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*Brazilian, Indian, and East Timorese women in Portugal*

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SOCIOLOGIA  
E POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS

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Department of History

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“(...) they were not even asked for their passports, so the history of migration is *history* and not *herstory*” (Engle, 2004a; Duarte & Oliveira, 2012: 225).

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## **Abstract**

This study examines the reasons that led women from three distinct countries- Brazil, India, and East Timor- to migrate to Portugal, and how they view their integration in this country. The methodology used was a qualitative approach, conducting interviews with nine participants, three women from each nationality. The primary findings show a variety of reasons, including the quest for better educational possibilities, pursuing the desire to see the world, family reunification, marriage (following the husbands), and escaping wars. This study illustrates the diversity and individuality of each migrant experience while shedding light on why women from various countries moved to Portugal. Furthermore, it advances knowledge of gender dynamics in international migration and the causes of these movements in a globalised environment, which adds to the academic background. To foster a more inclusive and fair society, the findings of this study may be used to improve immigration and integration policies that consider the requirements of immigrant women. In addition, this study lays the path for further investigation that may enhance the comprehension of women's migration from Brazil, India, and East Timor, expanding scholarly discourse and influencing national and international public policy.

Keywords: migration, feminisation of migration, reasons to migrate, migratory experiences.



## **Resumo**

Este estudo analisa as razões que levaram mulheres de três países distintos- Brasil, Índia e Timor-Leste- a emigrar para Portugal e como encaram a sua integração neste país. A metodologia utilizada foi uma abordagem qualitativa, com a realização de entrevistas a nove participantes, três mulheres de cada nacionalidade. Os principais resultados mostram uma variedade de razões, incluindo a procura de melhores possibilidades de educação, o desejo de ver o mundo, a reunificação familiar, o casamento (seguindo os maridos) e a fuga às guerras. Este estudo ilustra a diversidade e a individualidade de cada experiência migratória, ao mesmo tempo que esclarece as razões que levaram mulheres de vários países a mudarem-se para Portugal. Além disso, permite aprofundar o conhecimento sobre as dinâmicas de género nas migrações internacionais e sobre as causas destes movimentos num ambiente globalizado, o que acrescenta valor à formação académica. Para promover uma sociedade mais inclusiva e justa, os resultados deste estudo podem ser usados para melhorar as políticas de imigração e integração que consideram as necessidades das mulheres imigrantes. Além disso, este estudo abre caminho para novas investigações que podem melhorar a compreensão da migração das mulheres do Brasil, da Índia e de Timor-Leste, expandindo o discurso académico e influenciando as políticas públicas nacionais e internacionais.

Palavras-chave: migração, feminização da migração, razões para migrar, experiências migratórias.



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## **Acronyms**

ACM- High Commission for Migration

CLAIM- Local Support Centres for the Integration of Migrants Network

CPLP- Community of Portuguese Language Countries

EC- European Community

EU- European Union

FAMI- Asylum, Migration, and Integration Fund

IRC- International Red Cross

IOM- International Organisation for Migration

MIPEX- Migrant Integration Policy Index

PALOP- African Countries of Portuguese Official Language

SEF- Foreign and Borders Service

STT- Telephone Translation Service

UN- United Nations



## Chapter 1- Introduction

Migration affects both the lives of people who move to their country of origin, those who stay behind (in the country of origin), and the societies of destination, and is a continual event in the evolution of humanity. Worldwide, the number of migrant women has significantly increased in recent decades; particularly, in 2019, migrant women represented 48% of international migrants<sup>1</sup> (Neves et al., 2016). It should be emphasised, however, that by the 1970s, women were not even properly considered capable of taking the risk of migration, nor analysed as autonomous migrants, but rather as protectors of stability and submissive to their husbands/partners (Albuquerque, 2005; Assis, 2007; Neves et al., 2016). Although it is common knowledge that women, whether they are immigrants or not, do not often play the position of a follower, they can also be entrepreneurs, doctors, scientists, and researchers (Villares-Varela & Essers, 2018; UNESCO, 2020). In Christou & Kofman (2022c), in a European Union (EU) specific context<sup>2</sup>, we can see the various professional categories in which women can be found, some of which are: administration and support services, educational, scientific, and technical sectors, public administration, defence. However, the labour market may also be divided into gender-specific segments and women are gravitating towards “traditionally female occupations” (Assis, 2007; Christou & Kofman, 2022c).

It is vital to remember that migrant women contribute significantly to both societies of origin and destination. They contribute to both environments’ economic, social, social, and cultural growth through their labour as employees, business owners, caretakers, or social change agents. As change agents, they can also engage in activism to promote political and social reforms that benefit both immigrants and local populations (Bacron, 2021). Recognising women’s migration is crucial for creating successful inclusion initiatives, advancing gender equality, and protecting migrant women’s human rights. It is intended that this research adds to the body of knowledge in this field and unveils the inequalities in these dynamics.

As will be demonstrated throughout this dissertation, Portugal’s migratory dynamics have changed significantly. This is due to Portugal’s changing perception from a country of emigration to one of immigration during the 1990s (Pires & Pinto, 2009; Marques & Góis, 2011; Neves et al., 2016). However, Portuguese emigration is still visible since there is a propensity for negative migration balances, meaning that there is more emigration than

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<sup>1</sup> UN data, see <https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/migration> Last accessed on September 19, 2023.

<sup>2</sup> A study on the employment of both native and foreign workers, men, and women, in the EU-27, in 2008.

immigration (Pires & Vidigal, 2020; Oliveira, 2022a). Once the focus of the study is related to immigration, its status as a country with significant immigration is a result of ongoing political upheavals, including a range of government regimes, from dictatorial to democratic, and political rulers' changes, to changes in immigration policy, and cooperation agreements with various countries, especially those who have a colonial relation with Portugal, such as Brazil, India, East Timor, among others.

Broadly, this study tries to comprehend the reasons that impelled immigrant women to migrate and settle in Portugal, and their decision-making process, and to investigate how they view their integration. Therefore, it is intended to respond to the research question: *Why did women from Brazil, India, and East Timor migrate to Portugal?* The three nationalities mentioned were chosen for several reasons, which will be further explained in the methodological chapter. Nevertheless, I choose to focus on the Brazilian nationality due to their significant representation within the immigrant population in Portugal, and the extensive body of research already available on Brazilian immigration in the country; the selection of Indian immigrants was primarily driven by personal and familial connections to this nationality and the increasing of these immigrants in Portugal; finally, the East Timorese nationality, was prompted by the observation that there is a noticeable scarcity of social science studies addressing this community regard migratory reasons, despite its expanding presence in Portugal. The historical colonial connections between Portugal and the country of origin are another factor in the selection of the these nationalities, despite the disparities in the magnitude of their migration flows and the quantity of prior research.

This research is significant because it not only fills in the gender and migration studies' gap on less-represented nationalities and immigrant women in the Portuguese context, but it also helps to see whether social and political conditions have existed for these immigrant women to be actively integrated.

Regarding the structure of this dissertation, it is composed of six sections. Firstly, it shows an overview of the study's goals, organisation, and structure. The theoretical chapter follows, discussing the terms and aspects to be considered during the study. Some of these terms include migration, immigrant, feminisation of migration, division of the labour market, intersectionality, and integration. The third section - the contextualisation chapter discusses the Portuguese migratory context, as well as the country's history of immigration, the evolution of Portuguese nationality laws, the evolution of migratory policies and the extraordinary processes of migratory regularisation, and the feminisation of migration in Portugal. Furthermore, this chapter presents female migration typologies that were derived from two studies that not only



offered strong theoretical foundations but also functioned as a useful guide to determine whether the typologies were relevant to the migratory paths of the participants in this dissertation. I also focused on the immigration of the three nationalities in Portugal that this study is intended to investigate: Brazilian, Indian, and East Timorese. The methodology is discussed in the next chapter, where it can be observed that the methodological technique used in this exploratory study was semi-structured interviews. It describes the research design, the objectives, and the relevant selection criteria. The study's findings are presented in the next chapter following the dimensions of analysis derived from the interviews conducted. The last chapter, the conclusion, summarises the main outcomes of this investigation.

The collaborative procedure for the dissertation included a series of monthly sessions that had personal importance given the topic and the social sciences they covered. These gatherings included master's students, and supervising academics, adding a useful combination of perspectives. The dissertation underwent numerous rounds of constructive criticism, which improved my understanding of how those with diverse perspectives - who were not involved in the topic- saw things and what was missing in my writings.

## **Chapter 2- Theoretical chapter**

In the theoretical chapter of this dissertation, I attempt to explore a series of fundamental concepts related to migration and gender. I begin by explaining the globalisation age characterised by migration, migrants, and their migratory trajectories before delving into the motivations for immigration and stressing the significance of migration in gender relations. Next, I define the expanding feminisation of migration while taking intersectionality into account, which emphasises the intricate relationships between gender, race, social class, and other elements in the migrating experience. I also investigate colonial history, how it affected modern migration and the integration of immigrants into host societies. This theoretical review provides the conceptual basis for understanding the migratory reasons of immigrant women from Brazil, India, and East Timor to Portugal since these are the nationalities targeted in this dissertation.

### **2.1- Migration and globalisation**

We live in an increasingly globalised world with a long-standing history between countries, creating commercial and cultural ties between nations, together with migration movements. The European continent stands out in migratory studies because of its different mobility flows, related to its colonial past and to current political and economic issues, where Portugal is ranked

10th by Eurostat in the year 2022,<sup>3</sup> in terms of the number of immigrants received across the 27 Member States of the European Union (Zahra, 2022).

King (2010) states that “*Migration is one of the ironies of globalization.*” (p. 14), implying that, while it is now easier to travel and economic and financial transactions have improved, there are two paradoxical statements. The first contradiction concerns the dominance of economic liberalism and multinational corporations in attracting migrant workers. While the second refers to the restriction that, despite the global movement of capital, goods, and cultural influences, people still experience more limited mobility, i.e., legal, and governmental barriers, financial resources, discrimination, conflicts, and political instability. The second set of paradoxes is related to the labour market and social environment. On the one hand, everyone benefits, including migrants, who expect to have higher incomes than if they stayed in their home country and sent remittances to their relatives. This expectation, nevertheless, is not always met because real income might be significantly affected by low salaries and the cost of living; employers and the host country, who have more labour offer; and the host country itself, which benefits from the cultural diversity brought by migrants and probably cheaper labour force. On the other hand, while the countries of origin lose skilled workers, the local population of the host country regard immigrants as “thieves” of jobs, resulting in “clashes of civilization”, discriminations and conflicts. (King, 2010).

## **2.2- Migration and migrants**

According to Dokos (2017), the definition of migration is “(...) *as old as humanity itself and has played an important role in the evolution of culture and civilization.*” (p. 102). Migration has reshaped the course of human history by the contact between different cultures, languages, traditions, and ways of life of immigrants. Being a migrant, specifically an international migrant, according to the United Nations (UN, n.d.), involves crossing borders and residing in a foreign country different from the country of origin, regardless of the legal status of the migrant (documented or undocumented), whether the movement is voluntary or not, the reasons to migrate or the length of stay (short, medium, or long term).

In this part, I focus on migrant movements in Southern Europe, an area that includes Portugal, to help understand how these movements have changed through time. Over the last decades, this region has experienced various migratory movements (King & Zontini, 2000).

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<sup>3</sup>See

[https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR\\_POP3CTB\\_custom\\_5958588/bookmark/table?lang=en&bookmarkId=3876784e-fd97-4fe3-a740-2bd2154233cd](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/MIGR_POP3CTB_custom_5958588/bookmark/table?lang=en&bookmarkId=3876784e-fd97-4fe3-a740-2bd2154233cd). Last accessed on October 19, 2023.

This evidence also observed in Portugal will be further explored in the next chapter. Beginning with a time when Southern European residents emigrated to North America between the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, followed by a period of labour migration, primarily to industrialised Northern European nations, between 1945, the end of the Second World war, and the early years of the 1970s. Then, owing to economic, political, and socio-cultural developments, such as the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC), now EU, the fall of the Berlin Wall, in 1989, and the end of the Cold War, in 1991, Southern European emigrants returned from Central and Northern Europe until the early 1980s, as they were living under dictatorial regimes and poverty; lastly, it was from the 1980s and 1990s onwards that Southern European countries such as Portugal, Italy, Spain, Greece, Malta and Cyprus started to attract immigrants (King & Zontini, 2000; Nunes, 2009).

The various immigration phases in this area of Europe were caused by several factors. For instance, colonial history and, more recently, the rapid economic growth from an agricultural economy to an urban economic and social structure centred on services, including construction, tourism, domestic work, and care. (King, 2000; King & Zontini, 2000).

### **2.3- Migratory trajectories**

Migration projects involve pathways that are seen as open spatiotemporal processes, as they may involve numerous journeys, different directions, and even a longer stay in one country before moving on to the main destination, the one that was initially the plan (Schapendonk et al., 2020; Snel et al., 2021). Although many migrants may initially consider their current location as their permanent destination, they often find themselves compelled to move further due to economic or political instability in their current host country or insufficient financial resources to continue their journey to another destination (Snel et al., 2021).

The study of migratory trajectories allows us to understand the complexity of individual and collective migratory experiences, throughout the life cycle, both in the extended or nuclear family. It highlights the importance of considering the multiple dimensions involved in this process and recognising the diversity of migrants' choices and motivations, specific stories, experiences, and the strategies that are used in the migration journey (Peres & Baeninger, 2016). Moreover, several interrelated factors, including the intersections of social constructions such as gender, race, social class, age, ethnicity, religion, the migration laws of the countries of origin and destination, the assimilation and integration policies that take place in receiving societies can affect the trajectory of migration (Boyd & Grieco, 2003). The following sections of this dissertation will examine these factors (section 2.7).

## **2.4- Motives to immigrate**

Immigration is a complex phenomenon that involves individuals moving from one nation to another, frequently across borders, in quest of new opportunities. People choose to immigrate for a variety of reasons, which intertwine with personal, economic, political, and societal factors. For instance, family reunification, transnational family practices, continuing education (international student migration), marriage, and employment (labour migration) are some motivations for migrating that have been identified in the literature (de Oliveira & Guellati, 2018; Czaika, 2021; Castaneda & Triandafyllidou, 2022). Family reunification within family migration has a consequence, which is transnational families. Even when the family members are in different countries, these families that are temporarily or permanently separated continue to retain communication, networks, and practises (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002).

Migration choices are influenced by personal preferences, needs and constraints, and those making such decisions encounter unpredictable results. In addition, hopes and aspirations play a role in why some people decide to move, once individuals are searching for satisfaction, well-being, and quality of life. (Hagelskamp et al., 2010; Czaika, 2021). As this study focuses on the personal choices of immigrant women, it examines migration from an individual perspective, specifically through the push-pull theory (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). This theory is frequently used to describe the economic, demographic, political, social, and cultural factors that impact an individual's choice to either leave their country of origin (push) or establish residence in another country (pull). According to the literature (World Bank, 2013, cited in Agu et al., 2017), in terms of economic and demographic factors, push factors include poverty, unemployment, low wages, a lack of access to basic health care and high population density, while pull factors include higher wages, a better standard of living, and personal or professional growth. Push factors at the political level include conflicts, insecurity, and human rights violations, whereas pulling factors focus on the pursuit of freedom and security. Finally, discrimination based on race, gender, social class, age, and religion is what drives immigration on a social, language, and cultural level. On the other side, family reunion possibilities and racial equality are pull factors (Agu et al., 2017).

For this study, the experience of women who migrated during their adult life will be investigated. de Assunção's (2016) study of Brazilian women in the Netherlands showed that age is a significant factor in migration decisions. Adults may be motivated to look for possibilities abroad by a lack of opportunities, career stagnation, or prospects in their own country a change of environment and lifestyle, search for relationships, among others. In this

follow-up, there is “love migration”, where one has the personal goal of forming a family or a marital relationship (Lima & Togni, 2012).

## **2.5- Migration and gender relations**

Gender research is significant- not just in migration studies- because it allows us to understand how it is produced in a socio-historical context on a global scale, and we can witness a very wide range of experiences and inequalities lived by many different individuals in our communities and around the world (Christou & Kofman, 2022a). The studies of gender and migration have concluded that migration is a gendered process that occurs covering a wide range of spatial and temporal scopes, since gender has an impact on the adaptation to the new country, maintaining connections with the country of origin, possibly moving back, and confrontations with different gender norms that may exist (Boyd & Grieco, 2003; Christou & Kofman, 2022b). On the one hand, migration and gender relations allow us to recognise the diversity of every person’s identity formed by gender, social class, race, nationality, and ethnicity. On the other hand, these same identities are moulded by historical processes that highlight the differences between immigrants and the host community (Neves et al., 2016).

This thesis focuses on a binary perspective of gender; however, I do acknowledge in society that there is more complex diversity of gender identities. We can identify, for instance, three stages in which gender relations intervene in the migratory process: the pre-migration, in which factors range from gender relations and hierarchies, statuses and roles, to structural characteristics of the country of origin. Gender relations and hierarchies are connected to the family setting since they affect women’s migratory choices as the manifestation of female subordination to male authority (Boyd & Grieco, 2003; Engle, 2004a). Women’s status and roles may influence their ability to migrate, because according to individual characteristics, such as age, ethnicity, race, marital status, the existence or not of children (reproductive status), their role in the family, professional training, educational attainment, are some of the factors considered; then, in the family setting, its structure and size, phase of the life cycle, single or both parents are observed. Social factors have a role in determining whether women can migrate along with the way they migrate (for work, family reunification, education, etc.) and whether they migrate alone or with their families (Boyd & Grieco, 2003). Finally, the state and political structure of the country of origin, which includes the type of economy, labour market conditions, geographic location, and the existence or absence of migration systems, among other factors, may influence or impact any potential migrant’s decisions, though differently depending on gender, age, class, and race (Boyd & Grieco, 2003).

The second step is border transition, which considers the policies of each nation, both origin and host. The development of these policies is often influenced by assumptions about the societal and familial status and obligations of women and men (Boyd & Grieco, 2003). In this regard, host countries may discourage women and men from migrating because they perceive them as “dependent” and “independent”, respectively. These labels often relate to conventional sexual roles and stereotypical images, such as women being assigned a “family role” and men a “market role”. (Boyd & Grieco, 2003; Jolly et al., 2005). When women are permitted to move, however, several immigration nations place them in so-called feminine occupations, such as domestic labour and caregiving (Boyd & Grieco, 2003). Lastly, the post-migration stage tells us that the integration of migrants in an immigration country is based on three factors: the impact of entry status on the form of integration and settlement, the patterns of labour market incorporation, and the impact of migration on migrants’ status (Boyd & Grieco, 2003). There is a section where these procedures will be covered in more detail later in this chapter (see section 2.9).

## **2.6- Feminisation of migration**

Until the 1970s, migration studies focused mainly on men’s experience, perceiving them as the main actors of the migratory movement, and their migration as labour migration. Little visibility was given to women, who were mostly perceived as secondary migrants, primarily linked to family reunification projects (Campani, 1999; Nunes, 2009; de Haas et al., 2020). The dominant model of migration in terms of research and studies of migration portrayed women as passive and dependent (Kofman, 1999; Duarte & Oliveira, 2012). However, as gender and migration studies advance, the *feminisation of migration* has been one of the characteristics and patterns of migration (Lopes, 2011; de Haas et al., 2020).

The feminisation of migration was emphasised, in the 1970s, when female mobility grew and migratory patterns and profiles altered, to the point where it could be said that *Birds of Passage are also Women* (Morokvasic, 1984). Feminist activism and studies at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century played a significant role in shaping the international perception of immigrant women and their status in Europe. Additionally, many Southern European nations recognised that the feminisation of migration implied a bigger and more conspicuous participation of women in labour migration, particularly in the tertiary and domestic sectors, with these immigrants assuming substantial roles in the globalized economy (King & Zontini, 2000).

The labour market in Southern European societies has historically been marked by a strong sexual segmentation of labour, with men typically being directed towards agriculture,

construction, and industry, while women have historically been restricted to service-oriented occupations like health, cleaning, care, domestic, catering, and, sometimes, in the sex trade/prostitution. This distinction was seen not just in the native population but also in the labour force of newly arrived immigrants. (Campani, 1999; King, 2000; King & Zontini, 2000; Engles, 2004b; Padilla, 2007a; Nunes, 2009). Many immigrants in general, including women, found themselves in unstable employment situations and lower-skilled positions, facing precarious working conditions. In other words, “3D” occupations- dirty, degrading, and dangerous- represent the informal economy (Engle, 2004b). In many cases, these jobs were shunned by local workers, leading many immigrants to be absorbed into the informal labour market, where the lack of regulation and protection made their conditions even more precarious (Baganha et al., 1999; King & Zontini, 2000; Peixoto, 2008; Nunes, 2009).

As the feminisation of migration grew and immigrant women’s experiences became more complex, the concept of *intersectionality* became a key analytical tool to raise visibility to the challenges and invisibility of these women.

## **2.7- Intersectionality**

Migrant women have been identified as experiencing multiple oppressions that intersect with each other: firstly, by being migrants they are subject to abuse and discrimination; next, there is gender discrimination, being a woman; and finally, the ethnic and racial stereotypes (de Haas et al., 2020). It was not until the 1970s that these questions were studied in conjunction with an intersectional approach, expanding throughout feminist, migration, and ethnic studies (Assis, 2003, cited in Neves et al., 2016).

Kimberlé Crenshaw, a feminist scholar, introduced the concept of ‘intersectionality’ to address the complex interplay of multiple forms of discrimination against women. According to Davis (2008) and Collins (2017), Crenshaw used the term “women of colour” referring to African American women, but there is an “umbrella category” for Mexican, Latino, Indigenous, and Asian women<sup>4</sup>. Intersectionality is intended to address the specific experiences of women who belong to racialised or ethnic groups who are oppressed by racism, sexism, patriarchy, colonialism, and heterosexism, which act accordingly to ignore women’s political, civic, and sexual rights (Cooper, 2015). This concept considers the relationships between different identities and hierarchical systems connected to social and political variables such as gender, race, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, and age, and how they generate reciprocally

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<sup>4</sup> USA common categorisation labels.

social inequalities (Crenshaw, 1991; Anthias, 2012; Collins, 2015; Christou & Kofman, 2022b).

The intersectional approach enables a potent analytical lens, and a more thorough understanding of the experiences of women migrants, fostering a more comprehensive understanding of how individual agency, social context, and structural influences intersect and shape social constructions (Bürkner, 2012).

## **2.8- Colonial past**

The intersectional perspective broadens the understanding of the colonial question by considering how colonial dynamics have influenced the formation and interaction of social identities, and it focuses on the relationship between race-gender-sexuality, with the current impact of the reality of immigrant women. This power relationship is “(...) *understood as historical-social, discursive and performative constructions, which exist as an event and therefore cannot be neglected (...)*” (Gomes, 2013: 49-50).

The era of European colonisation gave rise to racial and gender hierarchies, characterised by the submission/subjugation of non-white ethnic groups and women through practices such as slavery, forced labour, land expropriation, and the propagation of stereotypes and prejudices. Through the process of racialisation, individuals were segregated, with colonised territories being subordinated to European metropolises. Consequently, it fostered the devaluation of non-European individuals and the propagation of the idea of white people being superior to non-white groups. Within this supremacy, non-white women’s sexuality began to be stigmatised, which significantly increased prejudice towards women in colonised areas.

## **2.9- Integration**

Migration can bring benefits and challenges to both host society and immigrants. Integration holds the settlement process, involvement with the host society and the social transformation that results from immigration (Penninx & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2016). It is a process of mutual transformation involving two sides for integration success. The immigrants, considering their characteristics (ethnicity, race, age, sex, social class, religion, country), the length of their stay, the socioeconomic characteristics of the country of immigration, efforts, and ways of adaptation; and the host society through their interactions with immigrants and societal institutions (Garcés-Mascreñas & Penninx, 2016; Sontag et al., 2017; Cerqueira, 2022).



In this regard, Penninx (2005, 2007, cited in Garcés-Mascareñas & Penninx, 2016), emphasize the host society's pivotal role in immigrant integration. This role encompasses individual interactions, the attitudes, and actions of native residents toward immigrants, and the receptiveness of organisations. Organisations in this category can range from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to government agencies including the Foreign and Borders Service (SEF<sup>5</sup>), High Commission for Migration (ACM<sup>6</sup>), and particularly for immigrant groups, and local NGOs. As Portes (1999) notes, integration is “(...) *less of what immigrants bring with them and more of how they are welcomed by the receiving government and society*” (p. 3), which means that it does not only depend on the immigrants' will but also on host society openness to accommodate the cultural diversity.

It is crucial to recognise that the specific context plays a crucial role in comprehending how integration occurs. The integration context changes depending on the structure of the labour market, accessibility to housing, education, health, and religion, as well as the law.

### **Chapter 3- Immigration to Portugal**

Immigration policies in Portugal have gone through numerous phases. Firstly, focused on the question of nationality, until the mid-1970s; then, during the 1980s, the policies were directed to the management of migratory flows, through the SEF; and, finally, in addition to continuing to regulate the migratory movements, policies were centred on measures to encourage immigrant integration, from the early 1990s until today (Peixoto et al., 2009; Pires & Pinho, 2009). Once changes in immigration policies shifted from more restrictive, in the 1970s, to more inclusive, in the 1990s, immigration in Portugal was viewed as a social and political phenomenon. (Pires, 2003b; Peixoto et al., 2009; Costa, 2016; Oliveira, 2022b).

#### **3.1- Portuguese migratory flows throughout history**

Portugal's migration dynamics have undergone a significant transformation over the past five decades. Traditionally, Portugal was an emigrant country. However, this scenario has shifted, and today, Portugal is not only a country of emigration but also a destination for immigrants. Since the 1960s, emigration has played a structural role in Portuguese society due to a variety of circumstances. This includes instances such as the existence of dictatorial regimes and forced recruitment during colonisation, the inclusion of Portugal in the European Community<sup>7</sup> (EC) in

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<sup>5</sup> In Portuguese- Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras.

<sup>6</sup> In Portuguese- Alto Comissariado para as Migrações.

<sup>7</sup> which later changed to EU.

1986, and the Schengen area in 1991. These changes facilitated mobility within the European Economic Area (EEA) and were driven by higher wages. Another contributing factors were the economic crisis since 2008, and the ease with which academic credentials are recognised also in the European area. (Peixoto, 1993; Marques & Góis, 2011; Padilla & Ortiz, 2012; Marques & Esteves, 2013; Góis & Marques, 2018; Góis, 2019; Pires, 2019; Barbosa & Lima, 2020; Pires et al., 2020).

Like emigration movements, immigration in Portugal can be divided into distinct phases. Succinctly, the new democratic regime in 1974, the decolonisation process, Portugal's entry into the EC in 1986, and subsequent opening to the European market, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Portugal's entry into the Schengen Area in 1991, the several extraordinary regularisation processes until 2007, the new job opportunities due to the economic crisis in 2008, mark distinct periods and significant transformations in immigration in Portugal. After the totalitarian dictatorship fell in 1974 and the successive decolonisation process, Portugal had its first wave of immigration until 1985. The so-called *returnees*- Portuguese immigrants who returned from former African colonies- and a sizable influx (48%) of immigrants from African Countries of Portuguese Official Language (PALOP)<sup>8</sup>, namely Cape Verde<sup>9</sup>, Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique, were the main countries of origin of this political immigration. Not only was this immigration mostly labour, but also the primary factors driving these immigrants' movement to Portugal were the changes in nationality law (which will be seen in section 3.2), the process of decolonisation and subsequent family reunifications and formations, searching for better life opportunities, fleeing political instability and civil wars in the former colonies (Machado, 1997; Baganha et al., 2009; Peixoto et al., 2009; Cabral & Duarte, 2010; Marques & Góis, 2011; Pinho, 2013; Marques et al., 2014; Borrego, 2016).

The next period of immigration is divided by the mid-1980s, more specifically 1986 to mid-1990s. Portugal was an attractive destination for immigrants during this time due to its democratic political stability, the EU membership, i.e., internationalisation and opening of the Portuguese economy to the Schengen Area that facilitated the free movement of European citizens, and the entry of European structural funds and foreign direct investment. The migrations observed during this time was considered economic and labour because the Portuguese labour market lacked a labour force to keep up with economic growth, which also attracted immigrants to Portugal (Machado, 1997; Corkill & Eaton, 1998, cited in Carvalho,

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<sup>8</sup> In Portuguese- Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa (Angola, Cape Verde, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe).

<sup>9</sup> By the 1960s, the Cape Verdean population was already observed in Portugal.

2009; Peixoto et al., 2009; Walls & Nunes, 2009; Marques & Góis, 2011). Angolans, Cape Verdeans, Guineans, and Mozambicans were the primary nationalities observed in Portugal, along with Brazilians, British, French, Spanish, and Germans (Western European nations) (Machado, 1997; Peixoto et al., 2009; Marques & Góis, 2011). Therefore, there was a polarisation of immigrants in the labour market, between immigrants with high and low qualifications (Padilla & Ortiz, 2012). With all the investment in public works and civil construction, and foreign investment, immigrants from PALOP, particularly Cape Verde, Angolans, and Guineans, were attracted through the Portuguese demand for low-skilled labour, and the highly skilled immigrants from Western Europe, and Brazil contributed to the growth of the tertiary sector (banking, real estate, marketing, dentists, entrepreneurship, and information technology) (Peixoto, 2002; Baganha et al., 2009; Fonseca et al., 2005; Walls & Nunes, 2009; França & Padilla, 2018).

Ending the 20<sup>th</sup> century and transitioning to the 21<sup>st</sup> not only did the number of immigrants continue to increase, despite a decline in population from former African colonies, but there was also an increase in immigration from Brazil, Eastern Europe (i.e., Ukraine, Romania, and Moldova), and South Asia (namely China, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal) (Pinho, 2013; Pires, 2019b; Barbosa & Lima, 2020). Portugal continued to be an appealing destination for immigrants due to a high need for low or unskilled labour, maintaining the polarised immigrant profile between the PALOP, and Western European countries and Brazil. There was also a proletarianization of Brazilian immigration to Portugal. These immigrants' professional profiles had shifted from high and semi-skilled to unskilled (Padilla, 2006; Fernandes et al., 2020). The South Asian group concentrated on a range of pursuits, including building and public works, catering, sales, and trading. (Pires, 2002, 2003a; Fonseca et al, 2005; Baganha et al., 2009). Moreover, in this phase, Portugal had exchanged the escudo for the euro (2002), impacting the country's economy, and making it easier for immigrants to conduct financial transactions, particularly those who had relatives living in European nations (Nunan & Peixoto, 2012; Barbosa & Lima, 2020; Fernandes et al., 2020).

The community from Eastern Europe, particularly the Ukrainian, gained prominence in Portugal in a brief period (2000-2002) as the most prevalent nationality. This was surprising given Portugal's lack of historical ties or bilateral agreements with Eastern European countries, as well as the fact that these immigrants did not have “(...) *sufficient numerical relevance to support a migratory network (...)*.” (Peixoto, 2002; Baganha et al., 2009: 121; Peixoto et al., 2009). The political-economic transition (Soviet Union's collapse) (Góis & Marques, 2010), the demand for work in the Schengen area, particularly in Portugal due to the need for a labour

force that this country had in construction, and consequent ease in the insertion of the labour market, despite the irregular situation, were some of the reasons why this immigrant community immigrated to Portugal. Nevertheless, many Eastern European immigrants entered Portugal through organisations of human trafficking masked as purported ‘travel agencies’ (Matias, 2004; Baganha et al., 2009; Pires & Pinho, 2009). Alongside Ukrainian immigrants, individuals from Moldova, Romania, as well as Brazil and Cape Verde, were also present in Portugal during the same year (Mortágua, 2010; Marques et al., 2014).

Brazilian, Ukrainian, and Cape Verdean immigrants continued to be Portugal’s most prevalent nationalities in the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, in addition to a return of Portuguese emigrants. The economic crisis that Portugal suffered between 2008 and 2014 resulted in a decline in immigration, but the number of immigrants from China, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal increased (Cabral & Duarte, 2010; Padilla & Ortiz, 2012; Padilla & França, 2020; Pires et al., 2020). These immigrants’ primary motives for moving were related to family reunification and study (SEF, 2008; SEF, 2012; Marques et al., 2014; Góis & Marques, 2018). The economic condition and related foreign investments, along with changes in immigration rules have played a key role in increasing migratory flows in Portugal, a phenomenon that is still evident in this third decade of the century. Later, numbers of 2022 demonstrate that since the SEF’s foundation in 1976, Portugal has never had as many immigrants reached an all-time high of 781.915, representing an 8.3% rise over 2021. (Oliveira, 2022a; SEF, 2023; see Annexe 2).

### **3.2- Nationality and Immigration Portuguese policies in Portugal**

Portuguese legislation is complex and can be difficult for both immigrants and those studying the laws. Since the Carnation Revolution in 1974, there have been many laws, and in Annexe 1, I present some of the nationality laws, with some of the information.

#### **3.2.1- Evolution of more restrictive policies**

Portugal’s immigration policies were reactive to the difficulties and strains resulting from increased immigration, and from the 1970s through the 1990s, the legislation concentrated more on nationality and controlling migratory flows than on integration (Baganha & Marques, 2001; Matias, 2007).

Until the end of the 1970s, there was a political omission in the control of migratory movements (Machado, 1997; Pires, 2003b; Malheiros & Peixoto, 2023). The 1974 Carnation Revolution marked the end of the Portuguese dictatorship, ushering in a democratic political system and the start of the decolonisation process, and leading to stricter restrictions on

Portuguese nationality. Until 1975, the acquisition of Portuguese nationality was followed by *ius solis*, the right for citizenship to be recognised based on the place of birth. However, with the independence of the colonies, the law of nationality was amended in 1975,<sup>10</sup> and some African citizens lost their Portuguese nationality.<sup>11</sup> This legislation extended nationality solely to citizens born in Portugal, those of Portuguese ancestry, and those born in the former colonies up until the date of each colony's independence. (Baganha & Marques, 2001; Pires, 2003a; Carvalho, 2009; Padilla & França, 2016). In 1981,<sup>12</sup> the nationality law replaced the *ius solis* principle with the *ius sanguinis* principle, nationality attributable or originating, which granted Portuguese nationality according to filiation or consanguinity, i.e., if one of the parents has Portuguese nationality, the children can also have it - acquisition of derived nationality (Carvalho, 2009; Daré, 2021).

Today, Portugal continues to follow the Nationality law of 1981, being in its tenth amendment. In the 1990s, there was a significant change in Portuguese immigration policy. The 1981 nationality law was amended in 1994,<sup>13</sup> for the first time, introducing measures of positive discrimination for individuals from Portuguese-speaking countries. This change reduced the residency period required for acquiring Portuguese nationality to 6 years for Portuguese-speaking individuals and 10 years for foreign citizens. Later, in 2006, a new revision of the nationality law,<sup>14</sup> less restricted, was implemented, strengthening the *ius solis* principle and reducing the mandatory residency period for individuals of all nationalities from 10 years to 5 years before they could become Portuguese citizens. An important change to the nationality law of 1981, is the revised 2015 law,<sup>15</sup> when it was allowed the attribution of original Portuguese nationality to grandchildren born in another country, with Portuguese grandparents. (Matias, 2007; Healy, 2011; Oliveira et al., 2017). The process of obtaining Portuguese nationality has become easier since the nationality legislation was revised in 2018.<sup>16</sup> All people born in Portugal automatically possess Portuguese nationality, and individuals born in Portugal to foreign immigrant parents who have held legal residency in the country for a minimum of two years are eligible to apply for Portuguese nationality. The following amendment, the 2020 law,<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Law no 308-A/75, June 24.

<sup>11</sup> A preference for “white immigration”, the so-called “returnees”. This concept refers to Portuguese citizens who returned from former colonies (Pires & Pinho, 2009; Malheiros & Peixoto, 2023).

<sup>12</sup> Law no 37/81, October 3.

<sup>13</sup> Law no 25/94, August 9.

<sup>14</sup> Organic law no 2/2006, April 7.

<sup>15</sup> Organic law no 9/2015, July 29.

<sup>16</sup> Organic law no 2/2018, July 5.

<sup>17</sup> Organic law no 2/2020, November 10.

extended the period that foreign parents must remain in Portugal to one year for their children to acquire Portuguese nationality. Finally, the legislation of 2022,<sup>18</sup> the tenth modification to the nationality law, assigns original nationality to those born in Portugal, to the children of foreigners not employed by their home country, with one parent being a resident in Portugal for at least a year. It also grants nationality through adoption by a Portuguese citizen and through naturalisation, requiring a minimum 5-year period of residence (Padilla & França, 2020; Cardoso, 2021).

The primary modifications to nationality legislation have focused on broadening the eligibility criteria for acquiring Portuguese nationality. This includes individuals born in Portugal, those who have legally resided in Portugal for 5 years, and those of Portuguese descent (Fernandes et al., 2020). Moreover, obtaining Portuguese citizenship affects migration since it also grants European citizenship, facilitating mobility inside the EU (Padilla & Ortiz, 2012). More open, accessible, and transparent policies have been implemented, trying to make it simpler for those with ties to Portugal's past to become citizens and foster a more inclusive and diverse society.

### **3.2.2- Immigration policies from the 1980s until the 1990s**

The evolution of Portuguese immigration legislation has contributed considerably to the growth of immigrants. It was in the 1980s that immigration control policies- entry, stay, exit, expulsion of foreign citizens in Portuguese territory- began to be more visible. The first immigration law<sup>19</sup> passed in 1981. The political omission until this decade increased irregular<sup>20</sup> immigration in Portugal. However, the immigration policies initiated at this time aimed resembled EC standards, since Portugal was preparing to enter it in 1986, and in the Schengen area in 1991 (zone of unrestricted movement of people without border controls within the Schengen countries)<sup>21</sup>. (Machado, 1997; Baganha, 2005; Peixoto et al., 2009; Padilla & França, 2016, 2020).

Beginning in the 1990s, the Portuguese legislative framework regarding immigration underwent several changes, creating extraordinary regularisation processes that were a response to the significant presence of immigrants in an irregular situation in Portugal. According to Malheiros and Peixoto (2023), these regularisation procedures concentrated on general

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<sup>18</sup> Decree-law no 26/2022, March 18.

<sup>19</sup> Decree-Law no 264B/81, September 3.

<sup>20</sup> The term "irregular immigration" signifies that immigrants enter, reside, or work in the host country without the authorisation or paperwork required by immigration regulations (Budal, 2018).

<sup>21</sup> EU members, EFTA members (European Free Trade Association)

amnesties, and the labour market, and derived from bilateral agreements, which will be seen below. The first process consisted of a positive discrimination of immigrants from PALOP and Brazil, regularising their situation once they had entered Portugal without legal documentation or by overstaying their visas (Padilla & Ortiz, 2012; Padilla & França, 2016; Malheiros & Peixoto, 2023).

However, Portugal's policies have evolved as its governments have changed throughout its democratic history (Carvalho, 2009; Carvalho, 2017). The first revision of the 1981 Immigration law,<sup>22</sup> made in 1993 during the first extraordinary process, was a result of these political changes. It was intended to "start from scratch" without positive discrimination, only regularising the situation of immigrants who were residing in Portugal irregularly, and who were granted residence permits for reasons of national interest. Then, in 1996, it occurred the second extraordinary regularisation procedure,<sup>23</sup> which was centred on the establishment of scholarships for undocumented immigrants, and it fell back on the 1992 PALOP's positive discrimination of immigrants. A few scholars believe that the 1992-1993 and 1996 procedures, although have aroused to maintain and promote post-colonial relations between Portugal and those countries, were ineffective once the number of immigrants entering and remaining in Portugal irregularly kept increasing (Baganha, 2005; Carvalho, 2009; Peixoto et al., 2009; Pires & Pinho, 2009; Padilla & Ortiz, 2012; Carvalho, 2017; Budal, 2018).

Then, in 1998, there was a shift from a strategy of controlling migrations to concerns of immigrant integration. Not only did the new immigration law in 1998<sup>24</sup> reduce the residence period from 20 to 10 years, but new visa categories were also added - including stopover, transit, short stay, residency, student, work, and temporary stay visas. Simultaneously, exceptions were made for immigrants in irregular situations, allowing entry for humanitarian reasons. Furthermore, family reunification was formally recognised as a right for the first time (Baganha, 2005; Carvalho, 2009; Peixoto et al., 2009; Pequito, 2009).

It is important to note that after seeing the development of the nationality legislation and referring to the right to family reunion, both these policies have been considered one of the most flexible, in comparison, for example, to health and education policies, since 2007 and by the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX)<sup>25</sup> (Huddleston et al., 2011; Martins, 2015;

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<sup>22</sup> Decree-Law no 59/93, March 3.

<sup>23</sup> Law no 17/96, May 24.

<sup>24</sup> Decree-Law no. 244/98, August 8.

<sup>25</sup> MIPEX is a tool that evaluates the integration policies of 56 countries across six continents. Its aim is to compare the policies that governments must promote the integration of immigrants. See <https://www.mipex.eu/what-is-mipex> last accessed on September 19, 2023.

Oliveira et al., 2017). Portugal's reputation as a receptive and open country has increased due to the favourable assessment of the spirit of the country's policies, but not in their practices (Padilla & França, 2016).

### **3.2.3- Immigration policies in the transition to the 21<sup>st</sup> century**

As the new century dawned, so did new legislation, and the remaining regularisation processes were related to the labour/economic market and bilateral agreements, for example with Brazil.

The new Portuguese legal framework regarding immigration was altered in 2001<sup>26</sup> observing market supremacy, as the demand for labour in Portugal increased, whereupon the number of immigrants increased (see Annexe 2). The entry of many immigrants in irregular situations was owing to the Portuguese entrance into the Schengen area in 1991, which made Portugal more appealing to immigrants since the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, mostly from Ukraine, Moldova, and Romania (Baganha, 2005; Peixoto et al., 2009; Padilla & França, 2016; Malheiros & Peixoto, 2023). Staying permits were established for immigrants in irregular situations, who could prove they had a work contract in Portugal. These permits were issued in the form of yearly visas that could be renewed for up to five years, and then converted to residence permits (Baganha, 2005; Peixoto et al., 2009; Mortágua, 2010; Malheiros & Peixoto, 2023). This mechanism led to a third extraordinary process of regularisation based on employment (Peixoto et al., 2009; Lourenço, 2013; Budal, 2018; Malheiros & Peixoto, 2023).

The procedures of regularisation that occurred after were even more unusual since they had an integrationist orientation towards immigrants (Baganha, 2005). The one in 2003<sup>27</sup> was most characterised not only for fighting irregular immigration but mostly for the establishment of the Lula Agreement. This agreement led to a bilateral agreement between Brazil and Portugal, enabling citizens of each country to circulate for work purposes. In the following year, the 2004 process,<sup>28</sup> known as the CTT process, aimed to offer all immigrants the same rights as Brazilian immigrants had in the previous process. Immigrants were able to get social once their status was regularised (Malheiros, 2007; Padilla, 2007b; Góis et al., 2009; Nunes, 2009; Lourenço, 2013; Padilla & França, 2016; Malheiros & Peixoto, 2023).

A new change in the immigration law was made in 2007,<sup>29</sup> generating a new process of extraordinary regularisation, with the implementation of a global contingent system and the

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<sup>26</sup> Decree-Law no 4/2001, January 10.

<sup>27</sup> Decree-Law no 34/2003, February 25.

<sup>28</sup> Regulatory-Decree no 84/2007, April 26.

<sup>29</sup> Law no 23/2007, July 4, amended by Laws no 29/2012, August 9, by Law no 56/2015, June 23, by Law no 63/2015, June 30, by Law no. 59/2017, July 31, Law no 102/2017, August 28, Law no



creation of a single residency permit. The starting point of this system is the country's job prospects and labour market demands. On the side of the regularisation process, those in irregular situation who showed evidence of an employment contract, having entered, and remained in Portugal lawfully, and being registered with social security including payment contributions, could be regularised submitting to a SEF for an interview (Peixoto et al., 2009; França & Padilla, 2016). The SEF afterwards issued temporary or permanent residence permits, the latter of which was granted after 5 years of legal residence in Portuguese territory (Peixoto et al., 2009; Padilla & França, 2016; Parry, 2020; Malheiros & Peixoto, 2023).

Despite amendments to the legislation between 2012 and 2022, the 2007 Immigration law is still in effect 16 years later (Malheiros & Peixoto, 2023). Concerning the large migrant movements in 2015, also called the "refugee crisis", migratory movements started to be a humanitarian concern (Cerqueira, 2022). One of the changes was the introduction of EU Directives, such as the Return Directive, and the Blue Card. This allowed the entry of students from non-EU countries, penalised irregular immigration and human trafficking. It also introduced the Golden Visa, providing temporary residence permits for individuals from non-EU countries and the EEA engaging in investment activities, eliminating the need for a separate residence visa for Portugal and the Schengen Area entry (Pinho, 2013; Parry, 2020; Daré, 2021; Cerqueira, 2022).

Finally, in 2022, the most recent change to the immigration law introduced the Mobility Agreement<sup>30</sup> between the Member States of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP<sup>31</sup>), allowing citizens from these countries to obtain a CPLP visa and residence permit. Essentially, this regime strives to promote regular immigration by granting admission and stay to people of CPLP member countries, as well as the option of lawfully working (Oliveira, 2022a).

### **3.3- Feminisation of migration**

Despite the number of immigrants has been high in Portugal since 1980, and mostly masculine, we have seen a tendency that continued to the present day: the feminisation of migration (Wall & Nunes, 2010). According to official data, from 2012 until 2018, the number of immigrant women has outnumbered that of immigrant men (see Annexe 2). The primary nationalities of

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26/2018, July 5, Law no 28/2019, March 29, Decree-Law no 14/2021, February 12, and Law no 18/2022, August 25.

<sup>30</sup> Assembly of the Republic Resolution no. 313/2021, December 9.

<sup>31</sup> In Portuguese- Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa: Angola, Brazil, Cabo Verde, East Timor, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, and Sao Tome and Principe

these women are Brazilian, Cape Verdean, and Ukrainian (Wall & Nunes, 2010; Borrego, 2016; Oliveira & Gomes, 2016; SEF, various years). These immigrants are, mainly, divorced, separated, or single, and they fall within the age range of 20 to 49 years (Oliveira & Gomes, 2016; Policarpo & Costa, 2011, cited in Ramos & Dias, 2020).

The observed changes in immigration laws, opportunities for better living, educational and academic opportunities, and Portugal's emphasis on family reunification are some contributing factors to the rise of this immigration from the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century until today. In addition, as was already said, there is a sexual division of labour in Portugal, with men working in jobs deemed masculine and women working in jobs deemed feminine (Padilla, 2007a; Nunes, 2009). In this sense, one element influencing the increasing feminisation of migration in Portugal is the country's feminised labour market, which is based not just on gender but also on ethnic lines. Accordingly, women participate in caregiving and household tasks (Peixoto, 2009; Wall & Nunes, 2010; Padilla & Ortiz, 2012). According to Peixoto's study (2009), women from the PALOP, Brazil, and Eastern Europe - that is, Ukraine, Romania, Moldova, and Russia- were working in low-skilled, low-paying, and precarious jobs including catering, hotels, commerce, and domestic and industrial cleaning.

The following sections contextualise Brazilian, Indian, and East Timorese immigrant women, who are the dissertation's intended target.

### **3.4- Female migratory typologies**

Regarding the studies by Wall et al. (2008) and Sant'ana (2008), female migratory typologies were identified in Portugal. These exploratory studies, using qualitative methods, are useful for this work because they analyse the same nationalities I will be studying (specifically Brazilian and Indian women) and refer to dimensions of analysis that are relevant to my study.

In the Wall et al. (2008) study, the authors aimed to examine the migratory trajectories of immigrant women from Brazil, Cape Verde, and Ukraine to Portugal.<sup>32</sup> It was possible to distinguish between two migratory patterns: the autonomous migratory route, in which women immigrate alone or with their children; and the family migratory route, immigrating, whether alongside their husbands/partners or before or following (Wall et al., 2008). In the autonomous migratory route, a sub-category - *short-term intensive saving*, identified women who migrated to Portugal to earn and save money, in a short period, to pay debts and assist their children who

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<sup>32</sup> The methodology of this qualitative study involved in-depth interviews with a total of 33 immigrant women, spread across three different nationalities. Twelve interviews were conducted with Brazilian women, nine with Ukrainian women and twelve with Cape Verdean women.

remained in their place of origin. The women in this category had two or three occupations in Portugal, such as domestic work and childcare being. A second sub-category, *long-term new life*, referred to the desire to stay and have better living conditions in the immigration country, for both them and their dependent children, if any. Lastly, the *yo-yo* trajectory, alluded to the constant travel between the country of origin and other host countries.

For the family migratory route, the first sub-category was the classic *in search of a better life for the family*, in which women follow their husbands or partners, i.e., reunite with their families. Then, in contrast to the preceding trajectory, *woman first, a better life for the family*, referred to the woman emigrating first to guarantee a better life for the family, and the partner or husband following later. Due to the niche labour market targeted towards female occupations in the host country, including domestic labour, service supply, and catering, as well as prior experience as primary wage earners, women left the country first. A third sub-category, *Immigration for two and a better life in the long term*, referred to the choice of migrating as a couple and moving at the same time, never to separate. The last family migratory route, the trajectory of couples *ready to leave*, the couple seek to improve their living conditions, and therefore keeping open the possibility of leaving or moving to another country (Wall et al., 2008). The Brazilian immigrants in this study were part of the three autonomous trajectories, and only one of the family trajectories, *woman first, a better life for the family*.

Sant'ana (2008) examined the migration journeys used by Indian immigrants<sup>33</sup> to Portugal, which were comparable to those found in the earlier study. The author distinguishes between five different types of migration. The first type referred to the *family migration* journey - married women and their close relatives participate in this migration process, and the woman did not migrate alone. The *family reunification path* came next, in which the woman immigrates after the male figure, and then the children, if there are any. The third route was *couple migration*, describing a woman and her husband moving to a new nation together, without any children or children who are not involved in the transition. The migration path for the *constitution of a family* then occurs after the arrival and integration of families in the new location, and it focuses on the creation of new families, involving the search for spouses in their home countries to maintain marriage customs. Finally, migration for *professional training* is pursuing a professional career while continuing or finishing one's education. (Sant'ana, 2008).

While the two studies do not explicitly mention "intersectionality", it is evident that this concept influences the lives of the immigrant women examined. These women were affected

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<sup>33</sup> For this study, ten Indian men and 27 Indian women participated in semi-structured interviews.

by various intertwined elements, including race and caste (social system), as they dealt with discrimination, unstable employment and living situations, cultural conflicts, and market niches. Migration is undoubtedly a diverse phenomenon, impacted by a variety of social elements including racial and ethnic identity, gender, class, colonial history, and many more. The analysis of migratory experiences of Brazilian, Indian, and East Timorese immigrants in Portugal follows.

### **3.5- Brazilian immigrant women- the most (feminine) representative immigration to Portugal**

Brazil was a Portuguese colony from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (1530-1822), exploited to produce sugar and subsequently gold and diamond mining. Brazilian culture, language, and society, have been profoundly impacted by colonialism and slavery, as seen in the colonial question above, which resulted in stereotypes, racism, and discrimination. Brazil's prior independence in 1822 meant that the decolonisation of African and Indian territories had no immediate influence on Brazil. However, Brazil did cut diplomatic ties with Portugal during Portuguese colonisation (Carvalho, 2012).

Although there have always been migration flows from Brazil to Portugal, and vice versa, the significant inflow of Brazilians into Portugal occurred mostly at the end of the 1990s (Malheiros, 2007; Barbosa & Lima, 2020; see Annexe 3). The migration fluxes from Brazil can be divided into four waves: first, from the 1970s to the 1990s, characterised by qualified professionals; second, from the 1990s until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, when Brazilian immigrants arriving had low incomes and lower qualifications, observing the proletarianization of Brazilian immigration as previously mentioned (Fernandes et al., 2020). Brazilians made up 12% of the immigrants in Portugal during these first two waves (Padilla, 2005; Malheiros, 2007; Góis et al., 2009). The third wave occurred from 2000 until 2010. Many Brazilians returned to Brazil during the Portuguese crisis in 2008, due to a rise in unemployment and a reduction in social services. Lastly, the fourth wave of Brazilians in Portugal is delimited from 2015 to the present day, more specifically 2020 due to the border barrier coming from the COVID-19 pandemic, for health reasons. Yet, this wave is distinguished by a new economic and political cycle, more employment, and a drop in unemployment in Portugal (Fernandes et al., 2020). With a representation of 16% in 2006, and 31% in 2022 (SEF, 2007, 2023), the Brazilian community has consistently been among the most significant in Portugal since the turn of the century, with more women than men. Moreover, these Brazilian women who have been

choosing Portugal as their destination, are aged between 20-49 years. (Góis et al., 2009; Barbosa & Lima, 2020; Fernandes et al., 2020, see Annexe 3).

Both in Portugal and other Southern European countries, migrant women are inserted in a particularly feminine labour niche: the cleaning, domestic and care services (King & Zontini, 2000). In the case of the Brazilian community, which also works in the catering and hotel industries, Brazilian women are associated with various sectors of the labour market. Not only are concentrated on service, domestic, and care activities but also in aesthetic employment, namely depilatories and hairdressers. A second niche of the labour market in which these immigrant women are perceived is the sex/prostitution trade. This association can be traced back to discriminatory constructs that evolved during the colonial era. Brazilian women were frequently stereotyped and hypersexualised with attributes including sensuality, beauty, and sexual availability (Padilla, 2007a; Gomes, 2013; França & Padilla, 2018). This led to the creation of what is known as the *colonial body*, regardless of colour, but associated with ethnicity, contributing to the exoticisation of Brazilian women. The way the media and literature portray the Brazilian community's imagination related to sensuality and beauty also contributes to the perpetuation of these constructions (Padilla, 2005; Padilla, 2007a; Dias & Rocha, 2009; Gomes, 2011, 2013; França & Padilla, 2018).

Several factors contributed to the growth of the Brazilian community in Portugal during various migration waves, including the shared language, Portuguese descent facilitating Portuguese nationality acquisition, high qualifications comparable to other Portuguese and European immigrants, the establishment of the CPLP, Brazilian currency devaluation against the euro, residence permit issuance in 2001, the Lula Agreement in 2003, the global economic crisis in 2008, and Portugal's economic crisis recovery in 2014. (Peixoto, 2002; Padilla, 2005; Malheiros, 2007; Nunan & Peixoto, 2012; França & Padilla, 2018; Barbosa & Lima, 2020; Fernandes et al., 2020). In addition to these factors, employment, financial considerations, family reunification, and security are some of the motivations of this immigrant community (SEF reports; Malheiros, 2007; Wall & Nunes, 2010; Lusa, 2022; Neves, 2022). An important factor during migrations, visible in Brazilian migratory movements, is social networks. While many Brazilian women rely on family connections for support and information, those without a social network may face challenges related to job opportunities and the legalisation process (Padilla, 2005, 2007a; Dias & Rocha, 2009).

### **3.6- Indian immigrant women- an increasing (feminine) immigration population to Portugal**

Early in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Portuguese empire established a presence in some parts of India, notably Goa, Daman, and Diu- Portuguese India - while other parts of India were ruled by the British empire. Initially established for the trade in spices and precious stones, Portuguese colonisation of India lasted for more than four centuries, with Portugal maintaining authority over diverse regions from 1505 to 1961. Despite Indian troops having entered the conflict militarily and conquered the Portuguese-controlled regions in 1961, Portugal did not recognise Portuguese India's independence until 1975, when decolonisation took place (Carrilho, 2010).

Throughout the years, India's immigration to Portugal happened in waves. During the process of Indian decolonisation of British rule in 1947, many Indians immigrated to Portugal. Additionally, since the Portuguese State conferred Portuguese nationality to residents of Goa, Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar-Aveli, and their descendants in the 1960s, there were sizable migrant flows. The few Indians present during these first migratory waves were those from Goa who travelled to Portugal to complete their degrees at Portuguese colleges and begin careers (Pires, 2009; Lourenço, 2013). With the influx of individuals from various Indian sociocultural backgrounds, including Hindus, Islamics, Ishmaelites, and Goans, Indian immigration to Portugal became increasingly known during the 1970s and 1990s. The Indian community spent time in Mozambique before coming to Portugal, resulting in an India-Mozambique-Portugal migration movement, after the Portuguese decolonisation, especially by Goans and Ishmaelites (Ávila & Alves, 1993; Pires, 2009; Lourenço, 2013). The stay in Mozambique was owing to the colonial past, where Indians from Portuguese India were forced to work in Mozambique, therefore we can observe historical family roots, social networks, and commercial ties with the Mozambican community; the linguistic proximity between Portugal and Mozambique; and the continuation of Portuguese nationality - all factors that made the transition to Portugal flexible. Nevertheless, as independence progressed, civil wars and political instability began to emerge, notably in Mozambique, and as political stability and improved living conditions in Portugal became apparent, it attracted many Indian immigrants (Ávila & Alves, 1993; Monteiro, 2007; Pires, 2009; Monteiro & Ramos, 2010).

The Indian population in Portugal has been expanding in the 21st century, becoming a representative nationality in Portugal since 2020 (around 4%, SEF, 2021, 2022; see Annexe 3). Even though the number of women has constantly risen, it has not yet overtaken the number of males, which has also increased. Therefore, more Indian males than women migrate to Portugal (see Annex 3). In terms of age groups, Indian women have a concentration of working ages,

between 20-49 years old (Oliveira, 2022a). The colonial history, pre-existing networks, integration into the sales and trade labor market, and the nationality law that granted Portuguese nationality to individuals born in the former colonies before independence, as well as the subsequent ease of mobility within the EU, have all played significant roles in the growth of the Indian community in Portugal throughout different waves of immigration. Among motives for migration, it has been verified in the last three years the Indian community immigrated to Portugal mostly for professional and family reunification reasons (Sant'ana, 2008; SEF, 2020, 2021, 2022).

The history of Indian female immigration began to be more significant in academic studies (Sant'ana, 2008). However, these women did not emerge as distinct groups due to their exclusion from the labour market, and stereotypical figures depending on the masculine figure. The Indian woman has only been given the position of a domestic worker and a mother, inside her own house. In Indian society, motherhood is extremely significant since it is not only internalised from a young age but also passed down through the generations. These women have also been distinguished by their lack of knowledge of the Portuguese language, which puts them in a position to work in the domestic sector or to stay at home (Sant'ana, 2008; Lourenço, 2013). Although there is little information about the Indian woman in Portugal, the Indian community is included in activities of trade and commerce (Lourenço, 2013). Occupations such as services, education, engineering, telecommunication, and catering are also activities predominantly Indian. The presence of Indians in the trade and sales sector can be attributed not only to their long stay in Mozambique, which allowed them to develop economic and commercial skills and establish networks, but also to the family-owned nature of these businesses. This family-oriented model not only provides employment opportunities for family members but also ensures their continuity for future generations (Ávila & Alves, 1993; Malheiros, 1996; Monteiro, 2007; Pires, 2009). In summary, the Indian population effectively use these social networks to preserve their cultural identity, integrate into the labor market, and mainly to connect with family members (Monteiro, 2007; Sant'ana, 2008; Mahapatro, 2010)

### **3.7- East Timorese immigrant women- from temporary to permanent (feminine) immigration to Portugal**

East Timor was a Portuguese colony for about 400 years, one of the last to be colonised worldwide, with the arrival of the Portuguese in the early 16th century, 1596, ending the colonisation in 1975. Following this colonisation, East Timor was occupied by Indonesia between 1975 and 1999. Portugal initially supported Indonesia's invasion but later assisted the

East Timorese population from 1999 until its independence in 2002, including economic support, and humanitarian cooperation, together with United Nations (Manuel, 2007; Figueiredo, 2015).

Migratory movements from East Timorese to Portugal were not visible until 1974. However, after the independence, migration was limited to a few East Timorese students and women who married Portuguese soldiers (Manuel, 2007; Miranda, 2009). From 1977 onwards, East Timorese migrants travelled to Portugal and then to Australia; their temporary stay or decision to remain in Portugal was due to the Portuguese nationality they still had (Figueiredo, 2015). The first wave of East Timorese immigrants in 1975 was not solely caused by the Indonesian invasion. It was also facilitated by the construction of an air bridge between Atambua in Indonesian Timor and Lisbon, with assistance from the International Red Cross (IRC) and the Netherlands, representing Portuguese interests in Indonesia, which enabled the relocation of several families and kinship groups (Miranda, 2009). From 1976 to 1979, although East Timorese migration was limited by the Indonesian regime, the main motivation for landing in Portugal, apart from fleeing the occupation, was family reunification, i.e., through a family reunification programme (Manuel, 2007; Miranda, 2009). Later, between 1991 and 1993, there was a decrease in the number of East Timorese arriving in Portugal because of the Santa Cruz massacre in 1991,<sup>34</sup> which was reflected in the influx of East Timorese into Portugal from 1994 onwards, seeking refuge (Manuel, 2007). Another wave of East Timorese immigrants happened in 1995, under the guidance of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) supporting the integration of East Timorese in Portugal. Finally, as witnessed in the last wave, many East Timorese students travelled to Portugal after East Timor declared independence in 2002 (Miranda, 2009; Figueiredo, 2015).

The number of East Timorese immigrants in Portugal has grown, despite being a hardly represented nationality in Portugal. More men than women have immigrated; only in the last three years have East Timorese women outnumbered East Timorese men, and these East Timorese women's age ranges from 15 to 24 years (SEF, 2023; see Annexe 3). East Timorese immigrants saw travelling to Portugal as a means of resolving East Timor's political issues, as well as a route to Australia to obtain more social and economic possibilities (Viegas, 1997, cited in Manuel, 2007). Portugal became a popular destination for immigrants seeking political security, peace and stability, opportunities for education and family reunion; and because of the

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<sup>34</sup> The Indonesian army attacked the Santa Cruz cemetery in 1991, where several East Timorese were paying tribute to a young Timorese who had been assaulted (Cabecinhas, 2003; Gomes, 2010).



Portuguese language and the preservation of Portuguese nationality, which allows mobility within the EU (Jerónimo, 2011; Figueiredo, 2015).

It has been shown that the East Timorese community in Portugal pretends to maintain ties with their homeland, where East Timorese women serve “(...) *as the main responsible for the maintenance and symbolic reproduction of the community.*” (Miranda, 2009: 86). Teaching the Tetum language, East Timorese cuisine, and devotion to household life and customs are examples of these functions, being placed in the private domain in her home country, while the male is placed in the public sphere. When inserted in the Portuguese labour market, East Timorese women occupy personal and auxiliary services (Manuel, 2007; Miranda, 2009).

Finally, the integration of East Timorese women into Portuguese society has not been explored; hence, no research on these women’s decision-making, and adaptation was identified. The East Timorese community’s experience in Portugal has seen little attention from the field of social sciences, and has remained underexplored by the media, resulting in relative obscurity among the host society “(...) *that has been hosting them for over thirty years.*” (Miranda, 2009: 84).

#### **Chapter 4- Methodology**

This chapter describes the methodology that answered the dissertation’s research: *Why did women from Brazil, India and East Timor migrate to Portugal?* However, when commencing the study using the methodology to be explained below, it became important to introduce a new focal point for this research. To address this, an additional question was formulated: *What is these women’s perception of their integration in Portugal?*

The main goals of this dissertation are to understand the specific reasons why immigrant women from Brazil, India and East Timor chose Portugal as their destination. Secondly, to find out if Portugal was the primary destination for these women, considering both their initial intentions and the actual experiences they encountered upon arrival. Moreover, it is meant to examine how gender-related sociocultural and political variables, such as traditional gender norms, gender discrimination, or the desire for emancipation, may have affected the women’s decision to immigrate to Portugal. Lastly, to observe how the post-colonial dimensions and legacies may have influenced the migration decisions and experiences of women from Brazil, India, and East Timor, shedding light on how historical colonial relationships continue to shape contemporary patterns of migration to Portugal. The research aims to identify common or different patterns among the experiences of immigrant women, which can contribute to a broader understanding of the dynamics of female migration in Portugal.

The methodology of this dissertation followed a qualitative approach based on semi-structured interviews. This selection was influenced by the desire to capture individual narratives. As pointed out by Hignett & McDermott (2015), qualitative researchers are focused on examining individuals' perspectives of the world and their encounters with diverse situations. This principle underpins the methodology employed in this study.

The relevance of the chosen nationalities- Brazilian, Indian, and East Timorese- relates to the fact that, firstly, Brazilian immigrant women have a significant presence in Portugal. Portugal. In addition to numerous studies on Brazilian immigration, it is crucial to examine the evolution of this nationality as it enables us to grasp the current transformations. The choice of Indian nationality results from a combination of personal family connections (given my Indian surname) and the desire to understand better how the Indian culture impacts these women's choices, as seen in Chapter 3. This is important because the Indian community, and particularly Indian women, can represent unique challenges related to gender, and culture (Sant'ana, 2008; Lourenço, 2013). The East Timorese nationality, although a numerical minority, and a population with a longstanding history of migration to Portugal, remains a relatively understudied group within the context of Portuguese immigration. In addition to the previously mentioned factors, it is important to note that these three countries share historical and political connections through various phases of Portuguese colonial rule and occupation. These connections include periods when Portugal had established its presence in these regions and exercised colonial control over them. This historical-political issue between Portugal and its former colonies holds great relevance as it provides a comprehensive framework for analysing various aspects, including immigration, identity, culture, inequality, and international relations.

The selection criteria began with the requirement that interviewees were a minimum of 18 years old when they arrived in Portugal and had resided in the country for at least five years. Interviewing immigrant women who came in their adult years enables them to gain a deeper understanding of the difficulties they encounter when moving to a new country, including balancing personal, familial, and professional obligations, overcoming cultural barriers, and tracking changes over time. Regarding the requirement of having lived in Portugal for at least five years, it allows participants enough time for major modifications, such as adjusting to the linguistic context, establishing networks, finding employment, having access to education and health, and citizenship practices. Lastly, participants must also reside in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, which has the highest population density in Portugal and, consequently, the biggest concentration of immigrants (Oliveira, 2022a). Additionally, because I do not have sufficient resources to cover additional, or other, regions to extend my fieldwork. The strategy

of contacting the interviewees was based on my personal and closed networks, family, and friends, where they had contact with these immigrant women and knew the selection criteria. Women were asked if they would be willing to share their telephone numbers to confirm their interest in participating before setting up a time for the interview.

The nine interviews, representing three participants from each nationality, were conducted between June and July 2023. Five interviews were held at the participants' homes based on their preferences. Likewise, two interviews, one Brazilian and one Indian, were conducted in public space, respectively, at the Colombo shopping centre and the Radha Krishna Temple, Telheiras. Finally, the last two interviews, both East Timorese participants, were conducted digitally through the Google Meets platform because one of the participants claimed to have tested positive for COVID-19, and the other for logistical and time management concerns. I conducted the interviews in my native language, Portuguese, but offered participants the option to conduct them in English if they were more comfortable in that language. All nine interviews were subsequently translated into English using language translation applications. However, one interview with an Indian participant was more challenging due to her limited proficiency in Portuguese, which required me to rely on my interpretation skills to convey not only the words but also the underlying meaning and context of the responses.

Participants were asked to voluntarily sign an informed consent form stating the purpose of the dissertation, and how their participation was voluntary and anonymous (Annex 4). The identities of the participants have been kept anonymous and they are referred to as Participant "1" (or P1), and so forth. Any potentially identifying information, such as the names of family members or friends, was entirely anonymised. The interview script was equal for all women (Annex 5), following eight different sections: sociodemographic characterisation, migration trajectories, networking (family and friends), living and working conditions, qualification levels, access to Portuguese nationality, expectations, and future goals, i.e., what they expect and want from the future in migratory terms.

The interviewees' responses were then subjected to a content analysis (Bardin, 1977, cited in de Sousa & Santos, 2020), and five dimensions of analysis were created to offer a clearer and more condensed understanding of their views. The main dimensions are migratory trajectories, challenges throughout the migration process, settling-in experiences, access to Portuguese nationality, and expectations for the future. I chose content analysis because I believe it enables a deeper exploration of the participant's responses and fosters a more intimate relationship between the researcher and the participant. By choosing not to use software, I also had more direct and manual control over the responses of my interviewees. The steps of the

interview content analysis followed some of those outlined by Bardin (1977, cited in de Sousa & Santos, 2020). In the initial pre-analysis phase, I selected the material for utilisation. During the subsequent exploration of this material, which involved in-depth reading and aggregating responses, I formulated analytical dimensions and interpretations for subsequent discussion.

### Limitations and challenges

Some challenges surfaced when the dissertation was being completed. Among them is the lack of existing literature on the East Timorese population in Portugal. However, I saw this as an opportunity to pave the way for and encourage future studies on this specific group. Then, an understanding of Portuguese legislation as it went through several changes since the 1980s, made it challenging to keep track of its transformations.

It was also challenging to comprehend two Indian interviewees. One still struggles with the Portuguese language after living in Portugal for 25 years. The other, who has been in Portugal for 35 years, showed even bigger challenges since the participant was unwell for family reasons, which made the interview endure for approximately 12 minutes and made it impossible to fully use the information. Nevertheless, with the remaining participants, there were no difficulties felt.

## **Chapter 5- Migration experiences: insights from nine immigrant women from Brazil, India, and East Timor in Portugal**

The present section focuses on the information gathered from the nine immigrant women's interviews to comprehend their migratory reasons and perceptions and experiences with integration in Portugal. Regarding the structure of the chapter, it is organised in two parts: first, it presents the sociodemographic and family characteristics of the nine women interviewed (see Annexe 6), and then a general overview of each participant's migration profile (see Annexe 7). Following the aspects of analysis (Annexe 8), it will be explained the findings and instances of participant responses.

### **5.1- Interviewees' sociodemographic and family characterisation and migratory profiles**

Nine immigrant women, aged 25 to 76, were interviewed, showing a significant variety in terms of marital status, the presence of children and family composition and dynamics.

Concerning the participants from India, two women were born in Gujarat, the western coast of India (Participant 4, 47 years old; Participant 6, 72 years old); and the third one was born in Goa, on the southwestern coast of India (Participant 5, 76 years old). Of the three participants with Indian origin, the youngest one achieved the higher educational level (P4, bachelor's degree in Psychology), while the older ones achieved post-secondary and upper

secondary (P5, post-secondary non-tertiary education to obtain teacher training; P6, upper secondary education). All obtained their degree in India. And even if P4 has a tertiary education degree, at the time of the interview she was a domestic worker and occasionally helped in her husband's shop. Differently, the ones with no tertiary education have working experience. Although P5 is currently unemployed, she has previously worked as an English tutor and domestic, and P6 used to work as a waitress in a restaurant and is now retired. All participants from India were married, and currently, two women are still married, P4 and P5, whereas P6 is a widow. Regarding their family composition, and specifically participants' partners, both P4 and P5 partners have a lower educational level compared to their wives: P4's is a shopkeeper and achieved upper secondary education, and P5's partner is retired and achieved lower secondary education. In this respect, no information was provided about the partner of the participant who is a widow. In addition, all three women from India have children. The youngest one, P4, has two children who are 22 and 18 years old, P5 has a son who is 35 years old, and P6 has two children who are 49 and 48 years old. Only P6, who has the oldest children, both were born in Mozambique and arrived in Portugal through family reunification. For the others, all their children were born in Portugal.

Analysing their migratory profile, the three participants with Indian origin came to Portugal due to family reasons, although two Indian women arrived on visas for family reunification because following their husbands (P4 and P5), and one arrived with a Portuguese passport because coming alone and being the first one in her family coming to Portugal because, as herself says, was "sent" in advance by her husband (P6). She was also the one in the family who mobilised the family reunification process, first bringing her children, and then her husband. As well, she was the only one among the participants with an Indian background who had two previous migratory experiences before coming to Portugal: first in Mozambique for 5 years (1973-1977), and then went back to India for ten years (1978-1988). For the other two Indian women, P4 and P5, their only migratory experience was directly to Portugal. Upon their arrival, all three participants already had family members in Portugal. Furthermore, the Indian participants who arrived earliest were older compared to those who arrived later. P5 arrived in 1986 at the age of 39, and P6 in 1988 at the age of 38, while P4 arrived in 1998 at the age of 22. Currently, one of the Indian participants holds exclusively Portuguese nationality (P5), while the other two Indian women have both Indian and Portuguese nationality (P4 and P6). The three are among the participants in this study who came earlier, and consequently, have been living in Portugal the longest.

Moving on to the Brazilian participants, the three women were born in various states in Brazil. For instance, Participant 1 (29 years old) hails from Piauí in northeast Brazil, Participant 2 (41 years old) from Espírito Santo in southeastern Brazil, and Participant 3 (62 years old) from São Paulo in southeast Brazil. Of the three Brazilian participants, the two youngest obtained their degree in Portugal (P1, bachelor's degree in Biomedical Laboratory Sciences, P2 post-secondary non-tertiary in Aesthetics), and the older one obtained in Brazil (P3, upper secondary education). Although P1 had a college degree, at the time of the interview she was not working due to pregnancy. However, she had previously worked as a clinical and pathological analysis technician. The other two Brazilian women, who do not have a college degree, were working in the moment of the interview, P2 as a visual merchandiser, and P3 as a movie producer. Regarding marital status, each Brazilian woman was in a different situation. One was single (P1), another was in a non-marital relationship (P2), and the third was divorced (P3). Among these Brazilian participants, only one of them, P2, has a partner who is also a visual merchandiser. Moreover, her partner has achieved a higher educational level than she has, attending a bachelor's degree in Marketing. Regarding parenthood, only two Brazilian participants have children. The youngest Brazilian participant (P1) has a 7-year-old son, who came with her and his Portuguese father. Additionally, she was 8 months pregnant at the time, while the older one (P3) has three children, aged 34, 28, and 24. Only the first child of P1 was born in Brazil, the children of P3 were all born in Portugal.

Observing the migratory profile, two Brazilian women came to Portugal by dream of emigrating and with a family reunification visa through their Portuguese boyfriends at the time of migration (P1 and P3). The other Brazilian participant (P2) arrived in Portugal with her mother to be reunited with the family that had emigrated first, coming with a tourist visa. Only the oldest participant (P3) had prior migration experience before arriving in Portugal, spending two years in Miami, USA (1979-1981). The two remaining Brazilian women, P1 and P2, only experienced migration to Portugal. Before arriving in Portugal, all Brazilian women had social networks here, including family and friends. The three Brazilian women arrived 20 years apart from one another. P3 arrived in Portugal in 1981 when she was 20 years old, making her the participant who has lived there the longest. P1, on the other hand, arrived in Portugal in 2018, when she was 24 years old, and P2, who arrived in Portugal in 2000 at the age of 19, was the youngest. The only Brazilian woman with both Brazilian and Portuguese nationality is P2, whereas P1 and P3 only have Brazilian nationality.

Lastly, the participants with East Timorese origin were all born in Dili, the capital of East Timor (Participant 7, 28 years old; Participant 8, 69 years old; and Participant 9, 25 years

old). P8 attended upper secondary education, P9 achieved the same level of education and, until the moment of the interview, was finishing a bachelor's degree in Political Sciences and International Relations, while P7 holds a master's degree in Architecture, with P7 and P8 obtaining their diplomas in Portugal. P8, who attended upper secondary education, is currently retired and used to work in civil protection. Younger participants, however, are employed, P7 working as an intern in her study's field, and P9 as a costumer advisor. The younger East Timorese participants (P7 and P9) are single, while the older one (P8) is a married participant with children over the age of 40 - some born in East Timor and some in Portugal. The husband of this P8 has a lower education level than his wife: he is retired and achieved upper secondary education.

The three East Timorese participants, whose migratory experience went directly and only to Portugal, came with their Portuguese passports. According to their migratory profile, the two younger participants of Timorese origin came to Portugal for study reasons (P7 and P9), while the older participant came to escape a conflict, which will be discussed below (P8). There were several network conditions among East Timorese women in Portugal. While P7 had friends in Portugal both before and after her arrival, P8 had friends already established before she came, and P9 had family in Portugal before her arrival and had friends after moving there. Additionally, the two younger East Timorese participants arrived in the second decade of this 21<sup>st</sup> century, while the remaining East Timorese participants immigrated during the 1980s (P7 arrived in 2013, aged 18, P8 in 1986, aged 37, and P9 in 2016, aged 18). Currently, one participant of Timorese origin only has Portuguese nationality (P8), while the other two East Timorese women have Timorese and Portuguese nationality (P7 and P9).

## **5.2- Immigrant women in Portugal: 3 nationalities**

The following sections analyse the study based not only on the interviews, but also on the five dimensions of analysis: migratory trajectories, challenges throughout the migration process, settling-in experiences, access to Portuguese nationality, and expectations for the future of the migratory experience. In each dimension of analysis there are sub-dimensions (see Annexe 8) that resulted from the aggregation of responses from immigrant women of Brazilian, Indian and East Timorese origin.

### **5.2.1- Migratory trajectories**

This first component of analysis focuses on the participants' migratory trajectories, looking at the year and age participants arrived in Portugal, the reason(s) for each woman's migration to

Portugal, if Portugal was the first option, whether the participants already had relatives or friends in Portugal and the access of visas.

#### Year and age of arrival in Portugal

The participants came from various backgrounds and have had various migratory experiences. As seen previously, arrival ages range widely from 18 to 39 years old. Two women of East Timorese origin (P7 and P9) and one Brazilian woman (P2) were those arriving in Portugal at a younger age (18 years old for the East Timorese women, and 19 for the Brazilian), and this may have had a comparable impact on their adaptations and trajectories in Portugal. Then there were two Brazilian women (P1 and P3) and an Indian woman (P4) who also reached a young age in their 20s. Differently, one East Timorese participant (P8) and two Indians (P5 and P6) were those coming at older ages (37 years old, 39, and 38, respectively), suggesting that these participants could have had more stable foundations in their lives before migrating, which may have influenced their reasons to migrate to Portugal, as will be discussed further.

The arrival years also vary widely, with almost thirty years of difference, spanning from 1981 to 2018. Not surprisingly, the three oldest participants (P3, P5, and P6) were those coming earlier, in the 1980s, one Brazilian (P3 in 1981), two Indian (P5 in 1986 and P6 in 1988). Moreover, one woman from East Timor also came in this decade (P8 in 1986), which relates to the first immigrant wave of East Timorese population to Portugal escaping to the Indonesia invasion (Miranda, 2009). Among the younger participants, only one with an Indian background came in the 1990s (P4, in 1998), while the five remaining participants arrived in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: two from Brazil (P1 in 2018; P2 in 2000) and two from East Timor (P7 in; P9 in 2016).

The fact that immigrant women arrived at different times leads to different migration and integration experiences, because Portugal's economic and political context changed over time since the country's recent transition to a democratic government and its experience with periods of economic crisis. Likewise, there have been several revisions to Portugal's immigration laws. For example, I observed that the participants from Brazil arrived 20 years apart, which is consistent with the waves of Brazilian immigration to Portugal. One Brazilian woman (P2) arrived during third wave of Brazilian immigration to Portugal in 2000, and this participant pointed out that neither Portugal nor the border services were ready for the volume of immigrants coming in and remaining. This point is pertinent because it relates to the regularisation phase concerning stay permits and the bilateral agreement known as the "Lula Agreement". During this time, Portugal had the challenging goal of regularising the situation



of many Brazilian immigrants who were already in the country, highlighting the need for an effective response to the growing demands of immigration.

“(…) there was still some resistance… to immigration (…) when a lot of immigrants started arriving, they tried to find a way to legalise the people who were already here and that was the most complicated period was dealing with this documentation, because it was a lot of people, and the services, I don’t think they were prepared to receive so many people and so we went around trying to get documentation to continue working.” (Participant 2, 48, Brazilian).

#### Migration reasons to Portugal and previous migrations<sup>35</sup>

It is feasible to identify commonalities among the women’s motivations for immigrating to Portugal. This subsection also shows whether the women interviewed fit into the typologies/trajectories mentioned in the theoretical chapter.

Regarding the reasons for immigrating to Portugal, the three Indian women came due to family reasons, as previously shown. P4 and P5 highlighted that Portugal was the first migratory country and the reason why migrated was because they had to follow their husbands. P6’s situation differs since she moved to Mozambique first for marriage reasons, and by marrying a Portuguese citizen born in Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony, she was able to get Portuguese nationality. But because of the volatility of the conflicts felt in Mozambique - from independence to the country’s civil war - she returned to India for 10 years and took her two children with her, while her husband remained in Mozambique in military service.<sup>36</sup> Here, a transnational family migration may be seen. P6’s migratory journey to Mozambique before coming to Portugal to get married aligns with the migration movement India-Mozambique-Portugal (Ávila & Alves, 1993); even though this woman later returned to India. The family project was later reorganised at the end of the 1980s, when she migrated alone to Portugal. This last migration movement also led again to transnational practices in the family, due to the two years they had to organise for their son to be able to come to Portugal.<sup>37</sup> It was never claimed to have travelled on her own volition. This participant migration movement was primarily driven by the Indian community in Mozambique seeking refuge in Portugal due to the

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<sup>35</sup> The combined description of the factors that motivated the questioned women to move to Portugal and if it was their first choice is only examined as a group according to the line of thought. The same goes further subsections.

<sup>36</sup> In terms of her husband, we don’t know if he accompanied P6 on her migrations. Since P6 is a widow, I decided it would be better to not inquire about her spouse, so as not to hurt any feelings.

<sup>37</sup> Regarding the other son, the participant never mentioned when, and if, this came to Portugal.

prolonged conflicts in Mozambique, spanning from its independence (1974-1975) to the Mozambican civil war (1976–1992).

Overall, the three Indian women mentioned that they had no choice to choose to migrate due to the gender norms in their families, independently from the fact that one is considerably younger than the two others, and one migrate first. The family trajectory “immigration for two and a better life in the long term” applies to two of the Indian participants (P4 and P5), as they immigrate with their spouses, while the third one (P6) is part of the family trajectory “women first, a better life for the family (Wall et al., 2008). However, they all defined “following their husbands” as having to proceed in the direction that their husbands selected, where I reflect these women fall into the classic trajectory “in search of a better life for the family”.

“(…) Indian culture is like that, you get married, and you follow the husband (… it’s not the girl’s choice (… it’s marriage arrangement (…))” (Participant 4, Indian, 47),

“Because I married him (… he was sent to Mozambique to continue in the army and ended up staying there for a while, and when it ceased to be Portuguese territory, (… he went to Goa to get married (… I married him and came here.” (Participant 5, Indian, 76).

“(…) after escaping the wars [in the decade of 1970s],<sup>38</sup> we [she and her son] returned to our native India [1978-1988] (...). We didn’t go here straight away because my husband lost his Portuguese passport during the wars and because my family was there [in India], and it was a comfort to come home... (… my husband sent me to Portugal... you have to accept (… I came to Portugal and two years later one of my children arrived in Portugal, the older one stayed in India with an uncle.” (Participant 6, Indian, 72).

Differently, two participants from Brazil (P1 and P3) came to Portugal because they wanted to travel, get to know the world, or dream of living somewhere different from their own. They said to be inspired by either their family in diaspora, or Brazilian television shows. P1 dreamed of emigrating to Portugal or Italy. She moved, for the first time, and only, to Portugal, when she was 24 years old in 2018 after meeting the father of her son, a Portuguese man in Brazil. Due to the insecurity felt in Brazil, she also wished for improved living circumstances, particularly for her son. Therefore, her choice to immigrate was also influenced by her son’s presence. Contrarily, P3 spent two years in Miami, in the United States of America, before moving to Portugal, at the age of 20 in 1981, since her partner at the time asked her if she wanted to join him after he accepted a work offer there. P3 did not have any children while she

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<sup>38</sup> An era that includes the process of decolonisation, independence of the colonies, and the Mozambican civil war (1976-1992).

was migrating, in contrast to P1. Since she was spared the constraints and obligations that come with having children, it is presumed that her decision to immigrate was less difficult. No matter where they emigrated, the participants always did so with their partners at the time to improve their living situations as a couple, unlike the Indian women, who affirmed the decision to emigrate by choice of husband. Participants 1 and 3 migratory experiences may be identified as a family trajectory of “immigration for two and a better life in the long term” (Wall et al., 2008) because, in addition to moving abroad with their boyfriends at the time, the participants also decided to emigrate together at any point in their migration journey, without separating. Moreover, for one case (P1) her son was included in her migratory plans, as she was more focused on improving conditions for her child. Differently, P3 was more devoted to staying in a nation she thought was more like her place of origin (Brazil).

“One of the reasons was that, ever since I was a child, I watched television shows telling the story of the emigration of the Portuguese and Italians to Brazil, and I saw the culture of both the Portuguese and the Italians. (...) and, ironically, I met my son’s father, who is Portuguese. [the decision to emigrate] was ours. [P1 and her father’s son] (...) I also wanted to come because of the security, whether we like it or not, Portugal is much safer than Brazil. Unfortunately, we don’t have the security we have here, and because of our son I also thought it would be better for us to come here, so that he would have more “opportunities” to study, or as he is of Portuguese descent, he has Portuguese nationality, it’s totally different for us who are immigrants, he has more opportunities.” (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29),

“I had an older sister who always travelled a lot, worked all over the world and I had something in my head that said, ‘I want to travel, I want to go outside Brazil, I had to’, it was a teenage dream (...). [quoting her boyfriend] (...) ‘don’t you want to come with me to the United States?’, and I thought ‘Look, maybe I can do something there.’ (...) Then Portugal was a choice of the heart (...) it had more to do with me... to start I had my husband’s family, then the language, then traditions and cultures, and all this matches Portugal with Brazil much more than the United States with Brazil.” (Participant 3, Brazilian, 62).

The third participant from Brazil (P2) experienced a different scenario. She migrated to Portugal when she was 19 years old, together with her mother, to join the family that had immigrated three months earlier (her father and sisters). Her parents decided to migrate to Portugal because of the country’s superior living standards, comparable to Brazil, and also the Portuguese language. It’s essential to remember that Portugal had a significant migration of Brazilians in 2000, which coincided with the arrival of P2. Since she was too young (19) to be eligible for

family reunification, she joined the family in another way, which will be covered in more detail later. Thus, this participant's migratory journey resembles the classic trajectory of "in search of a better life for the family" (Wall et al., 2008), even if she followed her parents rather than a male figure (as the typology indicates) in search of better living conditions.

"I had to come because my parents immigrated to Portugal to improve their lives, because of the ease of the language and... as I didn't work, I only studied, I had to come with them. I really didn't have a choice. [P2 emigrated after her family] Because they were afraid that things wouldn't work out, and we [P2 and her mother] stayed there [Brazil] for them to see first, to explore, to see how things were (...)" (Participant 2, Brazilian, 41).

Regarding participants from East Timor, two of them, the younger ones justified their immigration to Portugal to further their education (P7 and P9). Both stated it was their decision and then discussed it with family members, who encouraged them to maintain the use of the Portuguese language, the language they had been taught and raised with. While for P9 Portugal was the first option, for P7 it wasn't the case. However, for both participants, Portugal was their first and only migratory experience, and they were both 18 years old when migrating. Their experiences demonstrate how educational aspirations may drive migration and how young Timorese perceived Portugal as an alluring location to pursue their educational objectives. These two participants are not a part of any of the typologies from Wall et al. (2008), and Sant'ana (2008). They may mirror the "migration to professional training" described in Sant'ana (2008), but in the participants' case, it is "migration to study".

"It certainly was! [the first choice] (...) it was mine and I had to talk to my parents because I lived with my parents and they were... let's say, still supporting me, I wasn't financially independent, and so they agreed, and I came here. (...) as I always went to a Portuguese school, from pre-school to 12th grade, then Portugal was like the ideal decision. I wanted to go to university and Portugal seemed like a good choice, which it is [laughs]". (Participant 9, East Timorese, 25),

"First was America, second was Australia... but there was also England and Singapore ahead, and Portugal was in fifth place [laughs] (...) Because Timor didn't have colleges, good colleges for the technical area (...) and Portugal because I was studying in a Portuguese school, so it's more following the language, and... to choose Portugal, because it was the natural decision to go on to a degree, academic life." (Participant 7, East Timorese, 28).

Lastly, the third participant from East Timor (P8), a mother of seven, fled to Portugal in 1986 when she was 37 years old because Indonesia invaded East Timor from 1975 until 2002. Her decision was made jointly with her husband and children to escape the war, so they could have

a better life. Maintaining Portuguese nationality was also strategically important to this participant. This choice was even more essential considering Indonesia's invasion of East Timor since it gave them some security and protection from Indonesia without requiring them to apply for asylum. Therefore, it is evident that this immigrant woman's trajectory is one of "Immigration for two and a better life in the long term" (Wall et al., 2008). She reports never considered separating from her husband or leaving her children in the country of origin because she wanted to provide a "better life" for her family.

"With the invasion of Indonesia, I always wanted to come to Portugal, (...) I wanted my children to continue studying, because there they were studying at a Portuguese school, Portuguese language and so we kept the Portuguese nationality and then we decided to bring them, if there were possibilities to leave, we decided to leave with the children. (...) the decision to leave for both of us, me, and my husband, was taken together." (Participant 8, East Timorese, 69).

After examining the factors that led the participants to relocate to Portugal and the typologies that served as my foundation, I thought about developing new typologies. *Autonomous Trajectory - the pursuit of a dream*- women who fit into this group are Brazilians at the age of 20s and motivated by a strong personal aims or ambitions, whether it is a desire for a specific lifestyle, employment prospects, or personal development, underscoring the importance of individual aspirations and how they shape migration decisions. *Autonomous Trajectory - study abroad* - these women are from East Timor and decided to relocate to another nation specifically to pursue higher education or specialised training, by the age of 18, emphasising the relevance of international academic possibilities and the function of education as a strong motivation for women's migration. *Family Trajectory - without choice*- sheds light on a particular facet of women's migratory experiences, namely that of familial influence and, in some cases, pressure. Women in this category are of Indian origin, between 22 and 40 years old, and may emigrate either directly or indirectly through their family members, frequently without their own free will or personal desire, shedding light on the influence of familial dynamics and responsibilities on women's migratory decisions.

### Networking

All participants had pre-existing connections with relatives and friends before moving to Portugal. Only for some, their networks were also established after their arrival. These networks can include friends, family and acquaintances who provide emotional support, information, practical guidance, and professional opportunities. By relying on these migratory networks,

these women may have found a solid foundation to start their new lives and overcome the initial challenges of migration in a more effective and welcoming way.

Seven immigrant women only had networks established before they arrived in Portugal. For instance, three Brazilian women (P1, P2, P3), two Indian women (P4, P5) and one East Timorese woman (P8). However, three immigrant women, in addition to before, also had networks afterwards, one Indian woman (P6) and two East Timorese women (P7, P9).

“Friends yes, family no. I already had friends in Portugal.” (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29),

“My father came with my two sisters and three months later I came with my mum.” (Participant 2, Brazilian, 41),

“I was going to have his family [boyfriend’s], a huge family (...) I didn’t have friends and family but it was as if I had a family that was going to welcome me, that welcomed me super super well.” (Participant 3, Brazilian, 62),

“I had uncles here in Portugal (...) I didn't have any friends, but after I arrived they [her friends] came here.” (Participant 9, East Timorese, 25).

### Entry visa

There are several requirements for immigrants to remain in Portugal: having Portuguese nationality, being a citizen of an EU member state (i.e., possessing the identification document, EU blue card), having a passport, or residence permit, having a Portuguese child or being the spouse of a Portuguese citizen, and having the type of visa initially requested, such as a visa for work, study, family reunification, or tourism. The participants reflect these different situations. Four immigrant women- three from East Timor (P7, P8, and P9) and one from India (P6)- were allowed to enter and remain in Portugal through their Portuguese nationality. Additionally, P8 was able to enter Portugal because the IRC helped those who wanted to leave East Timor and stay with their families.

“My passport was valid to come to Portugal.” (Participant 6, Indian, 72),

“(…) through the Red Cross, we signed up through the Red Cross so that we [she and her family] could be together” (Participant 8, East Timorese, 69),

“As I had already obtained Portuguese nationality as a child, my parents had already taken care of this information (...) at the time, it was a yellow identity card, and as I already had my passport, it was easier.” (Participant 9, East Timorese, 25).

Differently, other four immigrant women, two from Brazil (P1 and P3) and two from India (P4 and P5) entered with a family reunification visa. However, some initially claimed to be able to enter Portugal without a visa because they were married to a Portuguese citizen or for being a mother of a Portuguese citizen. Even though, P1 (from where Brazil) first claimed that she did not require a visa to come to Portugal because her son's father was Portuguese, and subsequently clarified that family reunification was carried out because the son, along with his father, had Portuguese nationality, despite the first being born in Brazil. Furthermore, another Brazilian woman (P3) claimed that she had not travelled with a visa "because Brazilians did not need it", which is incorrect given that, in 1981, she could only enter Portugal without visa with Portuguese nationality, having a Portuguese child or being the spouse of a Portuguese citizen.

"I came with the father of my son and that's it, did not need a visa or anything. (...) in my case I took my residence for him [her son], for being the mother of a Portuguese citizen. In my case, it was easier because we did family reunification (...)" (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29),

"No, no visa. (...) my husband is Portuguese, so I got my residency from him" (Participant 4, Indian, 47),

"Actually, I did not need it because I was already married, he was already Portuguese, never ceased to have nationality (...) when I entered Portugal, I was married, probably because I was with a Portuguese." (Participant 5, Indian, 76).

As previously seen, only one immigrant woman from Brazil (P2), who arrived in Portugal in 2000, applied for a tourist visa to enter Portugal; one month later, she requested a temporary residence permit (renewable for two years) since she had begun working. In 2003, she underwent the extraordinary regularisation process known as the "Lula Agreement", which regularised the irregular situation of Brazilian immigrants in Portugal and Portuguese emigrants in Brazil.

"This agreement made it easier because it meant that none of us was illegal in Portugal (...) I came without any documentation, I believe I only came with my tax number, but I applied for a tourist visa which lasted 90 days (...)" (Participant 2, Brazilian, 41).

### **5.2.2- Challenges throughout the migration process**

In this section I will examine the challenges participants encountered during migration and settlement, focusing on communication barriers, children's access to school and healthcare, the

management of family and work responsibilities, and the building of networks for immigrant women.

### Communication barriers

Moving to a new nation may be a life-changing event, presenting many difficulties, particularly for those who have to learn a new language. This was the situation of two participants with an Indian background (P4 and P6), who experienced the Portuguese language as a barrier. P4 claimed that taking a Portuguese language course, helping at her husband's business, and having her children study assisted in breaking down the language barrier. During the conversation with this Indian woman, it became clear that, although I could understand what she was saying, the sentence constructions still showed difficulties in the way she expressed herself. P6 was unable to fully comprehend the language when she first came to Portugal and had a niece who was able to assist her in learning Portuguese.

“(...) then I go to the store and [listen to people speak] (...) my children, who are studying, help, but it's very difficult. I understand everything, but sometimes I don't use it [the Portuguese language], so I forget (...) Portuguese is very difficult.” (Participant 4, Indian, 47),

“(...) they [Mozambicans] spoke African languages, I knew very little, and I managed to learn Portuguese there too. When I first came here, I didn't know much (...) she [her niece] can speak Portuguese and everything, she was also here before me, and she always helped me. Even now she helps me if I don't understand.” (Participant 6, India, 72),

“Brazil speaks Portuguese, Portugal speaks Portuguese, but with a different accent, some words are different, but in terms of the language, your accent, I adapted very easily.” (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29),

“I already knew Portuguese, so it wasn't that difficult for me to adapt to that language afterwards (laughs), but for example, I don't know if you've realised, I have a different accent, people in Goa also have this accent, (...) it's slower, a slower tone, and then usually Goans, even though they've never left Goa, speak Portuguese very well.” (Participant 5, Indian, 76),

“(...) I already spoke and studied Portuguese, so it wasn't an obstacle.” (Participant 8, East Timorese, 69).

Transnational practices can be severely hampered by geographic distance, various time zones, and financial restrictions like paid phones. Because they arrived in Portugal at different times, immigrant women experienced different realities. For example, those who arrived in Portugal before the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century highlighted the challenges of not having a mobile



phone, paying for calls, and the inexistence of WhatsApp (which was only released in 2009). However, for instance, one of the women from India (P5), who arrived in Portugal in 1986, did not draw attention to the challenge of connecting with relatives living outside of Portugal. On the other hand, a Timorese woman (P7) who arrived in 2013, stated that the primary challenge to sustaining contact was the time difference.

In sum, while one Brazilian woman, two Indian women and one East Timorese woman (respectively, P1, P5, P6, P9) had no trouble at all staying in touch with family and friends who had remained in their countries of origin, praising the messaging and video calling app WhatsApp; differently, two Brazilian women (P2 and P3), one Indian woman (P4) and two East Timorese women (P7 and P8) pointed out that they either didn't have a phone, that the issue was the time zone, or that calls were expensive

“No, I can talk to everyone, through WhatsApp and the internet” (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29),

“I could talk to them without problem, both with those who stayed in Goa and those who were scattered around the world, we had a phone.” (Participant 5, Indian, 76),

“now it's much easier to communicate, back then [in 2000] it wasn't (...) just phone calls and it was very expensive back then, nowadays everything is much easier.” (Participant 2, Brazilian, 41),

“because of not having a phone, it was very expensive [to make calls]. Then I had a phone but it had no WhatsApp, nothing” (Participant 4, Indian, 47),

“Yes, [it's hard] in time zone only. Here it is difficult to have an activity during the day that one cannot always stay on the phone and... and there [in East Timor] it is night, it is worse, but still manages communications, it is just not so regular.” (Participant 7, East Timorese, 28).

### Children's access to school and healthcare

Integration experiences involve several challenges, including ensuring that children have access to education and medical care. While considering participants with children, for instance, the child of a Brazilian woman (P1) was born in Brazil, whereas the three children of another Brazilian participant (P3) were born in Portugal. Similarly, the two children of an Indian woman (P4) were born in Portugal, just like the child of the other Indian participant (P5). However, the two children of an Indian woman (P6) were born in Mozambique, and seven of the children of an East Timorese woman (P8) were born in East Timor, while the eighth was born in Portugal. Some of the interviewees, including a Brazilian woman (P3), all three women of Indian origin, and one of East Timorese origin (P8), claimed that their children had no barriers concerning

language, educational, or healthcare access. P3, for example, highlighted that their daughters had no difficulties accessing healthcare services, mainly due to strong family support. The nonexistence of language barrier was often the case for children born in Portugal, where they were exposed to the Portuguese language from an early age. The seven children of P8, who were born in East Timor but attended Portuguese school there, similarly benefited from language exposure. On the other hand, a Brazilian woman's son (P1) found it difficult to understand and speak Portuguese; Although Brazil and Portugal speak the same language, the difference was noticeable in the Brazilian accent.

“(…) there wasn't [obstacles], because... because they [the daughters] were actually born here, so it was all very easy, marvellous, I have a sister-in-law who's a nurse, so that helps a lot [laughs]” (Participant 3, Brazilian, 62),

“I don't know if it was because he lived in both countries, but he has difficulty speaking some words (...) I don't know if this has affected his learning” (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29).

However, two immigrant women, one from Brazil, P1, and the other from East Timor (P8) emphasised that there are certain shortcomings of the national health system.

“He [the son] was born with some moles, two huge moles on his back, and the paediatrician made a request (...) to do some tests on the moles to see if they were benign or malignant. It's been a year and we've never been called. Last month we went to the paediatrician's appointment, and she reinforced the request to see if they would call for a test, (...) the Portuguese health system is very complicated (...) It's not like it's from today to tomorrow, it takes one, two, or three months... public health is always like that, right?” (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29).

### Managing family and work responsibilities

Moving to a new nation is a difficult process that frequently requires juggling family and work obligations in a strange setting. Two Indian women have been involved in domestic labour since arriving in Portugal - though P5 later started to give English explanations, after her son's birth - which proved to be a balance - P4, although occasionally helping her husband in the store, her household activities were to cook and clean the house.

“I arrived here and even though I was a domestic worker, I also taught English tutoring (...) Before my son was born I didn't go looking for a job straight away, it was only when he went to a primary school that I started tutoring and then I had to make a balance [laughs] when he went to school, I went to tutor (...) as I had to come running because I didn't want to leave my

son at school, I started tutoring at home so I could also do things at home (...)" (Participant 5, Indian, 76),

"It's my husband who works, it's my husband who earns money, and I'm working in the house, I just cook for the whole family and clean our house (...)" (Participant 4, 47, Indian).

The experiences of one woman from Brazil (P3) and one from East Timor (P8) were emphasised as "very difficult" for balancing family responsibilities with employment, even with support from in-laws.

"(...) it was horrible, I was working, and I had to put Duarte [her son] at 2 months old in a crèche! (...) He had a fever and I had to go and get him; I could be in the middle of a production 'what do I do? I must go and pick him up from the crèche, I can't leave him with a fever', I'd go and pick him up and then 'what do I do, I've got work and I've got my son', but there was always a way out (...) Lúcia, my in-laws' maid was a great help. She took care of him whenever it was needed, even on vacations." (Participant 3, Brazilian, 62).

"(...) my sister-in-law and mother-in-law took the children to school and then went to pick them up, so it was very well organised and reconciled my professional life and my children's education because I had that help." (Participant 8, East Timorese, 69).

For one Brazilian woman (P1) it seemed to be simple to juggle family responsibilities with work, because she cooperated with the father of her son while becoming a worker-student, which added to the balance between family responsibilities and work. Similarly, an Indian woman (P6) also found it easy to balance her professional and personal obligations because, despite working at a restaurant, she did not have family responsibilities. Even when her youngest son came to Portugal, he also worked alongside her at the restaurant, which meant there were no conflicts or constraints related to family obligations. However, she still dedicated her entire day to restaurant work and spent her weekends at home, taking care of domestic chores. Finally, a Brazilian participant (P2) established a non-marital relationship after arriving in Portugal, in which there was a stepdaughter, adding some complexity to her responsibilities.

"As we put him [the son] in daycare at 9 a.m., his father would drop him off, but at that time I was already studying, I left home at about seven o'clock to go to college and only came back, sometimes, depending on the subject, at 10 p.m. (...) he [the son] spent more of the day at school, I was a student-worker, I did my part-time at the casino, (...) but it worked out, at weekends we stayed at home, played and everything, and we're still the same, he goes to school, and me or his father pick him up, and he goes home." (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29).

“When my son came from India, he started working in the restaurant straight away, he even started working with me in the restaurant (...). I worked all day and then spent more time at home on the weekends... cleaning the house.” (Participant 6, Indian, 72).

“I had to adapt... So, for us it wasn't too difficult, because... for example, in my case and [boyfriend], we work in the same place, so we managed to organise it in such a way, we have the same hours, so we managed to organise it in such a way as to manage both work and family life. The hardest part about Mariana [stepdaughter] is that... we [P2 and her boyfriend] often have to work evenings and weekends, so time with her is a bit restricted. We try to spend time with her at home whenever we're off at the weekend.” (Participant 2, Brazilian, 41).

Two East Timorese women (P7 and P9) who came to continue their education, did not mention any issues balancing their academics with household responsibilities because they resided in student housing and pensions. They had cleaning workers in the dwellings but leaving their parent's house, where there was more help and less duty in the kitchen, left both feeling shocked. This enhanced their sense of responsibility.

“I'm not a great cook, I don't cook at home, (...) I'm not a very organised person, because I don't like tidying up my room either, so when I came here, I felt a big shock, because you have to become an adult now (...), at 18 we don't say you're an adult, because you still have parents who involve in your decisions, parents who do everything for you, who always try to help you sort things out. (...) thank God, the residence had maids who came once a week to clean, the communal areas were always clean (...)” (Participant 9, East Timorese, 25).

“I think that if I had come alone it would have been more difficult, because I came from my parents' house, I didn't have to think about what to cook, although I always helped out when my parents needed it... but if I had come alone I think I would have had to manage it differently, because I was studying, I had exams, tests and I had to manage my time to think about meals and have time to study... it was interesting [laughs]” (Participant 7, East Timorese, 28).

### Building networks

The creation of social networks in a completely new environment is a vital aspect of the migratory experience once they are a source of support, guidance, and solidarity. The role of migrant networks can be not just in navigating difficulties and circumstances but also in adjusting to their new everyday lives. For one Brazilian woman (P1) and two East Timorese women (P7, P9), university was what helped them most to build new friendships and establish networks; for two Brazilian women (P2, P3) was their workplace; two Indian women (P4, P6) referred to the Indian communities of which they are part; the neighbourhood and the church

were the settings where one Indian woman (P5) and an East Timorese woman (P8) built their networks and made acquaintances.

“When I went to university, I made my classmates, they became my friends and... it's just them.” (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29),

“Mainly from work, that's where I met more people, I've never been one to go out much [laughs]” (Participant 2, Brazilian, 41),

“Our friendships were between neighbours and so it was people I met at church that we also made friends with (...)” (Participant 5, Indian, 76),

“Here we [Indians] stay together with our community, there are community parties and we come every day, I've met a lot of people in the community, and they've become my friends.” (Participant 6, Indian, 72).

In addition, two East Timorese women (P7, P9) said that it was never difficult for them to make friends, while the opposite was noticed by an Indian woman (P4). Although up to the day of the interview considered having many friends, making friends in Portugal was really challenging for the participant in the early going.

“I don't find it difficult to make friends and meet people, quite the opposite, at university it's getting along with classmates, naturally with the work, the conversations (...)” (Participant 7, East Timorese, 28),

“Now I have lots of friends. (...) At first, I didn't have any friends, I just had family, because that's the Indian culture, you have family together, and you don't want to go out on your own (...)” (Participant 4, 47, Indian).

Some immigrant women received support from their networks, comprising friends and family, to help them enter the labour force and manage childcare responsibilities. This was notably the case for Brazilian women (P1, P2, P3) and one East Timorese woman, (P9). Conversely, an Indian woman, P6, received assistance from her network to learn the Portuguese language. On the other hand, two Indian women, P4 and P5, relied on their husbands, and one East Timorese woman, P8 who had escaped the Indonesian invasion, found the church to be of the greatest assistance.

“(...) my first job was very difficult to get because I didn't have a social security number, as I had just arrived in the country (...) and my friend who was studying with me, her sister was the assistant manager of the '[workplace]', she asked me if I wanted to work there, and I said 'of course'!” (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29),

“My husband, yes. He was helping a bit, he was always with me in hospital, then the family helped too, when my first daughter was born, I was in bed for seven months, not moving, resting, so he helped a lot.” (Participant 4, Indian, 47).

“(…) the church helped us a lot with milk and also with clothes and also with medicine, for example distributing rice, pasta that I still remember, we always received... I think from week to week. We really came as if we were... with a cardboard suitcase, a backpack on our backs (...)” (Participant 8, East Timorese, 69).

### **5.2.3- Settling-in experiences**

For immigrants, settling in a new country is a journey filled with opportunities and challenges. These settling-in experiences encompass key factors in this study: living and security conditions, labour market access, and the matching of qualifications. These factors are crucial in determining immigrants' success, social inclusion, and well-being in their new environment.

#### Living and security conditions

Having good living circumstances and feeling secure where you reside adds value to the experience of migrating. Many of the interviewees already had accommodation prepared for them before arriving, often within family homes where immigrant women could stay. This highlights the importance of immigration networks. Some were also taken care of by their spouses, who had homes in Portugal already. Thus, seven immigrant women, the three Brazilian women (P1, P2, and P3), two Indian women (P4 and P5), and two East Timorese women (P8 and P9), had somewhere to stay upon their arrival. In the case of one Brazilian woman (P1), the father of her son already owned a home in Portugal; for other Brazilian women (P2), her father immigrated first with her sisters; and the third Brazilian woman (P3), who came with her partner, had a family home. Among the participants with an Indian background, P4 went to the in-laws' home and emphasised the challenge of cooking for a large family. Later her husband handled the moving situation. Another Indian participant (P5) experienced no trouble obtaining a place to live because her husband had previously taken care of it. The participant from East Timor who escaped the war (P8), was lodged in a pension where many Timorese immigrants stayed, with the assistance of social security, and managed to stay with the seven children she had travelled to Portugal with; other East Timorese participant (P9), whose mother selected certain residences based on their Catholic religion. Additionally, this Timorese woman had access to websites for renting rooms.

“I wasn't here at the time when they [father and sisters] found this place to live, but I don't think it was difficult. They found it in a newspaper.” (Participant 2, Brazilian, 41),

“I started living in Lisbon with my first husband, who I married (...) it was a very old family home, and the house was divided into several little houses, it was a huge house, almost like a palace [laughs]” (Participant 3, Brazilian, 68),

“My husband had bought this house before we got married. I don’t think it was difficult to find this house [laughs] (Participant 5, Indian, 76),

“When we [she, her husband and children] arrived here, we were welcomed by the social security and the social security put us up in a hostel (...) a hostel where all the East Timorese stayed (...)” (Participant 8, East Timorese, 69),

“(...) my mother chose the residences, she really didn't want to see me alone, (...) and as we are a very religious family, let's say, we practise religion, so she decided that I should stay in Catholic residences, but only the first two residences, more or less, the other ones [residences and apartments] I joined the Homes and Rooms group on Facebook, and there was always information, and I also got to know Idealista and Custo Justo, the Uniplace website (...)” (Participant 9, East Timorese, 25).

A woman from India (P6), despite having a niece in Portugal, found it challenging to find housing because she arrived alone and knew no one. Similarly, a woman from East Timor (P7) who stayed in a pension had trouble finding it because she was looking for friends who were also arriving from East Timor after her.

“I wasn’t just looking for a place for myself, I was looking for a place for three other friends who were coming from Timor.” (Participant 7, East Timorese, 28)

“Yes [difficult] [laughs] because I didn’t know many people. And then everyone [family] came from Mozambique and was also looking for a house at that time and it was very expensive for the whole family.” (Participant 6, Indian, 72).

There were some immigrant women who relocated because of events beyond their control, such as a divorce or the desire for privacy and more space for their families. While a Brazilian woman (P1) had no trouble moving after separating from the father of her child, another Brazilian woman (P3), who divorced from her husband, an Indian woman (P6), and two East Timorese women (P7 and P9) relocated because they felt that affordable housing was scarce, and the number of people they had to share a home with had risen.

“When we [she, her son and the father’s son] arrived here [Portugal], we went straight to Póvoa, which is my son’s father’s house, and after I moved from [city in the north of Portugal], it was

just a matter of renting the flat and moving in, I didn't have any difficulties [in finding another place]." (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29),

"it was difficult when I split up, I had to go looking for places, everything was more expensive, but back then it wasn't as complicated as it is now, but still..." (Participant 3, Brazilian, 68),

"a flat is like a house. You can move things around, you can really feel at home and transform the space in a more comfortable way for the person (...) [however] the difference was that it's a lot of money for a flat, but I also had more freedom to do the housework, the domestic part, washing my own clothes, cleaning the house and I'm also more comfortable" (Participant 7, East Timorese, 28).

Security is a crucial aspect when considering the complex factors that influence women's decisions to migrate to Portugal. In fact, it is often a combination of both integration and motivations for moving to the country. The nine immigrant women consistently reported feeling secure in areas around Lisbon, and in some cases, even more secure than in their countries of origin. This sense of security significantly impacts the choice of a destination country for migration. Indeed, the perception of safety can serve as a powerful motivator for migration, and Portugal's reputation as a safe and secure nation plays a substantial role in this context.

"I could get home at 4 a.m., I never had any problems, never." (Participant 3, Brazilian, 62),

"Compared to Goa, there were a lot of problems and wars there, even though it was no longer Portuguese territory, people didn't seem to understand each other. Portugal is a safer country." (Participant 5, Indian, 76),

"There's nothing that makes me feel unsafe here." (Participant 7, East Timorese, 28).

### Labour market access

A crucial step in the journey of immigrants seeking to establish a life in a new nation is, often, the access to the work market. This adjustment is not always simple, and many immigrants encounter major difficulties in their job situations. The three women from Brazil emphasised instances of discrimination and resistance on the side of the Portuguese, while the three women from East Timor did not notice similar obstacles when trying to enter the workforce. This demonstrates how discrimination against immigrant groups in the employment market may be a significant problem and differentiated by groups of origin. One immigrant woman from Brazil (P1) mentioned that her first jobs in Portugal were in catering and entertainment, which corresponds to the sectors in which the Brazilian community operates (Padilla, 2007a).



Nevertheless, this woman also reported feeling discriminated against because of her Brazilian accent.

“Here [in Portugal] people were reprimanded because they said ‘oh we give work to some, after they get the social security number they leave’, then for one, everyone pays. (...) it’s not funny some jokes being called ‘zuca’, honestly... that’s not cool. You have your name, your own name, you want to be called by your name, not ‘zuca’ or ‘tuga’, not by the abbreviation of your nationality, and sometimes that bothered me, it wasn’t very comfortable to hear.” (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29),

“(...) when I was recording in Rossio, people spoke badly, they didn’t respect me if I was the responsible for the recordings, I hear things like ‘What are you doing here, go back to where you came from’, one of those things that made me want to cry (...) there was a lot of xenophobia, because there were a lot of Brazilians coming here and because some of them did bad things, they closed doors for me, for one, everyone pays (...) and that phrase I used to hear a lot: ‘you’re the only Brazilian I like’, ‘you, I only like you because you don’t look Brazilian anymore’, you see, they wanted to flatter me, for me it wasn’t a compliment, it was terrible!” (Participant 3, Brazilian, 62).

“I don’t think it was a big obstacle for me to find this job, because I have friends who have already worked in this type of job [costumer advisor] (...) I’m really lucky to have work colleagues who have already had work experience. Between us, there are nine of us, but I’m the youngest and most of them are in their 30s and have had a lot of work experience, so they helped me a lot and gave me tips!” (Participant 9, East Timorese, 25).

“There was this one time here in the [workplace], I was serving a man and I asked for his tax number, he said his tax number and I asked him to repeat it one more time, then a colleague of mine, who is Portuguese, said ‘ah, you have to repeat it because she speaks Brazilian’, and the customer replied ‘she doesn’t speak Brazilian, she speaks Portuguese, with a different accent which, by the way, is much more beautiful than ours’ [laughs] and it’s the truth, if you go to the dictionary, there is no dictionary with the Brazilian language, but there is a dictionary with the Portuguese language, so what’s the difficulty in saying that the person speaks Portuguese, I don’t speak Brazilian, I speak Portuguese with a Brazilian accent.” (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29).

The three Indian women (P4, P5, P6) solely participated in the domestic and educational labour market and did not have employment contracts because they only worked in their homes. They were only permitted to enter the domestic labour market- occasionally by family members and

spouses. These Indian women also contributed to community activities, which may be considered as an extension of their labour in the household and educational realms. Furthermore, there is a feminised labour market niche in which females predominate, particularly in domestic services (Lourenço, 2013).

“I had to get married because my father said that my husband would be working, so I only had to work in the house (...)” (Participant 4, Indian, 47),

“My husband always thought it would be better if I was a housewife, and then I started having students come here to tutor English.” (Participant 5, Indian, 76),

“I was studying our Gujarati language in India (...) [then in Portugal] I was working first, in the restaurant, I was a waitress. (...) the president of the women's community called me to teach dance and our Gujarati language.” (Participant 6, Indian, 72).

### The matching of qualifications

Access to education is a fundamental aspect in the lives of immigrants looking to integrate and build a solid future in a new country. However, getting an education and getting prior credentials validated are not always easy undertakings. Two immigrant women from Brazil (P1 and P2) and three from East Timor (P7, P8, P9) pursued and attended academic and professional courses. However, one of the Brazilian women (P1) was unable to have her qualifications recognized in Portugal due to the nonexistence of her occupation in Portugal (nursing technician), and the misplacement of the necessary documentation. Differently, the other Brazilian participant (P2) was able to get her diplomas validated, but only after going back to Brazil. Nevertheless, P1 later chose a degree in Biomedical Laboratory Sciences in Portugal, since she intended to pursue a master's degree in forensic medicine and forensic sciences following her pregnancy, and P2 took a professional course in Aesthetics.

“I did two and a half years in pharmacy in biochemistry which you don't have here, you only have pharmacy or pharmaceutical sciences and biochemistry, in my case back in Brazil it was biochemical pharmacy (...) my equivalences that I asked for the pharmacy course back in Brazil were never given to me, because unfortunately they lost my documentation (...)” (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29),

“I did [acknowledge the diplomas], but in order for my diploma to be recognised, I had to go back to Brazil... take an exam to enter a university, and only after receiving a positive response from the university did I return with the diploma and have my 12th-grade qualifications recognised here [in Portugal].” (Participant 2, Brazilian, 41).

The “Cultural Agreement between Portugal and East Timor- Framework Cooperation Agreement” is particularly relevant for two East Timorese participants (P7 and P9) who came to Portugal with the primary intention of continuing their studies. The agreement enables students who are East Timorese nationals or children of East Timorese nationals to apply for higher education to study in Portugal (and Portuguese children of East Timorese nationals to study in East Timor). Consequently, this bilateral agreement allowed them to access higher education opportunities in Portugal, which aligned with their educational aspirations. For example, P9 is currently pursuing a degree in International Relations and Political Science, while P7 had the opportunity to complete both a degree and a master’s in architecture. The existence of this agreement not only facilitated their academic pursuits but also played a crucial role in shaping their migratory decisions, as they were able to realize their educational goals in Portugal.

“Yes, because it’s a Portuguese school, so it’s already in the system here.” (Participant 7, East Timorese, 28),

“(…) because even though the diploma comes from an East Timorese school, it comes from the Portuguese government.” (Participant 9, East Timorese, 25).

The educational career of the two Brazilian immigrant women (P1, P2) and the three East Timorese immigrant women (P7, P8, P9) benefited from their proficiency in Portuguese. Interestingly, it was never an obstacle but always a benefit. They were able to integrate into the educational setting by their language fluency, which made participation in class activities and efficient contact with professors and classmates possible. Along with the practical benefits, their ability to communicate in Portuguese also facilitated contacts and relationships within the academic community, which was advantageous in the context of education.

“I see a lot of Brazilians saying they don’t understand what the Portuguese say, but I didn’t have any difficulty, you just have to pay attention and you’ll understand what they’re saying, so much so that at university I didn’t have any difficulty following what the teacher was saying.” (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29),

“[Portuguese language] Facilitated, 100%, in fact, I have to further develop my Portuguese language, but 100% that facilitated” (Participant 9, East Timorese, 25).

The remaining four immigrants, one from Brazil (P3) and three from India (P4, P5, P6), stand out among those who didn’t study and didn’t acknowledge their studies in Portugal. The two Indian participants (P4 and P5) didn’t continue their studies because they weren’t permitted to

do so by either their husbands, or fathers; differently, the Brazilian woman (P3) wanted to learn more about her professional sector, film production, and enrol in an arts degree.

“Because I think I really should have [taken an academic course], I should know more about it [production] (...) and I would love to take an Arts course, I’ve painted some pictures, but... it’s something I’d like to do.” (Participant 3, Brazilian, 62),

“(…) I want to take a hairdressing course, but my father never accepted, I really like it but my father does not accept.” (Participant 4, Indian, 47).

“I never tried [to recognise the diplomas], I had no interest in recognising it, my husband didn’t want me to work, so I never went to see if I had equivalence here [in Portugal], I didn’t even think about continuing studying, because my husband didn’t want me to [laughs] (Participant 5, Indian, 76).

#### **5.2.4- Access to Portuguese nationality**

The impressions and ideas that the respondents stated in connection to getting Portuguese nationality are thoroughly examined in this section. The two topics of this dimension are the process of acquiring Portuguese nationality (or the desire to do so), followed by the benefits of having it.

##### The process of acquisition and the benefits of having Portuguese nationality

Obtaining the nationality of the host country can represent a significant turning point in the lives of immigrants. Not only do they acquire a new legal status, but they also open doors to fuller participation and a higher probability for a more integrated life in their new place of residence, because they can potentially participate more fully in their new place of residence, bearing in mind that there will be various forms of discrimination. Immigrants can enjoy new privileges such as the facilities of buying houses, and cars, travelling in the EU, and enrolling as national students, since the tuition fees to be paid as a European student will be cheaper than for international students. Only two Brazilian women of the nine participants - P1 and P3 - do not possessed Portuguese nationality at the time of the interview but hoping to acquire it. These two women to obtain it will be covered by the 2022 nationality law.

“(…) according to my rights I have already been legally in the country for 5 years and I can apply [for Portuguese nationality] through my son, who is a Portuguese citizen (...) I even see benefits in the residence permit, because before I had the residency, the options for jobs were very few and they were only in the catering sector. After I got my residency, I had the opportunity to work as a medical assistant at CUF [Companhia União Fabril], because I already had my residency, I also worked at the ‘[workplace]’ because I already had my residency, I

could already work there, so there are several benefits that you get with residency and with nationality it will only get better, right? I'll be able to travel all over Europe without having to take my passport [laughs] is one of them [the benefits]. I'm also thinking of doing a master's degree and with nationality, I'm no longer going to do it as an international student, but as a national student, because my process as an international student is much more expensive, in this case, a master's degree that would cost, I don't know, supposing here, about 2000 euros, for me, it's going to cost 7000, because I'm an international student, so it's another benefit of having nationality." (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29).

"After five years of work visas and a lot of bureaucracy [laughs] (...) I managed to buy my house, having Portuguese nationality makes it easier and opens many doors to buy a house, a car, to travel to other countries (...)" (Participant 2, Brazilian, 41).

The other participants, one Brazilian (P2), three Indian (P4, P5, P6), and three East Timorese (P7, P8, P9), already had Portuguese nationality because of historical colonial ties (Baganha & Marques, 2001; Pires, 2003a; Carvalho, 2009; Padilla & França, 2016). For instance, in India and East Timor those born there could have Portuguese nationality until the day of the former colonies' independence; and it was also through marriage to a Portuguese citizen, and by lawful residence (renewing the visa) in Portugal.

"Because my husband is Portuguese and then my son was also born here, so I'm Portuguese. (...) That [the benefits] is all my husband, he has a shop, he has a house (...)" (Participant 4, Indian, 47)

"Goa was Portuguese territory, so I was always considered Portuguese, I didn't have an Indian passport and as I married a Portuguese citizen there was no problem coming to Portugal either." (Participant 5, Indian, 76),

"(...) according to our [East Timorese] history, anyone born until 2002 [East Timorese independence] [laughs] is Portuguese, they are still in Portuguese territory. And my family took care of this dual nationality right away, in 2002 after the restoration, so it runs in the family" (Participant 7, East Timorese, 28).

The situation regarding the Indian woman (P6) and her husband's loss of Portuguese nationality, sheds light on the broader issue of African individuals losing their nationality, as seen in the context of decolonisation. This immigrant woman's husband's situation required an embassy visit to settle the question to ensure that she could maintain her Portuguese nationality and move forward with her immigration plans to Portugal. This demonstrates the complicated

legal and administrative issues associated with nationality that immigrants and their families may experience, especially in post-colonial environments.

“At the South African border, my husband also had friends there, because we bought things from the shop there, they took him to the embassy [of South Africa] and sorted everything out [about her passport] and they let us come to Portugal.” (Participant 6, Indian, 72).

Another distinct advantage highlighted was based on the observations made by an East Timorese immigrant woman (P9). Even though legislation has allowed immigrant students to work since 2007, the information that emerged to this interviewee was not correct.

“(…) seeing what my friends have been through, I think I’m lucky (…). If they have a residence permit, students can’t work, it’s only after they move [to Portuguese nationality] that they can work (…)” (Participant 9, East Timorese, 25).

The procedure for two Brazilian women (P2, P3) to become Portuguese citizens was not easy. While P2 emphasised that the bureaucracy between Portugal and Brazil was to blame for her lengthy process of obtaining Portuguese nationality - which was never the result of a lack of documentation - P3 emphasised the same bureaucracy, but when she got married and moved to Portugal, had to decide between her nationalities, Brazilian or Portuguese. The idea that the Brazilian participant (P3), who arrived in 1981, had about having to choose one of the nationalities may not be the right one, because it takes at least three years of marriage for a foreign individual to get Portuguese nationality after marrying a Portuguese national. Furthermore, it is important to remember that only in 2006 did the Portuguese government formally start recognising dual nationality for immigrants who entered Portugal before that year (Healy, 2011).

“it wasn’t because there was a lack of information or paperwork, it was just Portugal being Portugal, along with Brazil, which is also a very bureaucratic country [laughs] (Participant 2, Brazilian, 41),

“(…) when I got married, I had to choose one nationality, I couldn’t have two, so I chose the Brazilian one. (…) Portugal and Brazil are the kings of bureaucracy.” (Participant 3, Brazilian, 62).

Of the participants who have children, all had Portuguese nationality and only one immigrant woman, Brazilian (P1) highlighted the challenges for her son in the process of acquiring Portuguese nationality.

### 5.2.5- Expectations for the future

This last part is about the participants' expectations and plans. The main concerns in this last dimension of analysis are the understanding of the satisfaction with the decision to emigrate to Portugal, and their future, including whether to stay or move to another country, and the elements that affect that choice.

No matter who made the choice to emigrate, i.e., whether it was done alone or with/by someone else, all the immigrant women reported being happy with their emigration to Portugal.

"I don't regret it. If you asked me if I would do it again, I would." (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29),

"I'm very happy! Portugal is lovely, (...) its people are incredibly kind to us (...) always nice and everything." (Participant 6, Indian, 72),

"Yes, I have a lot... too much. I'm really happy, even if I was there [East Timor], I don't know what my life and my children's lives would be like, really." (Participant 8, East Timorese, 69).

When faced with the question of staying or relocating to another country, only one East Timorese woman (P9) her desire for change, yet she chooses to stay due to her existing employment contract and the sense of independence she derives from living alone. The three Brazilian participants (P1, P2, P3), along with the three Indian participants (P4, P5, P6), and two East Timorese (P7, P8), listed as reasons for continuing to live in Portugal: their established lives and roots, family and friends, security, gastronomy, climate, and social inclusion.

"(...) I do intend to move to know just how it is to live in another country, how I like to travel and adapt to these new situations, maybe I want to emigrate to the UK and have a new experience, or to Luxembourg, because there they also speak Portuguese (...)" (Participant 9, East Timorese, 25),

"The best thing you have here in Portugal is security. In terms of health, yes, you have health, your national health system isn't so bad, if it's private it's not bad either, your schools are very good, they have excellent professionals. I'm not going to detract from your cuisine, I've been to other countries and your cuisine was the best for me!" (Participant 1, Brazilian, 29),

"Having my family here, my job, my house, having my friends, my life already organised here... responsibilities that Portugal has opened up for me [laughs]" (Participant 2, Brazilian, 41),

"I love Portugal, it's my home, really. I put down roots here, I had my children here, I had friends here, I basically started working at what I like here, that's why..." (Participant 3, Brazilian, 62),

"Now I can't stand the heat in India, because I lived in India for 22 years, here I've been living for 25 years, it's different [laughs]" (Participant 4, Indian, 47),

“I’m happy here. I thought that the Portuguese, as you are very white, how will accept that I have darker skin, (...) they gave me so much love, so much, (...) now I’m giving love to them, to you. I like Portugal, (...) treat me well wherever I am.” (Participant 6, 72, Indian),

“Even if I move, Portugal will always be my home... Timor is home, the land where I was born, but I felt it was more like my parents’ home... but Portugal is really my home, where I grew up, where I discovered myself, where I learnt a lot of things... I don’t know, even if I leave here, I’ll want to buy a house here, I don’t care [laughs] but Portugal will always be my home, the first home for me.” (Participant 7, East Timorese, 28).

By combining their stories, these women participants’ stories paint a comprehensive and nuanced picture of the many and varied reasons behind their immigration to Portugal, illuminating the ways in which gender, nationality, family dynamics, and personal goals intersect with the experience of migration.

## **Chapter 6- Conclusions**

The key findings from the research are summarised in this last chapter. In this exploratory study, the primary reasons of the immigration to Portugal among the interviewed women from Brazil, India, and East Timor were considered. To do this, this study analysed the migratory trajectories of the participants, the challenges encountered throughout the migration process, the settling-in experiences, the access to Portuguese nationality, and expectations for the future. One notable aspect that emerges from these narratives is the importance of the feminisation of migration. The presence of women in this migratory flow is evident and influences their experiences in a unique way. Gender issues play a significant role, whether dealing with barriers in the labour market, negotiating cultural identities or facing social expectations. The immigrants’ varied backgrounds and origins influenced how they have experienced migration, and for this reason is crucial to understand that a variety of circumstances, such as the personal history of the immigrants or their place of origin, societal settings, and how they are received in the migratory country, impact these experiences.

Firstly, each participant had a different migration experience due to their varied origins, ages when they arrived, and durations of immigration. These differences, which shaped the participants’ motivations for migrating and adjusting to Portugal, were significantly impacted by the historical-political contexts of both Portugal and their home countries. Given the migratory reasons that prompted the immigrant women in this study to relocate to Portugal, the varied factors highlight the importance of family dynamics in influencing Indian women’s migration decisions and the complexity of their journeys. Although the family trajectory is



prominent, the individual experiences and motivations within this common path are noteworthy and deserve differentiated consideration, mainly pointing to gender norms. Regarding Brazilian women, it stands out how much their migration to Portugal was influenced by their own dreams, aspirations, and quest for a better quality of life. Consequently, the connection between personal goals and decisions are family-focused on the larger context of migration. While some East Timorese women prioritised their education, one was pushed to leave her home in search of safety and a better life because of outside influences notably political unrest. A crucial component of the migrating journey of many of the participants was the necessity of keeping Portuguese nationality for security reasons, highlighting the complex nature of migrant experiences.

The participants' journeys demonstrate the importance of having social networks to adapt to life in Portugal more easily. Establishing networks is essential to settling into a new environment, and the strategies they use might have a significant influence on how well they integrate into the host society and assist immigrant women in balancing their family and professional responsibilities, and the access to the labour market. In the latter, in all three Brazilian cases, networks played a significant role in helping them access the job market, whether they consisted of family or friends, as it was seen in Padilla (2005, 2007a). These networks were also crucial in securing accommodation and aiding immigrant women in their settlement process, particularly those who migrated with their partners and had family homes available for their residence. This situation was evident with one Brazilian woman and two Indian. It is worth emphasizing the role of religious institutions, specifically the Catholic Church, in two distinct migration contexts. For instance, one Indian woman immigrated following her husband and highlighted the networks she established within this institution. On the other hand, an East Timorese woman fled with her family due to the Indonesian invasion and found substantial support within the Church. As expected, networks of women who migrated for educational purposes often revolved around universities, as seen in the experiences of two East Timorese women. However, there was also a case of a Brazilian woman who initially came to Portugal pursuing a dream but continued her studies, leading to the formation of networks within the university setting.

Three factors were emphasised in the domain of the labour market and occupations: discrimination in the job market, involvement in household and educational duties, and the feminised labour market niche. The experiences of the individuals indicated various levels of discrimination in the job market. The three Brazilian women highlighted situations of prejudice and resistance from the Portuguese employment market, notably in relation to their Portuguese

variety from Brazil, consequently, their nationality. These experiences with discrimination and resistance at work are not separate events; rather, they show how many variables interact in complex ways, as the intersectionality approach suggests (Collins, 2015). This approach demonstrates that immigrant women, in this study Brazilian participants, face a multifaceted set of obstacles and prejudices that are influenced by the intersections of their gender and nationality. The participation of immigrant women from India has also struggled with the intersectional perspective, since not only have these immigrant women not been allowed to enter the labour market by a male figure (Cooper, 2015). When they have, they were inserted into the feminised labour market, where gender dynamics and women's employment patterns are prominent, especially in the education and domestic work sectors (Nunes, 2009). These experiences showed how intricate interactions between nationality and gender may influence the possibilities and challenges faced by immigrant women in the labour market. Participant women from East Timor did not experience any prejudice due to their status as immigrants or as women.

Regarding acquiring Portuguese nationality, it was noted the expected of both the beneficial observation of having this nationality, as well as the impact of colonial historical linkages with the preservation of the Portuguese nationality for those born in the former colonies. A few benefits include the facility to make purchases, freely travel throughout the EU, being seen as a national rather than an international student, thus benefiting from much lower academic costs that those charged to foreign students.

The migratory trajectory typologies I used to assess the participants profiles turned out to be helpful for having a theoretical and practical foundation. Moreover, to observe how the typologies correspond to immigrant women's experience helped to propose new typologies concerning women's reasons and migration experiences: Autonomous Trajectory - the pursuit of a dream; and to study abroad; Family Trajectory - without choice. Given that these typologies consider the factors that motivate and impact people's choices, they may also allow for a more nuanced understanding of the complex factors that contribute to women's emigration. It provides a framework for analysing and dealing with the challenges and opportunities that immigrant women confront along each trajectory, from the decision to move to their time in the new country.

Finally, many of the immigrant women interviewed were not completely aware of important issues including the possibility of dual citizenship, the eligibility for both job and schooling, and the legal elements for family reunification. As seen on the struggles that some of the participants experienced, the non-access to information can lead to missed opportunities

for integration and participation in society. It is crucial for public policy to increase access to manuals on welcoming migrants that have been developed throughout time for various areas of integrating populations of foreign origin. The availability of these resources is crucial for the efficient execution of policies since they address different facets of integrating migrants. This suggests that there can be gaps in the crucial information and knowledge provided to immigrants, impeding their possibility to use the systems of the host country and make informed decisions. Despite the existence of numerous programmes for immigrants to have access to the tools and resources that enable them to exercise their citizenship at various levels of their lives - such as the Reception Guide for Migrants launched online by the ACM in 2022, and in six languages (Portuguese, English, Spanish, French, Italian, and German); the Local Support Centres for the Integration of Migrants Network (CLAIM), which has existed since 2003, and are about 155 centres over Portugal; the Fund for Asylum, Migration, and Integration (FAMI), a funding to increase the ability of UN Member States to receive immigrants; the Telephone Translation Service (STT)<sup>39</sup> which helps immigrants with the language barrier and there are 69 languages and dialects. The mere fact that these resources exist does not imply that people in need will always have access to or benefit from them.

Therefore, suggestions for bettering policies might include extensive awareness-raising campaigns to ensure that immigrants are aware of the resources available to them and their rights in Portugal; integration initiatives, where financing is invested in comprehensive integration programmes that include language courses and orientation to the labour market; and ongoing evaluation of the efficacy of these programmes to adapt and improve them as needed.

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<sup>39</sup> See Reception Guide for Migrants (Portuguese language), Last accessed on September 30, 2023: <https://www.acm.gov.pt/documents/10181/0/Guia+de+Acolhimento+para+Migrantes/>  
See CLAIM (Portuguese language), Last accessed on September 30, 2023: <https://www.acm.gov.pt/-/rede-claii-centros-locais-de-apoio-a-integracao-de-imigrant-3>  
(in Portuguese- Rede de Centros Locais de Apoio à Integração de Migrantes)  
See FAMI (Portuguese language), Last accessed on September 30, 2023: <https://www.acm.gov.pt/-/fundo-para-o-asilo-a-migracao-e-a-integracao-fami->  
See STT, Last accessed on September 30, 2023: <https://www.acm.gov.pt/-/servico-de-traducao-telefonica>

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## Annexes

### Annexe 1- Overview of some key's legislation on nationality in Portugal

Policy type	Legislation	Highlight points
Nationality	1981- Law no 37/81, of October 3	ius sanguinis; acquisition by naturalisation: by marriage, de facto union, adoption; residence in Portugal for 6 years.
	1994- Law 25/94, of August 19	people born in Portugal, children of foreigners who have held a residence permit for at least 6 or 10 years; naturalisation by marriage or de facto union with a Portuguese citizen, for at least 3 years; decrease in residency of immigrants from Portuguese-speaking countries from 10 to 6 years.
	2006- Organic Law no 2/2006, of April 17	ius solis returns; dual nationality allowed; residence period reduced from 10 to 5 years for all nationalities.
	2015- Organic Law no 9/2015, of July 29	original Portuguese nationality to the grandchildren of Portuguese born outside Portugal.
	2018- Organic Law no 2/2018, of July 5	any individual born in Portugal, if one of the parents is a foreigner and have been legally residing in Portugal for 2 years.
	2020- Organic Law no 2/2020, of November 10	children born in Portugal of foreign parents, with no minimum period of residence, could acquire Portuguese nationality.
	2022- Decree Law no 26/2022, of March 18	attribution of original nationality to individuals born in Portuguese territory, children of foreigners, acquisition of nationality by adoption and naturalisation.

## Annexe 2- Evolution of the number of immigrants in Portugal

Year	Total immigrants	Women	Men
1980	50.750	NI*	NI
1981	54.414	NI	NI
1982	58.667	NI	NI
1983	67.485	NI	NI
1984	73.365	NI	NI
1985	79.594	NI	NI
1986	86.982	NI	NI
1987	89.778	NI	NI
1988	94.694	NI	NI
1989	101.011	NI	NI
1990	107.767	NI	NI
1991	113.978	NI	NI
1992	123.612	NI	NI
1993	136.932	NI	NI
1994	157.073	NI	NI
1995	168.316	NI	NI
1996	172.912	NI	NI
1997	175.263	NI	NI
1998	178.137	NI	NI
1999	191.143	NI	NI
2000	207.587	89.636	118.562
2001	350.898	97.734	125.868
2002	413.487	106.008	132.738
2003	433.650	112.651	138.046
2004	447.155	120.978	144.383
2005	414.659	127.206	148.700
2006	420.189	182.369	226.816
2007	435.736	195.640	240.096
2008	440.277	209.711	230.566
2009	454.191	219.779	234.412
2010	445.262	219.698	225.564
2011	436.822	217.685	219.137
2012	417.042	210.529	206.513
2013	401.320	205.776	195.544
2014	395.195	203.630	191.565
2015	388.731	200.086	188.645
2016	397.731	204.930	192.801
2017	421.711	215.837	205.874
2018	480.300	242.834	237.466
2019	590.348	293.931	296.417
2020	662.095	325.972	336.123
2021	698.887	339.025	359.862
2022	781.915	372.392	409.523

\*NI- No information

Sources: SEF reports from 2001-2023

### Annexe 3- Brazil, India, and East Timorese residents in Portugal from 2000 to 2022

Year	Brazil	Women	Men	India	Women	Men	East Timor	Women	Men
2000	22,411	10,64	11,771	1,296	704	592	NI*	NI	NI
2001	23,541	11,388	12,153	1,361	718	643	2	2	0
2002	24,864	12,301	12,563	1,503	758	745	NI	NI	NI
2003	26,561	13,491	13,07	1,614	786	828	NI	NI	NI
2004	28,956	15,141	13,815	1,699	814	885	2	NI	2
2005	31,546	16,884	14,662	1770	847	923	2	NI	2
2006	65,463	33,507	31,956	3,614	1,063	2,551	65	28	37
2007	66,354	34520	31,834	4,104	1,217	2,887	57	33	24
2008	106,961	57,494	49,467	5,519	1270	4,249	77	42	35
2009	116,22	64,159	52,061	5,782	1,394	4,388	111	50	61
2010	119,363	66,885	52,478	5,271	1,375	3,896	158	62	96
2011	111,445	63,927	47,518	5,384	1470	3,914	177	55	122
2012	105,622	61,495	44,127	5,657	1,633	4,024	303	105	198
2013	92120	55,605	36,515	6,022	1,821	4,201	245	97	148
2014	87,493	53,537	37,956	6,421	1,993	4,428	201	75	126
2015	82590	50890	31700	6,935	2,113	4,822	169	58	111
2016	81,251	50,313	30,938	7,244	2,313	4,931	188	64	124
2017	85,426	52,526	32900	7990	2500	5490	207	80	127
2018	105,423	62,575	42,848	11,393	3,255	8,138	263	113	150
2019	151,304	86,158	65,146	17,619	4,384	13,235	344	172	172
2020	183,993	102,673	81,32	24,55	5,451	19,099	291	164	127
2021	204,694	111,986	92,708	30,251	6,074	24,177	234	136	98
2022	239,744	128,998	110,746	35,416	6,765	28,651	361	216	145

\*NI- No information

Sources: SEF reports from 2001-2023

#### **Annexe 4- Informed Consent**

The present study arises in the context of a master's dissertation underway at ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa. The goal of this dissertation is to understand why Portugal was chosen as a migration destination by immigrant women.

The study is carried out by Carolina Colimão ([ccoaa2@iscte-iul.pt](mailto:ccoaa2@iscte-iul.pt)), who can be contacted if you have any questions or comments. Your participation in the study, which will be highly valued, as it will contribute to the advancement of knowledge in this field of science, consists in answering a set of questions on the reasons why immigrant women migrated to Portugal and how was their integration in this country. There are no significant expected risks associated with participation in the study.

Participation in the study is strictly voluntary: you can freely choose to participate or not to participate. If you choose to participate, you can stop your participation at any time without having to provide any justification. In addition to being voluntary, participation is also anonymous and confidential. The data are intended merely for statistical processing and no answer will be analysed or reported individually. You will never be asked to identify yourself at any time during the study.

I declare that I have understood the objectives of what was proposed and explained to me by the researcher, that I have been given the opportunity to ask all the questions about the present study, and for all of them, to have received an enlightening answer, and I accept to participate in it.

Yes  No

(location),     /     /     (date)

Name:

Signature:

## **Annexe 5- Interview script**

### **1- Personal and family information/Socio-demographic characterisation:**

- Age:
- Nationality:
- Place of birth:
- Marital status:
- Number of children/ if any: (number and age of children; are they here or in the country of origin; are they dependent on their parents or already working)
- Professional occupation:
- Educational qualifications:
- If so, what is your partner's occupation and what are his or her educational qualifications?

### **2- The migratory trajectory to Portugal**

- When did you come to Portugal? (And with what age?)
- Why did you decide to migrate? Why Portugal?
- How was the decision to emigrate to Portugal? Was it yours or taken with/by someone?
- Did you already have relatives/friends in Portugal?
- Was Portugal your first option? Why?
- Before coming to Portugal, were you in another country other than yours? For how long? Why did you choose them? And why did you leave those countries?
- Were you the first one to emigrate (to Portugal and in general if Portugal was not the first option) in the family?
- Did you apply for a visa to come to Portugal?
- Was language a barrier during your migration trajectory in Portugal? If yes, how did you deal with it?
- Did you speak Portuguese before you came? Did you learn Portuguese here?

### **3- Family and friends (networking)**

- If your family came or is currently with you, how is your household composed?
- Only for women who have children: Are your children studying? Do they have access to health care?

- What were the main challenges regarding your children's access to education and health in Portugal?
- How did you balance your family and work responsibilities?
- How did you meet new people and make friends in Portugal? What challenges did you face in building networks in a migration context and how did you face them?
- Has anyone helped you to overcome your difficulties? Who? How?
- Did you face any difficulties in maintaining communication and family ties with your family and friends who are still in the country of origin?

#### **4- Housing conditions**

- When you came to Portugal, where did you start to live, and with whom? Do you still live with them?
- How did you find a place to stay? Was/Is it difficult to find a place to stay? Why?
- Do you feel safe where you live? Why?
- What factors influenced your choice of location and type of housing?
- How did you deal with this situation?

#### **5- Job conditions**

- What did you do in your country of origin? Are you working in your previous area?
- How did you find this job in Portugal?
- If you are not working in your area, why not?
- Type of contract:
- What were the main obstacles you faced to find a job?
- Did the Portuguese language make it difficult or easier in the access the labour market?
- Was there anything that you would say helped you?
- Do you feel that your qualifications are overlooked?
- Do you think you are treated differently in your working area? Why?
- Do you plan to find another job? Why?

#### **6- Education and training**

- What is your final education level? Did you try to recognize your diplomas there? Why?
- How was the process of recognition of your educational qualifications acquired in your home country in Portugal?

- Did the Portuguese language make it difficult or easier in the access of education?
- If the reason to emigrate was for studying, what did you study?
- And if not, did you by any chance take/took a course (pre-university training, bachelor, master, etc) after you arrived in Portugal?

## **7- Nationality**

- Do you have Portuguese citizenship?
  - If yes, how did you obtain Portuguese nationality and why?  
Was it difficult and why? What were the challenges you faced during the process of acquisition of nationality? What were the benefits that you saw in obtaining Portuguese nationality?
  - If not, are you thinking of obtaining it? Why?
- Only for women who have children: If the children live in Portugal, do they have Portuguese nationality? Do you want them to have it? Why?

## **8- Future expectations and projects**

- Are you happy with your decision to emigrate?
- Do you plan to stay or move to another country? If you are planning to stay, what motivates you to stay in Portugal?

### Annexe 6- Main sociodemographic and family characterisation<sup>40</sup>

Participant	Origin	Age	Educational qualifications	Profession/situation in profession (last or current)	Current marital status	Partner's occupations and educational qualifications	Number of children/age
1	Piauí, Brazil	29	Bachelor's in Biomedical Laboratory Sciences (Portugal)	Currently not working (previously clinical and pathological analysis technician, Portugal)	Single	Does not have a partner	Son- 7 years, 8 months pregnant with a girl
2	Espírito Santo, Brazil	41	Post-secondary non-tertiary education (Aesthetics course, Portugal)	Visual merchandiser (dependent worker)	Non-marital partnership	Visual merchandiser, attended bachelor's in marketing, Portugal	Zero
3	São Paulo, Brazil	62	Upper secondary education (Brazil)	Movie producer (freelancer)	Divorced	Does not have a partner	Son- 34 years, daughter- 28 years, daughter- 24 years
4	Gujarat, India	47	Bachelor's in Psychology (India)	Domestic (helping the husband's store)	Married	Shopkeeper, Portugal, upper secondary education, India	Daughter- 22 years, son- 18 years
5	Goa, India	76	Post-secondary non-tertiary education (Teacher's training, India)	Currently not working (previously English tutor and domestic, Portugal)	Married	Retired (civil servant, Portugal), lower secondary education (India)	Son- 35 years
6	Gujarat, India	72	Upper secondary education (in India)	Retired (Waitress in a restaurant)	Widow	Does not have a partner	Son- 49 years, son- 48 years
7	Dili, East Timor	28	Master's in Architecture (Portugal)	Trainee in Architecture (dependent worker)	Single	Does not have a partner	Zero
8	Dili, East Timor	69	Attended upper secondary education (Portugal)	Retired (civil protection worker, Portugal)	Married	Retired, lower secondary education	Eight children: they all have 40 upwards
9	Dili, East Timor	25	Upper secondary education (East Timor)	Costumer advisor (dependent worker)	Single	Does not have a partner	Zero

<sup>40</sup> The levels of education are followed by the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). Last accessed on September 23, 2023, from [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=International\\_Standard\\_Classification\\_of\\_Education\\_\(ISCED\)#ISCED\\_1997\\_.28fields.29\\_and\\_ISCED-F\\_2013](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=International_Standard_Classification_of_Education_(ISCED)#ISCED_1997_.28fields.29_and_ISCED-F_2013)



## Annexe 7- Migratory profile

Participant	Migration reasons to Portugal <sup>41</sup>	Previous migrations (countries, duration)	Year and age of arrival at Portugal	Entry visa	Current citizenship status	Networks in Portugal
1 (Brazilian)	dream for emigration	Portugal first and unique migratory country	2018- 24 years old	Family reunification	Brazilian	Friends before migrating
2 (Brazilian)	family reunification (following the mother)	Portugal first and unique migratory country	2000- 19 years old	Tourist visa	Brazilian and Portuguese	Father and sisters before migrating
3 (Brazilian)	dream for emigration	Miami, USA- 2 years	1981- 20 years old	Family reunification	Brazilian	Boyfriend's family before migrating
4 (Indian)	marriage (following the husband)	Portugal first and unique migratory country	1998- 22 years old	Family reunification	Indian and Portuguese	Two aunts and husband's family before migrating
5 (Indian)	marriage (following the husband)	Portugal first and unique migratory country	1986- 39 years old	Family reunification	Portuguese	Her father's family before migrating
6 (Indian)	marriage (the husband sent her)	Mozambique- 5 years	1988- 38 years old	Portuguese passport	Indian and Portuguese	One niece before migrating, and the two children after
7 (Timorese)	study	Portugal first and unique migratory country	2013- 18 years old	Portuguese passport	Timorese and Portuguese	Friends before and after migrating
8 (Timorese)	escape war	Portugal first and unique migratory country	1986- 37 years old	Portuguese passport	Portuguese	Friends before migrating
9 (Timorese)	study	Portugal first and unique migratory country	2016- 18 years old	Portuguese passport	Timorese and Portuguese	Uncles before migrating, and friends after migrating

<sup>41</sup> The three Indian women were already married when migrating to Portugal.

## **Annexe 8- Main Dimensions of Analysis**

### **Themes**

Migratory trajectories

### **Sub-themes**

- Year and age at arrival in Portugal
  - Reasons and decision to migrate to Portugal
  - Previous migrations
  - Networks
  - Entry visa
- Challenges throughout the migration process
- Communication barriers
  - Children's access to school and healthcare
  - Managing family and work responsibilities
  - Building networks
- Settling-in experiences
- Living and security conditions
  - Labour market
  - The matching of qualifications
- Access to Portuguese nationality
- The process of acquisition
  - The benefits of having it
- Expectations for the future
- The feeling of having migrated
  - Desire to stay or to move
  - Reasons for staying in Portugal

## **Annexe 9- Grid analysis of study participants**

### **Participant 1**

Descriptive summary on the fieldwork: I was able to interview this participant because of a friend of mine who was initially solely going to assist me identify Indian women. However, in conversation, she told me that she also knew Brazilian women. After my friend had a conversation with the participant to explain the purpose of my study and to let her know what the criteria were, she provided me the subject's phone number. I messaged her on July 2, 2023, and we were able to immediately schedule the interview for July 5, in Vasco da Gama, as the participant had originally proposed that location. The participant instructed me to meet her near her house instead because it was on the way there and she revealed the address over WhatsApp while I was travelling there. The participant met me at the entry and pointed me in the right direction. We sat down on the sofa, and she thanked me for coming because she had to pick up her son in two hours. We started talking about her seven-month pregnancy, where we, somehow, "broke the ice". I then gave the participant the informed consent form and described what it included, allowing her the time she needed to read it when we felt secure enough to

begin the interview. I also presented the script and its sections. The participant had no questions at this point. I started the interview once she had signed it. This Portuguese-language interview went on uninterrupted for almost 49 minutes and 56 seconds; therefore, a successful interview.

## **Participant 2**

Descriptive summary on the fieldwork: Participant 2, with whom I hadn't spoken for years, is the second participant from Brazil. This participant is the sister of a coworker of my mother's; even though the sister fulfilled my criteria, I decided not to interview her because I get along well with her. So, on June 30, 2023, I contacted the participant on my mother's cell phone and described the nature of my study. The participant instantly expressed tremendous interest and consented. She instructed me to contact her the week of July 5 since she was on vacation when we first spoke and would be returning that week. We set up the interview for July 11 at the Colombo shopping mall when I called on July 8th. I arrived there, went to the store the participant had advised me to go to, and then we went somewhere where we could sit and talk. We began by reminding that it had been a while since we had last spoken and seen. After that, I emphasised the study's goal once more and gave her the informed consent form, allowing her the opportunity to ask me any questions she had regarding the study's. I presented the script and we started the interview, which was done in Portuguese once she had signed it. Despite the noise level in the shopping centre, I had no trouble understanding what was being said to me or the other way around. 27 minutes and 54 seconds passed during it.

## **Participant 3**

Descriptive summary on the fieldwork: The last Brazilian involved is the mother of a friend of mine who confessed during study sessions of ours that her mother met my requirements and was open to taking part. After talking to her mother, she agreed to help me. My friend let me know on July 19 that the mother on July 20 had availability in the morning, providing me with the participant's phone number to combine the interview's setting, which would be in a coffee shop. On the day of the interview, though, I went to the planned coffee shop and discovered that it was closed. I called the participant and since her home was near to the coffee shop, the participant asked me whether I worried if I went there. I went to the participant's house; she was there alone with her beloved dog, and it didn't interfere with the interview at any point. We began by chatting about her daughter (my friend). The participant, then inquired about the status of my master's degree and asked whether I was only interviewing Brazilians. I

said that I would also be speaking with Indian and East Timorese women. This participant expressed her curiosity right away and requested information about when she may read the dissertation. She also questioned whether it was alright for her to be eating because she hadn't yet eaten breakfast, which did not alter the interview in any way. I discussed the dissertation's goals, gave the informed consent form, and presented the script of the interview, i.e., telling her the sections I was about to investigate. As she had no questions the interview started, and it took roughly 30 minutes, 19 seconds to complete the interview.

#### **Participant 4**

Descriptive summary on the fieldwork: My friend, who also planned for Participant 1, contacted this person. Nevertheless, this was the study's first interview, and the first Indian woman. My friend attempted to contact several individuals after knowing the requirements and passing along this participant's contact information. We agreed to meet on the 30th of June in the late afternoon at the participant's home after I texted her on June 27. Because the participant had some difficulty speaking Portuguese, I considered this interview to be the most challenging. We agreed that I would repeat the questions or provide an alternative explanation if required. I gave her a brief overview of the objectives of my study, demonstrated the informed consent form, and invited her to ask any questions she had regarding the research while also presenting the interview script and the sections that it was divided into. Before we began the interview, the participant enquired as to the status of my dissertation and the deadline for its submission. The interview then started and it took around 46 minutes and 41 seconds. The interview went well and without any complications, but once it was finished, it came to my attention that this interview would be challenging to transcribe, and to translate. Despite the Portuguese language's difficulties, it was still feasible to comprehend what the participant was attempting to say and what she was saying. I was nervous because this was the study's first interview.

#### **Participant 5**

Descriptive summary on the fieldwork: My grandfather initiated contact with this Indian woman since they participate in a group activity together. My grandfather asked the participant if she may participate while keeping in mind the selection criteria; she accepted, and my grandfather had handed me her contact information. The interview was set up at the interviewee's house on July 26 after I phoned her on July 21 to discuss the goals and see if she was available. I presented the script and the study's aims after arriving at the participant's home, and after learning more about how she knows my grandfather, and the fact that she goes to the

same church I go, I presented the informed consent form alongside the overview of the interview's script and told her that she could ask me any questions regarding the study's. The interview, which was also done in Portuguese, went on without a hitch for almost 34 minutes and 13 seconds.

### **Participant 6**

Descriptive summary on the fieldwork: The same friend who assisted with Participants 1 and 4 also got in touch with this last Indian woman. After she had explained my study to the subject, she handed me the participant's contact information. The interview was scheduled for July 17 at the Radha Krishna Temple, where we could sit and talk, after I phoned the participant on July 12. When I arrived, the participant led us to the open-air seats in front of the temple so that there wouldn't be any interruptions and we could all hear what was being spoken. She first inquired about my relationship to the girl who provided me the participant's contact information, which I clarified before outlining the goals of the study I was conducting and obtaining her informed permission. I showed her about the sections that were included in the script of the interview, and even though it was stated in the goals, this participant inquired as to whether I solely interviewed Indian women. After having no more doubts, the interview began, and it lasted for 42 minutes, 17 seconds. At the end of the interview, this participant made a beautiful gesture: she put her hand on my head and said, "It's going to be okay".

### **Participant 7**

Descriptive summary on the fieldwork: I spoke to a different friend from the ones who had previously assisted me in contacting the participants to get in touch with East Timorese women. This friend, with East Timorese parents, knew my dissertation topic, and he connected me with this first East Timorese woman. I phoned her on July 7 after getting her phone number, and we set the interview for July 10 in a coffee shop close to her home. The participant wasn't there when I went there. I decided to contact the participant after waiting for approximately 10 minutes, but she did not pick up. I decided to call once again after waiting a bit longer. We decided to do it digitally on July 10 instead, once she tested positive for COVID-19. I was concerned that there would be network issues because the interview was conducted digitally, but it turned out there were no problems. In addition, I provided the informed consent to the participant for her to sign and digitise between the day of the phone call and the day of the interview. The participant said that she had already gone through the same process (writing her dissertation) when she inquired what master's degree I was pursuing and how it was

progressing. The interview, which lasted around 39 minutes and 44 seconds, started after I told her the objectives of the dissertation, told her the sections of the script's interview, and saw that she had no questions about the study.

### **Participant 8**

Descriptive summary on the fieldwork: My grandfather, who knows this East Timorese woman from the church we attend, approached this person. My grandfather provided me the participant's phone number after explaining the conditions to her. We scheduled the interview for July 19 at the interviewee's house after I contacted her on July 14. There were no interruptions when I went to the participant's home. I gave her a refresher on the dissertation's objectives and selection criteria while also letting her know which portions, I would be covering in each segment of the interview and asking her if she had any questions. This interviewee said that she recognised me from church and that she recognised me when my grandfather spoke to her before the interview even started. This participant was rather anxious throughout the interview, as she subsequently revealed to me after it was over. Additionally, she became upset throughout the interview; I could tell by the tone of her voice and the expression in her eyes. As a result, she swiftly changed the topic. The interview took 31 minutes and 48 seconds.

### **Participant 9**

Descriptive summary on the fieldwork: The same friend who assisted me with Participant 7 also contacted this last East Timorese woman. My friend described briefly to the participant the goals of my study and then offered me the participant's phone number. After I explained the objectives and selection criteria to the participant over the phone on July 12, she requested if it could be done in digital format since she would really like to participate but would prefer it to be done online due to time constraints. The interview went off without a hitch on the 15th. However, there was a brief interruption when the participant received a call. I paused the recording during this time, and I didn't restart it until the participant concluded the conversation and returned to speaking. Nothing was misplaced. We started the interview after I reminded her of the study's objectives and she had already completed the informed consent form; I had sent it to the participant to sign, scan, and return to me, without any doubts concerning the study's objective. This interview lasted the longest- 1 hour, 32 seconds- because I believed the participant was most at ease with it.