if you want to live here as a Brazilian, you have to start small and make friends, build a network, figure out how to improve your situation. Then it's easier. I never expected to be a boss right away, I just wanted to enjoy life and make friends. Now I am responsible for around 300 people in my project, right, but that has taken many years and many good connections. Eventually your superiors see if you are qualified to be promoted and lead a team. You just have to be patient and find a way!"*

Bruno's example supports the hypotheses that 1) Initially available employment opportunities for Brazilians are often found among the least attractive segments of the Portuguese labor market and 2) Social networks and personal initiative are two of the most relevant means for Brazilians of obtaining employment in Portugal (Egreja & Peixoto, 2012). Egreja & Peixoto (2012) also suggested that it is common for Brazilian professionals in Portugal to improve their labor situation during a longer duration of immigration, in comparison to their initial labor market integration. The case of Bruno, among others, confirms this idea.

Similar to Bruno's example, most participants (57%) are now in a changed labor situation in comparison to their first employment after arrival in Portugal. Of those participants, some 28% have recently changed their job position, some 24% were promoted, another 24% lost their job and 7% gave up their employment to become full-time students.

Additionally, 4% have opened their own business and several participants (14%) have registered for Recibos Verdes[18].

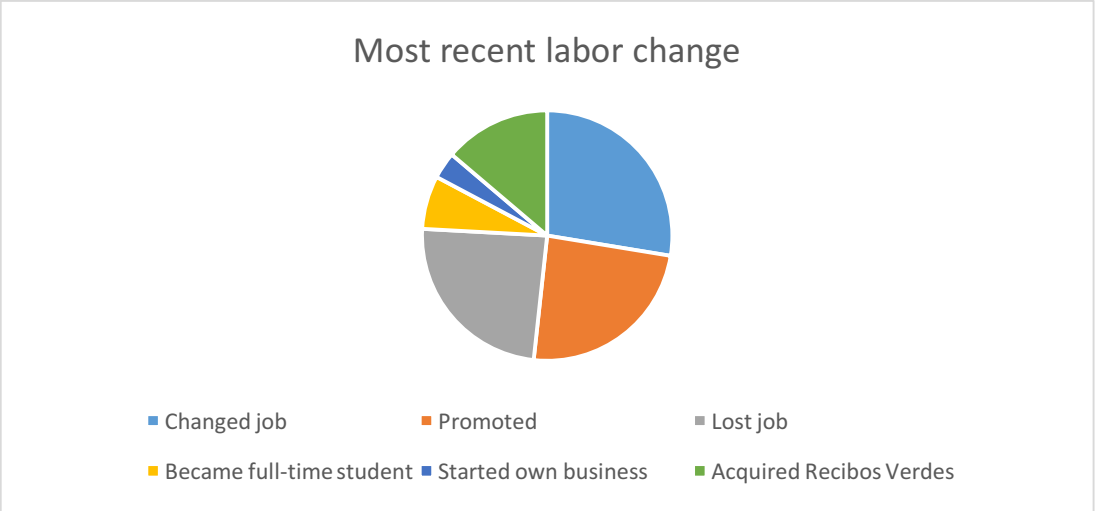

Figure 15 - Survey: Most recent labor changes of Brazilian participants

This result provides a generally balanced impression of the career paths and prospects of Brazilians in Portugal. Noticeably however, most of the participants (85%) who were recently promoted, work in multinational companies rather than traditional Portuguese companies. This result may be caused by the high number of study participants that have been approached through their work in a Call Center, but it might also be an indicator for a higher level of discrimination in Portuguese companies in comparison to multinational environments.

Multiple survey and interview participants shared this perception, indicating that they would rather work in an international team than a purely Portuguese environment. This is the case for Adriana, Rafael and Bruno who have previously been introduced, but also for Lorena. She has entered Portugal in 2017 with a Master's degree in Pharmacy and worked as a Clinical Research Assistant in São Paulo before moving to Lisbon. While Lorena was immediately offered a specialized job in her field of study, she is working in a team with almost exclusively Portuguese colleagues. She described her work experience to me as "*extremely discriminated and unhappy*". Lorena told me that she had received increasingly unpleasant comments by coworkers in regards to her allegedly being a Brazilian prostitute who came to Portugal for sex work, and that neither HR nor her boss took any of her complaints seriously.

> "*I feel like in 1980 when it comes to management (and I was not even born), with authoritarianism and clear individual preferences among employees. Wages are defined without criteria or market research and there are no promotions or dynamism between positions and areas. From what I see, the best jobs certainly focus on the non-Portuguese multinationals, which, in addition to better salaries, have a more modern business culture, but there are almost no jobs. Not in my area of studies, at least.*"
>
> (Lorena; Pharmaceutic Market Access Associate)

[18] Recibos Verdes are a tax-deductible statement that attests the receipt of a monetary amount in exchange for the provision of a service. They are mainly intended for professionals who perform temporary work or who work independently and without a normal work contract (Portal das Finanças, 2019).

In terms of working conditions, out of all survey participants with current fixed employment, 97% declared that they have received a written contract for their job. 3% work in unregulated positions as domestic cleaners, without written contract. In terms of contract duration, out of the participants with a written employment contract, 53% of contracts are permanent, 16% are limited for 1 to 3 years, another 16% are limited for 6 to 12 months, 9% are limited for 3 to 6 months and 3% of the contracts are renewed every month. 6% of participants did not declare their contract duration terms.

Out of all employed participants, 3% declared to work more than 50 hours per week, some 9% said they work 45 to 50 hours per week, 31% estimate to work 41 to 45 hours a week, 42% work 36 to 40 hours a week, 6% work between 21 and 35 hours a week and the remaining 9% work between 1 and 20 hours per week. While overhours may be common among both immigrants and Portuguese employees, the results show that nearly half of the respondents work more hours than allowed by law (43% work over 40 hours a week), which might indicate a precarity of Brazilian skilled workers in Portugal.

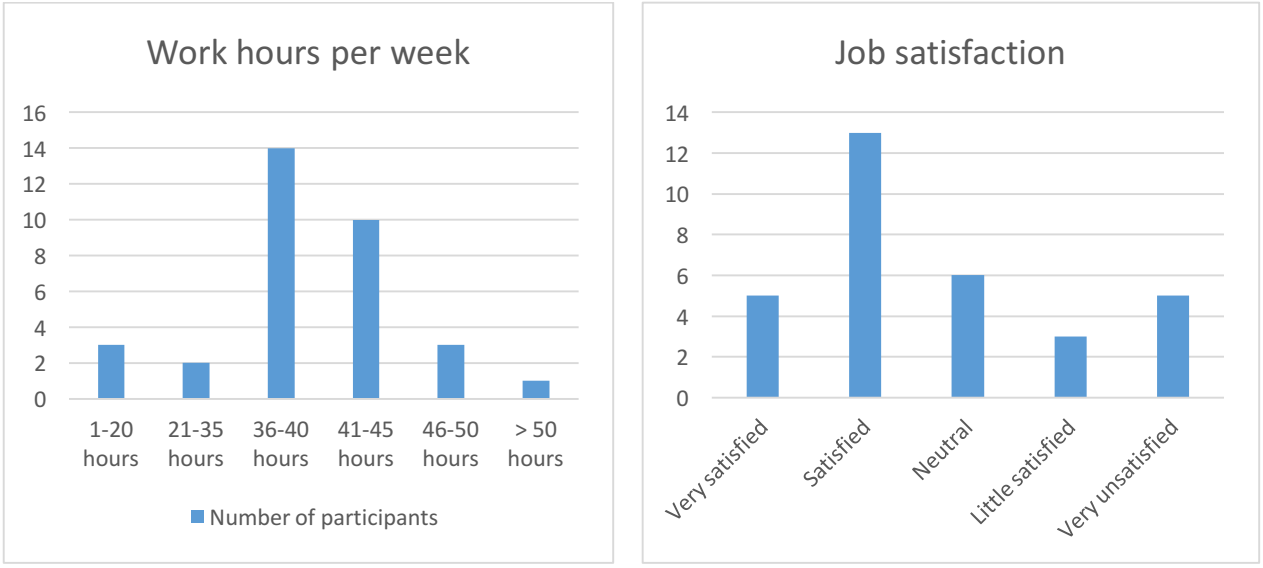

Figure 16 - Survey: Average amount of work hours per week and job satisfaction

When asked about their current job satisfaction, out of all employed participants, the majority, 39%, said they were satisfied, 15% declared to be very satisfied, 18% were neutral, 9% were little satisfied and the 15% remaining were not satisfied at all. No direct correlation between either working hours and work satisfaction or contract duration and work satisfaction could be observed. As a common denominator for the participants that were either little satisfied or not satisfied at all with their current jobs, 87% out of them thought that they had smaller promotion chances than their Portuguese coworkers and again 87% perceived that Portuguese companies would preferably recruit Portuguese candidates rather than Brazilians.

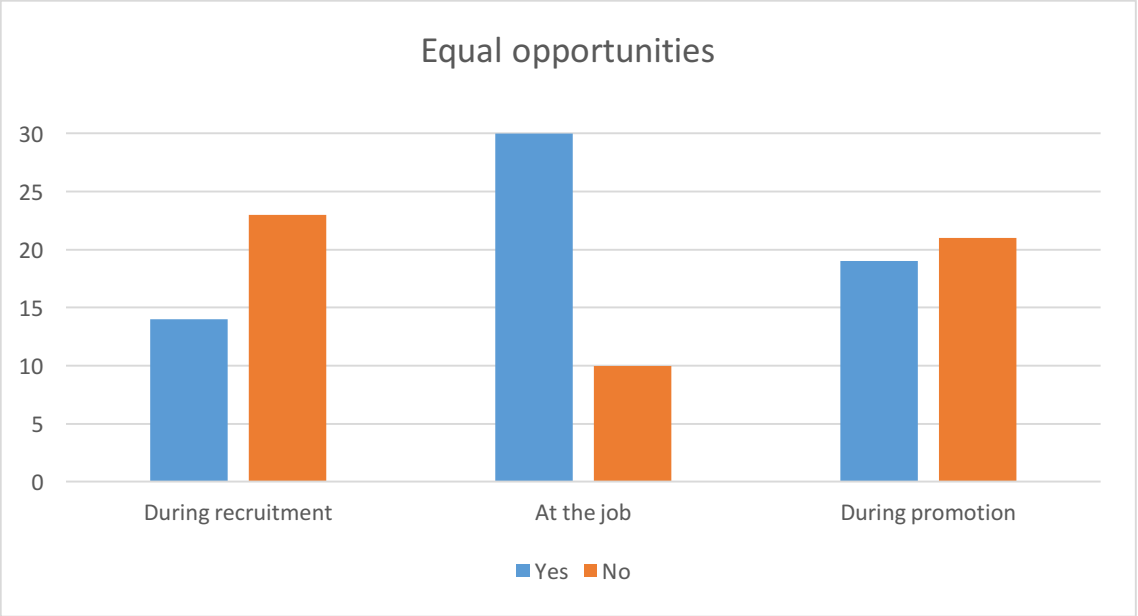

Figure 17 - Survey: Perception about equal treatment for Portuguese and Brazilian employees

In general, out of all survey participants, 62% perceived the recruitment processes of companies in Portugal to give preference to Portuguese candidates compared to Brazilian candidates, while 36% thought the treatment was equal for all. Hence, the majority of respondents has perceived a formal discrimination during their recruitment processes in Portugal. A few participants, 2%, perceived that in some employment areas, Brazilian candidates were preferred in comparison to Portuguese. As examples they mentioned IT engineering and the food sector.

On the job, most participants (75%) thought that they received equal treatment to their Portuguese coworkers, while 25% disagreed. Some of the participants (43%) that perceived equal treatment on the job explained that they worked in international companies where many nationalities work together in teams, 21% reported on very good cooperation with Portuguese coworkers, 13% some compared salaries and monetary benefits, which were equal for all nationalities, and 17% simply declared that they had never perceived any difference in treatment. On the other hand, the 25% of participants, which perceived negative treatment towards Brazilians at their work places, mentioned a difference in salary levels, regular condescending or racist comments by coworkers and managers and general prejudice against Brazilian immigrants.

One of these participants in the interviews was Lorena, who has been previously introduced. Lorena does not believe that she is equally treated in her workplace as her Portuguese colleagues and she also believes that she won't have many opportunities to be promoted, as her boss and HR responsables "*have a bad opinion about [her]*". She says she is very poorly integrated at work but also does not see good chances to change to a different company, as the Portuguese market is less dynamic than the job market in São Paulo.

Liv: *"Can you give me an example why you feel discriminated at your workplace in comparison to your Portuguese co-workers?"*

Lorena: *"My so-called 'co-workers' are teaming up against me, I feel like I never had a chance to integrate with them. They don't want a Brazilian in their team and especially not a young woman. They always make jokes and talk about things that only locals can understand. And they make fun of me. In the beginning it was just about the accent or about some Brazilian stereotypes, but later it started with the nasty comments about prostitution and sex work and the 'tasty women' from Brazil. They told me to be less sensitive and that it's just jokes, and a Portuguese humor that I have to get used to. But I didn't want to accept this and went to my boss and later to HR to complain about my colleagues and ask for help. My boss was just annoyed by me; she has a bad opinion about me anyway. And the HR people even told me that I am hypersensitive about the topic and they could recommend me a clinic for a therapy that would be very good for me. I felt so ashamed. If I could leave, I would already have done it. But it's too hard to find a new job, so I am staying for now and just have to live with it."*

In relation to the question if Brazilians and Portuguese had equal promotion opportunities at their work places, 52% of the participants answered "no" and 48% answered "yes". The participants that were positive about equal promotion opportunities had either received promotions themselves or knew of Brazilians in higher positions and were confident, that qualification and work experience were more relevant than nationality in terms of career prospects in Portugal. The participants that were negative towards equal opportunities in promotion often perceived that other nationalities (Portuguese, German, US-American) were preferred over Brazilians or that most supervisors in their teams were not Brazilian. Several participants (16%) also mentioned that for higher job positions, they would have to improve their English skills or even needed a certified prove of their current level of English.

Some respondents (8%) mentioned that the lack of promotion opportunities had to do with their own residency status and the visa requirements for higher positions. As however a working visa is sufficient for all job positions, this may indicate that some of the respondents are either working in unregulated job terms on tourist or student visas, or may have received misleading information on the requirements for residency and visa options for job promotions. In any case, these statements support the idea of a discrimination of Brazilian workers through bureaucratic barriers.

As previously shown, the experiences of the interview participants in terms of equal treatment and career paths differed depending on their type of companies and team. While Lorena was very unhappy in her Portuguese team, Rafael was happy in an international team but unhappy with his promotion opportunities, and Bruno has been promoted several times and is now leading an international team of over 300 people. That the experiences of Brazilian qualified professionals in terms of equal labor treatment are very mixed, became even clearer during my interview with Juliana.

Juliana is from São Paulo, 44 years old and moved to Portugal in June 2016. She has a Bachelor's degree in Psychology and a Master's degree in Human Resource Management, both from Brazilian universities. She is self-employed and moved her HR Consultancy business from Brazil to Portugal. She is now supporting Brazilians before and during their move to Portugal and is specialized on coaching Brazilian professionals in mid- to upper Management positions. Throughout her activity as a consultant, Juliana has witnessed many different stories about successful careers as well as discrimination and prejudice in the Portuguese labor market. In general, Juliana believes that highly qualified professionals have it easier on the Portuguese labor market, than immigrants with lower or no education. Yet, with her clients she faces many issues due to English language requirements, visa requirements and the acceptance of Brazilian diplomas and University degrees (according to her, many people have to repeat exams or certifications after arriving in Portugal). Besides, she talked about frequent incidents of discrimination and prejudice against her clients.

> Liv: *"Can you tell me a bit about how you do your work and why you were interested in participating in this talk today?"*
>
> Juliana: *"I work with many highly qualified Brazilian clients, I support them during their start in Portugal, with recruitment for the Portuguese companies. In Brazil they are lawyers, managers, doctors or other types of specialists. Usually the whole process goes very well, we send out CVs, talk to recruiters, get invited to interviews; until the last moment, when for some reason most companies decide to take a Portuguese candidate instead. In one case for example my client was refused a job because of a private picture in Facebook. I found that extremely invasive and inappropriate, for a recruiter to check private Facebook accounts of people. Since then I have become very careful, I even tell my clients to not even put a picture on their CVs. I think that prejudice is particularely strong against Brazilian women and Brazilians with darker skin tones. They are judged by their looks and because of the stereotypes of low-wage jobs like cleaning lady, waitress or hoursekeeper. That's why I tell my clients not to add a picture and not to write their nationality or gender on the CV. And it works! People are getting more interview invites again."*

Juliana further supports the belief that most of her clients have it easier finding a job in an international company, then a traditionally Portuguese company. She thinks that the treatment of her clients is fair and equal once they have found a job, but the recruitment process is heavily influenced by prejudice and discrimination. Juliana is therefore supporting the perception of the survey respondents who are mostly happy at their job, but perceived prejudice during job applications as well as promotion opportunities. She is also giving a relevant overview of the variety of situations in which racism and prejudice occur in the Portuguese labor market.

Finally, towards the general question if their Brazilian nationality makes a difference in their professional career in Portugal, most participants (77%) answered "yes" and 23% answered "no". The reasons for this perception were diverse and both negative as well as positive.

Why do you think that being a Brazilian makes any difference in your professional life in Portugal?[19]	
Chances	Issues
It brought a different look and a different cultural "luggage", and I used them in a delicate and unobtrusive way, in my favor and not against anyone.	For every ten job interview invites that my Portuguese colleagues receive, I receive one. I have more work experience than them, a Master's degree and am now doing a postgraduate degree.
Depending on the company, they may need a more original accent.	Being a recruiter myself, I receive daily notifications by my clients not to share profiles of Brazilian candidates with them.
Because most Brazilians have a special flexibility when it comes to resolving issues.	There is still a lot of prejudice in the Portuguese labor market. The human resources of many companies do not recognize or give value to the academic and professional experiences acquired in Brazil.
They recruited me because of a lack of professionals in my job area in Portugal.	I do not have opportunities according to my experience and curriculum. Nor am I called for interviews in case of vacancies that I know to be exactly my professional profile.
In the environment in which I work, I am always seen as "the Brazilian", which in a way is a good thing in my area, since Brazil has a great recognition in the craft beer market.	We have to put more effort into gaining the trust of customers, especially in the formalism of the corporate environment and when writing emails to important people.
Brazilians are great programmers. We have more practice than the Portuguese average here in Portugal.	I received many "no's" to submitted CVs.

Figure 18 - Survey: Perceived chances and issues of Brazilians in the Portuguese labor market

Noticeably, many of the negative perceptions were related to the recruitment process and the recognition of skilled Brazilian candidates during formal HR procedures. On the other hand, some respondents felt that they brought specific skills and traits to their jobs, which might be seen as an advantage.

One of these examples was Felipe, who I talked to during an interview. As earlier mentioned, Felipe is from São Paulo, 31 years old and moved to Portugal in June 2018. He has a Bachelor's degree in Gastronomy from Brazil with one semester at Technische Universität München (Germany) and worked as a beer brew master in Brazil before moving to Lisbon. He is now working as an independent beer sommelier for a number of beer breweries and bars in Portugal, on the base of Recibos Verdes. Felipe believes that the artisanal beer market is small in Portugal in comparison to Brazil and that his Brazilian experience gives him an advantage as an expert on the matter, as according to him "*Brazilians are known to be great beer brewers*".

[19] Original answers in Portuguese can be found in the appendix of this paper.

He thinks that his specialized education and experience give him better chances on the Portuguese labor market than even Portuguese candidates, and is happy with his entire recruitment and work process in Lisbon.

> "*I have received fantastic support by some of my bosses and colleagues, they are very friendly and welcoming and have explained to me how to organize my life in Portugal. My work hours are long but flexible and I meet many people who I can talk to and who appreciate my knowledge around beer and brewery methods*."
>
> (Felipe; Beer Sommelier)

While Felipe's professional background is rather unique and he says he has still encountered prejudice during other daily processes such as searching for accommodation and registering his business, it might be an indicator for a positive development of the Portuguese labor market in regards to newly immigrated skilled Brazilian professionals with specialized experiences and education. The rather new job field of artisanal beer brewery may offer a more open culture for foreign workers in comparison to traditional job fields and companies in Portugal. It has to be noted however, that despite his educational qualifications and positive work experiences, Felipe does not currently have a fixed working contract and is still facing precarity while working on Recibos Verdes from month to month.

4.4 Final considerations

The results of both the qualitative and quantitative studies have shown, that prejudice and discrimination against qualified Brazilians in the Portuguese labor market are common.

The perception of racist incidents may differ between immigrants in different work industries, job positions, types of companies and teams. It may also depend on each person's time spent in Portugal, motivation for migration, language skills, bureaucratic possibilities and other factors of the overall personal and professional life. Nevertheless, it has become evident that nearly every participant has had some encounter with prejudice or discrimination during either the job application process, career path or at the work place.

Based on the collected data, it is possible to verify the initial hypotheses of the study as follows:

> **1.** *Brazilian qualified workers are usually employed outside of their area of expertise when living in Portugal.*

This hypothesis has largely been proven right, although with exceptions. Most respondents who were working according to their educational backgrounds in Brazil, had to change job types and fields when moving to Portugal. Tha majority of interview participants also had to start with entry-level jobs in Portugal that were in a mismatch with their actual qualifications and experience.

> **2**. *Brazilian qualified workers generally perceive that they are not given the same chances in their job search and career prospects as equally qualified Portuguese candidates.*

This hypothesis has been generally verified. The large majority of survey and interview participants felt discriminated during the process of job recruitment, initial HR procedures and employment interviews. Another majority further perceived that their promotion and career prospects were prejudiced in comparison to Portuguese candidates.

> **3.** *Brazilian qualified workers often identify racial prejudice and discrimination in their working experience in Portugal.*

This hypothesis has to be viewed critically, as the perceptions differed between job industries, employment types and the internationality of the work teams. Most survey participants perceived no racial prejudice at their current workplace. However, this result may be largely due to the sample group working in similar international environments that are not representative for the general Portuguese labor market. Further, most respondents who currently feel well integrated at work, have had some experiences with racial discrimination during either their job application process or earlier employments. Hence, the majority of participants does not currently perceive racial prejudice at their work place, but has at some point experienced discrimination during their work experience in Portugal.

5. CONCLUSION

Prejudice and racial discrimination against Brazilian professionals remain a reality in the Portuguese labor market. While perceptions of racist incidents may differ between job types, industries, companies and teams, every respondent of the case study at some point during their experience in Portugal encountered prejudice and discrimination. These incidents of discrimination have both occurred in informal encounters with coworkers or supervisors, as well as formal or institutional settings through HR procedures and bureacrautic immigration processes.

In addition, most of the respondents would be in a similar or better labor situation in Brazil and did not primarily choose to migrate to Portugal for its labor market, but rather for reasons of urban safety, cultural enrichment, bureaucratic facilitations and study opportunities. Consequently, skilled Brazilians might be demotivated to stay and work in Portugal due to the barriers and mismatch that they might encounter between job opportunities and their own qualifications.

As discussed previously, in terms of the validity of this field work, the size and type of the study sample does not allow for a general conclusion as a representation for qualified Brazilians in Portugal overall. It may, however, confirm patterns, which previous studies and publications on the matter have indicated.

The suggestion of this thesis is that prejudice and racial discrimination are an active part of job application processes and career opportunities of qualified Brazilian professionals in Portugal. Racist incidents seem to be more evident in traditional Portuguese work environments than in international companies and teams, indicating a continuation of colonial power dynamics and historical prejudice. The systemic racism in Portuguese labor institutions and companies has to make place for an inclusive immigration of skilled Brazilians, in order to fulfill the labor market needs for specialized professionals.

Having acknowledged possible limitations of this study, a continuation of the research with larger sample sizes and a broader sample selection is recommended in order to draw further relevant conclusions about the research topic.

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APPENDIX

I. Survey

Caro/a Sr./Sra.,

Como parte do programa de Mestrado em Estudos Internacionais do ISCTE-IUL em Lisboa, este inquérito procura investigar as experiências dos cidadãos brasileiros em Portugal. Sua cooperação é mportante para o sucesso desta pesquisa e eu gostaria de agradecer pelo seu apoio.

Para tal, agradecia que respondesse às questões colocadas neste questionário. O anonimato e a confidencialidade da pesquisa estão completamente assegurados. As suas respostas serão exclusivamente utilizadas para fins científicos. Para além disso, pode também decidir não responder a uma ou outra questão que, do seu ponto de vista, seja irrelevante.

Gostaria também de enfatizar que não existem respostas certas ou erradas para qualquer questão, pelo que deve exprimir as suas próprias opiniões. Ao responder a determinadas questões, assinale a variante que corresponde à sua opinião ou escreva a sua resposta no espaço sublinhado.

O tempo total de conclusão é de 15 minutos. O inquérito pode ser interrompido e continuado a qualquer momento.

Muito obrigado pela sua colaboração,
Liv Cichon

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1. Nacionalidade

- Brasileira
- Portuguesa
- Outro:

2. Ano de nascimento

_____

3. Sexo

- Masculino
- Feminino
- Outro:

4. Habilitações literárias

Por favor assinale o último nível de educação concluído que é certificado pelo diploma correspondente.

- Não alfabetizado (não frequentou a escola, não sabe ler nem escrever)
- Ensino Fundamental (1º grau até à 4ª série) (= 5ª ano)
- Ensino Médio (1º grau 5a à 8a série) (= 9º ano)
- Ensino Médio (2º grau) (= 12º ano)
- Ensino Superior (Licenciatura)
- Pós Graduação, Mestrado ou Doutorado
- Ensino Profissional e Tecnológica
- Outro:

5. Por favor precise a sua área de estudo:

Área de estudo do último nível de educação concluído:

_____

6. Algum dos seus antepassados era português?

Pode escolher mais do que uma opção.

- Pai
- Mãe
- Avô Paterno
- Avô Materno
- Avó Paterna
- Avó Materna
- Bisavô/ó
- Nenhum
- Outro:

7. Possuía alguns contatos em Portugal antes da sua partida do Brasil? De que tipo?

Pode escolher mais do que uma opção.

- Familiares em Portugal
- Colegas/sócios/amigos brasileiros
- Colegas/sócios/amigos portugueses
- Não possuía nenhum contato
- Outro:

8. Por que razão deixou de viver em Brasil?

Pode escolher mais do que uma opção.

- Razões econômicas
- Motivos políticos
- Razões de segurança/violência
- Razões familiares/pessoais
- Oportunidade profissional em Portugal
- Falta de oportunidades profissionais no Brasil
- Prosseguimento dos estudos
- Outro:

9. Por que razão escolheu Portugal como país de destino?

Pode assinalar até 3 opções.

- Por razões econômicas
- Devido aos baixos níveis de violência urbana
- Devido à possibilidade de obter a legalização
- Devido à possibilidade de obter a nacionalidade portuguesa
- Por razões de reunificação familiar
- Devido a não necessitar de visto
- Devido à influência de amigos portugueses
- Devido à influência de amigos brasileiros
- Não encontrei outro país para trabalhar
- Tive conhecimento de oportunidades de trabalho em Portugal
- Para cursar uma faculdade
- Devido à facilidade da língua
- Outro:

10. Data de entrada em Portugal (mês e ano):

_____

11. Que tipo de visto/ documento possuía quando chegou a Portugal?

- Vim como turista (sem necessidade de visto)
- Visto de estudante
- Visto de trabalho
- Passaporte português
- Outro:

12. Qual é o seu atual estatuto de permanência em Portugal?

- Possuo autorização de residência
- Possuo autorização de permanência
- Possuo visto de trabalho
- Possuo visto de estudante
- meu processo aguarda resolução no SEF
- Não tenho qualquer tipo de autorização
- Tenho nacionalidade portuguesa por ascendência
- Tenho nacionalidade portuguesa por casamento
- Tenho nacionalidade portuguesa por morar 6 anos em Portugal
- Tenho a nacionalidade de outro país da UE
- Outro:

13. Qual nacionalidade da UE você possui?

_____

14. Ocupação no Brasil durante a sua última estada antes de partir para Portugal:

- Desempregado/a
- Estudante
- Empregado/a doméstico/a
- Aposentado/a
- Funcionário/a Público
- Trabalhador/a numa empresa
- Empregador/a (dono/a de empresa)
- Trabalhador/a por conta própria/profissional liberal
- Outro:

15. Por favor especifique o titulo do seu último emprego antes de partir para Portugal:

_____

16. Que tipo de contato efetuou para encontrar o seu PRIMEIRO trabalho em Portugal?

- Eu próprio/a encontrei trabalho
- Consegui a ajuda duma pessoa portuguesa
- Consegui a ajuda de familiares que viviam em Portugal
- Amigos brasileiros que viviam em Portugal
- Consegui através de um intermediário brasileiro
- Ajuda de uma associação ou IPSS
- Outro:

17. Por favor especifique como encontrou emprego sozinho (Internet, jornal, mídias sociais, etc.):

_____

18. Qual foi a sua PRIMEIRA ocupação em Portugal?

Por favor indique o título e tipo de emprego.

_____

19. Quanto tempo após chegar a Portugal esteve à procura de trabalho?

Por favor indique o número de meses.

_____

20. Atualmente qual é a sua situação em Portugal?

Por favor escolhe a opção mais relevante.

- Desempregado
- Estudante
- Empregado/a doméstico/a
- Aposentado/a
- Recibos Verdes
- Funcionário/a Público
- Trabalhador/a numa empresa
- Empregador/a (dono/a de empresa)
- Trabalhador/a por conta própria/profissional liberal
- Outro:

21. Por favor descreva o seu posto de trabalho ATUAL em Portugal:

Por favor também especifique se tem vários empregos ao mesmo tempo.

_____

22. Como encontrou o seu trabalho atual?

Pode escolher mais do que uma opção.

- Ajuda por parte de um familiar em Portugal
- Ajuda por parte de um familiar no Brasil
- Ajuda por parte de um amigo/ sócio português
- Ajuda por parte de um amigo/ sócio brasileiro
- Contato com um recrutador
- Através de um aviso afixado numa loja ou jornal
- Pesquisa online
- Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional (I.P.)
- Outro:

23. Possui um contrato escrito relativamente ao seu emprego?

- Sim
- Não
- Outro:

24. Qual a duração do seu contrato atual?

- Contrato permanente
- Três a seis meses
- Mais de seis meses a doze meses
- Mais de doze meses a três anos
- Mais de 3 anos
- Outro:

25. Quantas horas trabalha, em média, por semana?

- 1 a 20 horas
- 21 a 35 horas
- 36 a 40 horas
- 41 a 45 horas
- 45 a 50 horas
- Mais de 50 horas

26. Qual o grau de satisfação com o seu trabalho atual?

- Muito satisfeito
- Satisfeito
- Neutro
- Pouco satisfeito
- Nada satisfeito
- Outro:

27. Acha que no seu emprego recebe tratamento igualitário aos seus colegas portugueses?

Por favor indique "sim" ou "não" e especifique:

- Sim
- Não

Porquê acha ou não acha que no seu emprego recebe tratamento igualitário aos seus colegas portugueses?

_____

28. Como avalia o tratamento das empresas em Portugal em relação ao processo de recrutamento de candidatos?

- O tratamento é igual para todos
- O tratamento é melhor para brasileiros
- O tratamento é melhor para portugueses
- Outro:

29. Acha que tem as mesmas oportunidades de promoção no trabalho como os seus colegas portugueses?

- Sim
- Não

Porquê acha que tem ou não tem as mesmas oportunidades de promoção no trabalho como os seus colegas portugueses?

_____

30. Acha que o fato de ser brasileiro faz alguma diferença na sua vida profissional em Portugal?

Por favor indique "sim" ou "não" e especifique:

- Sim
- Não

Porquê acha que o fato de ser brasileiro faz ou não faz alguma diferença na sua vida profissional em Portugal?

_____

31. Indique os fatores mais positivos de viver hoje em Portugal. O que mais ganhou com a sua experiência portuguesa?

Pode selecionar até 3 opções.

- Baixos níveis de violência urbana
- Estabilidade econômica
- Oportunidades profissionais
- Oportunidades escolares (para o próprio e/ou descendentes)
- Contato com outra cultura/ enriquecimento cultural
- Possibilidade de aceder à Europa
- Possibilidade de ter a nacionalidade depois de 5 anos
- Nenhum
- Outro:

32. Indique os fatores mais negativos de viver em Portugal. O que mais perdeu?

Pode selecionar até 3 opções.

- Solidão (falta de amigos/familiares)
- Contenção, perda de espontaneidade (comportamento)
- Dificuldades de relacionamento com portugueses (“mais reservados”)
- Dificuldades de comunicação (barreira da linguagem oral, escrita)
- Dificuldades profissionais (de acesso e integração profissional)
- Dificuldades no estilo de vida (diferente do Brasil)
- Afastamento da cultura/realidade da origem
- Experiências relacionadas a preconceito contra brasileiros
- Outro:

Obrigada por completar esta pesquisa.

Por favor, sintase à vontade para compartilhar mais
comentários ou indicações abaixo. Caso você esteja disposto a participar de uma entrevista pessoal mais detalhada para o propósito desta pesquisa, por favor, compartilhe seu endereço de email no campo abaixo.

Campo para comentários adicionais:

_____

II. Interview guide

1. Conte-me sua história, quando você veio para Portugal e por quê?

2. O que você estudou e qual foi seu último emprego no Brasil e seu primeiro emprego em Portugal?

3. Você acredita que os brasileiros qualificados em Portugal geralmente encontram um emprego que corresponda às qualificações?

4. Você acredita que a falta de empregos correspondentes à qualificação da pessoa é um fenómeno limitado a brasileiros em Portugal ou é similar para outras nacionalidades devido à situação geral do mercado laboral?

5. Você acredita que você tem oportunidades iguais em encontrar um emprego ou ser promovido em seu trabalho, como um candidato Português? Por quê?

6. Você acredita que as qualificações brasileiras são respeitadas ou valorizadas no sistema português?

7. Você acredita que trabalhadores brasileiros qualificados freqüentemente identificam preconceito racial e discriminação em experiências de trabalho em Portugal?

8. O que você acha são preconceitos frequentes contra brasileiros em Portugal?

9. Você já sofreu esse tipo de preconceito ou discriminação?

10. Você acredita que há uma diferença no tipo ou na quantidade de discriminação que os homens e mulheres brasileiros/as recebem?

11. Você acredita que os brasileiros qualificados ainda estariam interessados em se mudar para Portugal se o Brasil fosse um lugar mais seguro para viver?

12. Você acredita que os brasileiros prefeririam se mudar para um país europeu diferente se não fosse pela barreira da língua? Você se mudaria?

III. Interview summaries

Person A – Juliana*

Juliana is from São Paulo, 44 years old and moved to Portugal in June 2016. She has Portuguese grandparents and obtained the Portuguese citizenship before emigrating from Brazil. She has a Bachelor's degree in Psychology and a Master's degree in Human Resource Management, both from Brazilian universities. She is self-employed and moved her HR Consultancy business from Brazil to Portugal. She is now supporting Brazilians before and during their move to Portugal and is specialized on coaching Brazilian professionals in mid- to upper Management positions.

Juliana told me about her own story first and later shared experiences from her Brazilian clients and friends. Juliana herself is happy with her situation as an independent consultant and says she has made an effort to integrate with both the Brazilian community in Portugal and the Portuguese community in order to make friends from both groups. She has previous experience abroad from having lived in Great Britain and speaks fluent English, which she says makes a big difference in her success in Europe and Portugal. She did not come to Portugal out of an economic necessity (she says she earned a higher wage in Brazil and owned a house and two cars with her husband), but out of a recommendation of friends and family to live a safer life in Portugal. The violence and crime rates of São Paulo have motivated her to leave the city, as well as the large population, long commutes and frequent traffic jams. She now lives in an apartment close to the sea with her husband, has made new friends from different countries and enjoys the quality of life. Juliana does not wish to return to Brazil any time soon.
On the other hand, Juliana supports Brazilians on their quest to move from Brazil to Portugal and expressed her concern about their experiences during the migration process. Juliana is specialized on offering HR consulting services to mainly professionals in mid- to higher Management positions, as well as doctors, lawyers and entrepreneurs. In general, Juliana believes that these highly qualified professionals have it easier on the Portuguese labor market, than immigrants with lower or no education. Yet, with her clients she faces many bureaucratic issues due to missing language skills (no English), visa requirements and the acceptance of Brazilian diplomas and University degrees (according to her, many people have to repeat exams or certifications after arriving in Portugal). Besides, she talked about frequent incidents of discrimination and prejudice against her clients. She says she has witnessed prejudiced behavior towards Brazilians in general, as well as black people and women in particular. Juliana now recommends her clients not to mention their nationality on their CVs and says this method has proven successful, as the job-searchers receive significantly more offers for job interviews. She also advises her clients not to add a picture to the CV in order to avoid discrimination due to a "non-Portuguese look". Especially Brazilian women are judged by their looks and due to stereotypes of prostitution and low-wage jobs ("cleaning lady", waitress, housekeeper), according to Juliana. She further believes that most of her clients have it easier finding a job in an international company, than a traditionally Portuguese company. She thinks that the treatment of her clients is fair and equal once they have found a job, but the recruitment process is heavily influenced by prejudice and discrimination.

Person B – Rafael*

Rafael is from Belo Horizonte in Minas Gerais, 39 years old and moved to Portugal in 2002. He has no family connections to Portugal and had no friends or acquaintances in Portugal when he arrived in 2002 with a Tourist Visa. He obtained the Portuguese citizenship after more than six years of living in Portugal. Rafael first started working as a waiter in different restaurants and is now working as a supervisor in a multinational Call Center. He recently finished his Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration at a Portuguese university.

In contrast to the other interview participants, Rafael has not moved to Portugal in recent years, but already in 2002 during the largest wave of immigration from Brazil to Portugal. After having finished High School in Brazil, he went to Ireland for 6 months to learn English and decided that he wanted to live in Europe. He went back to Brazil for a few years in order to save money and research his possibilities of moving to a European country. Rafael says that Portugal offered the most accessible visa regulations for his immigration, as well as a shared language, which is why he chose to move to Lisbon at the age of 22. Besides, Rafael is homosexual and says he felt pressured by his father, brother and friends to settle in a heterosexual relationship and "live a normal life". He was hoping to find a more LGBTQ-friendly environment in Portugal such as he had witnessed in Ireland during his stay. After having lived in Portugal for 17 years, he says that Portugal is a safe and open country to live in for a gay person in 2019, but was not as much in 2002.
Such as all of his direct family members, Rafael had no University education when he moved to Portugal. Rafael first found work in a "*Quiosque*" in Lisbon, still on a Tourist visa. He says he worked 12+ hours per day for 400€ per month, without a work contract or employee rights. He also says that he was thankful for the opportunity to work and earn money and he was happy to live in a shared room in an apartment with other Brazilians, rented out by a Portuguese pensioner. Over time, Rafael moved on to other jobs in the gastronomy sector, often working several jobs at once as the price of living was increasing in Lisbon. He stayed several years in Portugal without travelling to Brazil or other European countries, in order to avoid deportation. Rafael eventually became a legal resident in Portugal and later received the Portuguese citizenship. With the arrival of international Call Center companies in Portugal with regulated work schedules, salaries and employee benefits, Rafael started working as a customer service agent in 2014. He says he started making international friends, improving his English skills and doing a Bachelor's degree at night at a university in Lisbon. He has since been promoted to a supervisor position, however four additional applications for promotions have been denied (no specific reason known). Rafael hopes to eventually move to another European country with higher salaries or alternatively open his own business in Portugal, in order to earn more money. He is also regularly sending money to his mother in Minas Gerais and wishes to bring her to Europe when she is retired.
Rafael says he never regretted moving to Portugal, and feels safe and happy in Lisbon. He acknowledges that his start on the labor market was difficult and that looking back he "probably was exploited by his former employers", but at the time he was excited to just be in Europe and earn his own money. Rafael believes that he generally receives increased attention and prejudice for "being Brazilian, black and gay" but does not notice specific discrimination. He says that his work place is inclusive of all nationalities, genders and sexualities and he feels comfortable among friends, coworkers and management who "treat [him] as equal".

Person C – Bruno*

Bruno is from Minas Gerais, 37 years old and moved to Portugal in April 2013. He has no family connections in Portugal and originally moved to Portugal on a Tourist Visa. He later switched to a Student Visa status in order to partake in a Master's degree in Marketing Management and Communications. He now is a legal resident in Portugal. Bruno was an Event Manager in Brazil before moving to Portugal where he started working as a waiter in a restaurant. After several years of work in a multinational Call Center, he is now the Operations Manager of an international project in this same Call Center.

Bruno arrived in Portugal in 2013 with a Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration and a Tourist visa, at the recommendation of a Brazilian friend who was already living in Portugal. In order to stay in Portugal, Bruno accepted an unregulated job as a waiter (no contract) and started his Master's degree at a Lisbon university in order to receive a Student Visa. After finishing his degree and having worked in several restaurants in bars, Bruno achieved a legal residency status and a position as a Customer agent in an international Call Center. Within 5 months, he was promoted to a Team Manager, guiding a team of Brazilian Customer agents. He stayed in this position for several years until in July 2018 he was promoted again to be the Operations Manager of the project, now leading several teams and Team Managers from different countries. His direct Manager is from the Netherlands and his colleagues are mainly Portuguese and German, yet the team members that he is leading are oftentimes Brazilians. Bruno's salary has improved with every promotion, he now earns the same amount as the (German) Operations Manager who had the role before him.
Bruno told me that he has always been happy with his life in Portugal, mainly because he saw himself as an optimistic and happy person – "and money isn't everything in life". He was aware before his move to Portugal that he would have to give up his status as an Event Manager and was ready to work in restaurants and bars as long as necessary, with the goal of creating networks and making friends while achieving his legal residency. He now feels very well connected in Lisbon, has worked and lived with international people (also Brazilians and Portuguese), knows several bar owners, entrepreneurs and "business people" in Lisbon and frequently goes to Brazilian BBQs and music events. He recently spent 3 weeks in Brazil, visiting friends and family after a gap of 3 years without a visit. He says it was a great visit, but he does not wish to move back home anytime soon.

Person D – Adriana*

Adriana is from Vitória in Espírito Santo, 28 years old and moved to Portugal in September 2016. She has a grandmother from Portugal and obtained the Portuguese citizenship before arriving in Lisbon. Adriana did both a Bachelor's degree in Psychology and a Master's degree in Business Administration in Brazil. She worked in Junior Management in Brazil before moving to Singapore for two years to continue working in Management. She moved to Portugal after her visa for Singapore ran out and was unemployed for 6 months, looking for a new position in Junior Management. She eventually found work as a customer service agent in a multinational Call Center and has since been promoted to be the Trainer of the project.

Adriana told me that she arrived to Portugal with her husband with the expectation of finding a Management position in an international company, due to her experiences in Brazil and abroad. She has since been very disappointed with her private and work life in Portugal and "would move to another country any day". She says her negative experience started at the moment of arrival at the airport of Lisbon, where she was called for a detailed luggage check by the police and felt that this was due to her being a Brazilian woman coming from an Asian country (Singapore) which according to her "could only be due to drug trafficking or prostitution". When looking for an accommodation in Lisbon, she realized that her and her husband could not easily afford an apartment on their own and if they ever found an offer in their price range, they were not accepted by the proprietor – a rejection that she again leads back to the couple being from Brazil. Adriana tells me that one proprietor who she gave her private phone number to even asked her for "sexy pictures" with the promise of renting his apartment to her. She says this was only one of many situations during her time in Portugal that she felt directly judged by Portuguese men as being "easy to get" or a sex worker. Adriana and her husband eventually moved in to a shared apartment with two other Brazilian girls that were looking for a roommate. While Adriana's husband immediately started working in a logistics company, Adriana initiated her process of job applications and networking. She says she rarely heard back from the companies she applied to, or was rejected with a general notice that they had found another candidate. Adriana eventually started reaching out to the recruiters to ask for a detailed answer as to why her application had been rejected and says she received three separate recommendations to look for entry-level jobs, gastronomy jobs or cleaning jobs "for an easier start" in Portugal. Adriana told me that she felt very hurt and offended by this treatment and does not believe that it was due to a general labor market situation, but because of her Brazilian nationality. She eventually accepted a minimum-wage job at an international Call Center company and started integrating with other Brazilian employees. After six months as a customer service agent, Adriana was promoted to be a Quality Coach of the Brazilian team. One year later, she has been promoted again and is now the Trainer of the project, leading the onboarding process for new Brazilian team members. She receives a better salary and is now happier with her situation, however she wants to continue her career towards Quality Management and is also still trying to move back to Singapore or alternatively to an English-speaking country with her husband as she believes that she will encounter less negative prejudice "anywhere else than in Portugal". As Adriana says to me: "I would rather be asked about Samba, Carnival and Copacabana in another country, than thought of as a cheap labor force or even a prostitute like here in Portugal".

Person E – Felipe*

Felipe is from São Paulo, 31 years old and moved to Portugal in June 2018. His mother and her entire family are from Portugal, so Felipe had the Portuguese citizenship prior to moving to Portugal. He has a Bachelor's degree in Gastronomy from Brazil with one semester at Technische Universität München (Germany) and worked as a beer brew master in Brazil before moving to Lisbon. He is now working as an independent beer sommelier for a number of beer breweries and bars in Portugal.

Felipe says he always knew that he wanted to live in Portugal for a while due to his Portuguese roots and in order to push his CV with experience in Europe. He also wanted to get out of the big city of São Paulo for a while and live in a safer environment. Felipe told me that living in São Paulo in the past years felt to him like a "constant state of stress, comparable to a country that is in war". He says he felt no safety in the city and always had to watch his back in order to not be robbed or attacked. He further was not happy with his economic situation in Brazil. Back home he worked in an artisanal beer brewery, "one of the best in Brazil". He then started sending his CV to breweries in Portugal before moving and received an invite to work in Lisbon, which excited him because the artisanal beer market is small in Portugal in comparison to Brazil, but he thinks it has great growth potential. "This job invite in addition to my general wish to leave Brazil and also my family roots in Portugal brought me to Lisbon". He believes that due to being Brazilian ("they are known to be great beer brewers") and with a specialized education and experience he had better chances on the Portuguese labor market than other people. Felipe moved to Lisbon together with his Brazilian girlfriend who is now working as a waitress in a restaurant. He works on the base of Recibos Verdes and is payed hourly, working now for more than just one bar in Lisbon. Felipe: "I have received fantastic support by some of my bosses and colleagues, they are very friendly and welcoming and have explained to me how to organize my life in Portugal. My work hours are long but flexible and I meet many people who I can talk to and who appreciate my knowledge around beer and brewery methods." Felipe says he is happy with the development of his life in Portugal so far, but misses his family and friends and is eager to make more connections in Lisbon – with people of all nationalities. In general, Felipe sees himself in Portugal for a few years but could also imagine working in Germany or Belgium – other European countries with strong beer cultures. At the same time, if the couple does not make more connections and friendships in Europe, Felipe thinks they will probably eventually move back to Brazil, but maybe in a smaller city in the South, where he could get a well paid job through his work and study experience abroad.

Person F – Lorena*

Lorena is from São Paulo, 27 years old and moved to Portugal in April 2017. Her great-great-grandmother was from Portgual and one of her grandmothers was Italian, which allowed her to have the Italian citizenship next to the Brazilian one. She has a Master's degree in Pharmacy and worked as a Clinical Research Assistant before moving to Lisbon. She is now working as a Market Access Associate for the same company as before in São Paulo, but in Lisbon.

Lorena has grown up in the area of São Paulo, but knew that she could receive the Italian citizenship through her family connections and always wanted to make use of this advantage and live in Europe. She wanted to leave São Paulo due to safety issues and the violence in the city, which made her feel unsafe "all the time, every day". Lorena therefore could have moved to Italy or any other EU country, but wanted to go to Portugal due to the common language and because her boyfriend is Portuguese. She had met her Portuguese boyfriend while he did an exchange semester at her University in Rio and they kept in touch over the internet for the next months. Next to her studies, Lorena wanted to gather work experience before moving to Portugal and worked as a Clinical Research Assistant in a pharmaceutical company. When she was ready to move, Lorena quit her job in Brazil and applied for jobs in the same company, but in Portugal. She was accepted to work as a Clinical Data Analyst for the same company and moved to Lisbon, living with her boyfriend in an apartment. After having worked in this position for a year, Lorena asked to switch to a different department and work as a Market Access Associate instead. The main reason for this switch was that she felt "extremely discriminated and unhappy" in her first position in the company. Lorena told me that she had received many unpleasant comments by work colleagues, referring to prostitution as the real reason why she came to Portugal. She says in the beginning it was jokes (which she did not appreciate), but later the comments kept coming and she felt more harassed. Lorena complained both to her boss and HR several times and says she was not taken seriously with her complaints. According to her, her boss told her to "be less sensitive, it's just jokes" and stop focusing on it. Later, the HR team sat her down and asked her if maybe she was hypersensitive about the topic and maybe the move to Portugal had just been hard on her, and they recommended her to do a therapy in a specific clinic "that's very good". Lorena does not believe that she is equally treated in her workplace as her Portuguese colleagues and she also believes that she won't have many opportunities to be promoted as her boss and HR responsables "have a bad opinion about her". She thinks that as a Brazilian you have to put more effort into achieveing the same mile stones as a Portuguese and receiving the trust of clients, and she found it hard to adjust to the formality of the office environment and how to write formal e-mails to highly qualified medical personnel. In total, Lorena is very disappointed with her work experience and the labor market in Portugal. She says she is very poorly integrated at work but also does not see good chances to change to a different company as the market feels very undynamic in comparison to the job market in São Paulo. In Lorenas opinion, the work culture in Portugal is old-fashioned and conservative with low payments, bad work-life-balance and many overhours "just to give the boss the feeling that you have done your job well". "I feel like in 1980 when it comes to management (and I was not even born), with authoritarianism and clear individual preferences among employees. Wages are defined without criteria or market research and there are no promotions or dynamism between positions and areas". Lorena says she feels lots of resistance to change or to adapt to the younger employees and there

are no performance evaluations or personal development plans for anybody. Lorena: “From what I see, the best jobs certainly focus on the non-Portuguese multinationals, which, in addition to better salaries, have a more modern business culture, but there are almost no jobs. In my area (pharmaceutical), the vacancies are more concentrated in sales.” Lorena told me that she would wish for more HR training on bullying and sexual harassment and somebody to talk to in trust when an employee has worries or issues with the team.

*Note: All names have been changed to protect the privacy of the participants.