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# Resumo

A Covid-19 provocou mudanças em todas as esferas da vida humana. A diminuição dos contactos e o encerramento das fronteiras criaram novos obstáculos aos processos migratórios à escala internacional. No âmbito deste estudo, será investigada a nova vaga migratória na era pós-covid na Europa, quando as fronteiras dos países são reabertas à imigração. O modelo de prognóstico deste processo pressupõe amplas mudanças e consequências sociais: a estigmatização, a teoria das ameaças de grupo, o racismo e a xenofobia como manifestações resultantes destes problemas. Observa-se que há um retrocesso na aceitação da mobilidade e da migração como processos normais à escala global. São investigados os riscos de estigmatização dos novos migrantes e a atitude dos residentes em Lisboa em relação uns aos outros. Este estudo baseia-se numa metodologia qualitativa sob a forma de entrevistas semi-estruturadas com migrantes. Como resultado, concluímos que os migrantes sentem efetivamente a onda de racismo e xenofobia dos portugueses em Lisboa. Isto é expresso em situações quotidianas e institucionais, que são percebidas de forma muito mais aguda do que antes.

Keywords: nova onda migratória; estigmatização; teoria da ameaça de grupo; racismo; xenofobia.

# Abstract

Covid-19 has made changes in all spheres of human life. The reduction of contacts and the closure of borders have created new obstacles to migration processes in the world. Within the framework of this study, a new migration wave will be investigated in the post-covid era in Europe, when the borders of countries are reopened for immigration. The prognostic model of this process assumes broad social changes and consequences: stigmatization, the theory of group threats, racism and xenophobia as the resulting manifestations of these problems. The world, in this case, has rolled back in accepting mobility and migration as normal processes. The risks of stigmatization for new migrants and the attitude of residents in Lisbon relative to each other will be investigated. This study is based on a qualitative methodology in the form of semi-structured interviews with migrants. As a result, we conclude that migrants really feel the wave of racism and xenophobia from the Portuguese in Lisbon. This is expressed in everyday and institutional situations, which are perceived much more acutely than before.

Keywords: New migration wave; Stigmatization; Group Threat Theory; Racism; Xenophobia.

# Contents

# Introduction

Covid-19 has made changes in all spheres of human life. The reduction of contacts and the closure of borders have created new obstacles to migration processes in the world. Within the framework of this study, a new migration wave will be investigated in the post-COVID era in Europe, when the borders of countries are reopened for immigration. The prognostic model of this process assumes broad social changes and consequences: stigmatization, the theory of group threats. The world, in this case, has rolled back in accepting mobility and migration as normal processes. The risks of stigmatization for new migrants and the attitude of residents in Lisbon relative to each other is the focus of this research.

Since mobility and migration contribute to the spread of the epidemic, they have been limited, and programs to integrate migrants have slowed down (Tertrais, 2021). Migrants found themselves without government support, facing discrimination because of their former mobility, which brought illness to the country. This is since Covid-19 has accelerated some negative trends. (Knoll, 2020) Thus, now these problems create obstacles and certain risks for new migrants in the new society in the areas of adaptation. Migrants have once again become a vulnerable social unit under the threat of stigmatization and social exile (OECD, 2020).

This work is anticipated by a predictive model of a recent study of the impact of the pandemic on the migration situation. The researchers proposed the following logic. Coronavirus infection has established border controls on migration policy, which "suppresses current or planned demographic processes" (O'Brien et al., 2021). This, in turn, will lead to a surge in migration after the restrictions are lifted (O'Brien et al., 2021). Such a flow will generate new sociological processes and results, including: anti-immigrant sentiments and anti-immigration mobilization (O'Brien et al., 2021). This will lead to initial control, creating a vicious circle (O'Brien et al., 2021). Now, we can say that the world is slowly entering the initial flow stage, which is why it is so important to analyze the current post-pandemic integration challenges of new migrants.

As part of the study of new risks of migration processes, we will rely on the general concept of the theory of group threat, which explains and highlights other more well-known concepts in the form of stigmatization, racism as part of it, and xenophobia. This, accordingly, answers the questions of anti-immigrant sentiment and anti-immigration mobilization. A sharp increase in migration facilitates already existing negative moods, therefore, human social

constructs, such as race and ethnicity, stand out more strongly as markers of identity. This leads to discrimination, conflicts that are based on stigmatization of various types according to Goffman (1963) in relation to migrants. Racism occurs when race (a visible external feature) becomes a form of stigma, which leads to various stereotypes and discrimination. Blumer's (1958) theory of group threat is a reaction to a perceived threat from another group due to competition for limited economic resources (O'Brien et al., 2021). Which also gives rise to the spread of xenophobia as a phenomenon of exclusion from society. For ordinary migration, people from the host country may not respond to constant inflows of a not particularly noticeable number of migrants, getting along with established communities, but surges of migration can disrupt this trend, as it already happened during the European "migration crisis" 2014-2015.

There are not so many modern studies that would touch this topic deeply. On the one hand, some studies using statistical examples show that the effect of the coronavirus crisis will be greater attention to the migration issue (Dennison & Geddes, 2020). On the other hand, some modern studies highlight the problem of racism and xenophobia in relation to migrants, which broke out during Covid-19 (Hennerby & Hari, 2021). Therefore, within the framework of this study, we combine these two facts and investigate their reproducibility from previous studies and conduct an exploratory study applied to the Portuguese case, in particular the context of migrants in Lisbon. This is the literature gap.

This issue has a clear practical significance, constituting a real social problem. The most accessible way is to turn to state statistics, which is accompanied by a critical analysis. The 2022 report of the Portuguese Commission for equality and against racial discrimination (CICDR) is a body specialized in combating racial discrimination. The CICDR, having collected statistics on the number of complaints, in 2020 became the leading Year in the number, being one more exception due to the power of pandemic fear among the society (CICDR, 2022). In addition to the coronavirus infection, all events were covered by the media, which provoked an increase in complaints that do not always reflect reality (CICDR, 2022). The report said that it was in 2022 that complaints of racial discrimination in the service increased critically compared to 2014 (CICDR, 2022). There was a 20.3% increase in complaints received compared to 2021 (CICDR, 2022). Thus, racial discrimination is really growing, which was exacerbated by the pandemic, as the complaints show. The practical significance of this is the growing tension and obsolescence of old ways of dealing with new migratory challenges in society (O'Bbrien et al., 2021).

The main research question is: how do the new migrants of the post-covid era feel in the new conditions of social sentiment in Lisbon?

Research questions: how new wave migrants in Europe were met in the new country of residence; is there any difference, perhaps, with previous experiences; was there any experience of stigmatization; did they feel hostile mobilization in the host country or perhaps heard from the media and other sources; what kind of integration and adaptation program is the migrant undergoing now, what difficulties are there?

Objectives:

1. Find and analyze all available literature and sources on this topic;

2. Create a guide for interviewing new migrants of Lisbon;

3. Analyze the data obtained: view data from the Eurostat and Eurobarometer, paying attention to variables dedicated to the non-acceptance of migrants in the host country;

4. On the basis of quantitative data to identify the most vulnerable groups of migrants in Portugal, as well as questions about the harassment of these groups by the host society;

5. Make an interview guide and conduct semi-structured interviews with representatives of the selected group of migrants;

5. From qualitative and quantitative data find possible confirmation of the hypothesis about the predictive power of the model of migration processes in the post-covid era, to emphasize the differences from the usual social processes in stigmatization and perception of migrants, to conduct logic for future research.

This work is going to be based on the qualitative methodology. This section of the study is devoted to the issue of migrants' perception of the new wave in Lisbon. We will rely on a semi-structured interview as an information gathering tool. The questions will touch on the everyday experience of discriminating and uncomfortable situations, perceptions from local residents and the general background.

This dissertation is organized in 4 chapters. The first, introduction. The second, literature review for the scope of literature about this topic. The third, statistical review for being accurate in methods and data. The fourth, methodological note. The last chapter is dedicated to the findings after data collecting and analyses and main conclusions after all.

CHAPTER 1

# Literature review

## 1.1. Migration in post-covid era

In 2022, the World Migration report International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2022) wrote about 281 million migrants worldwide. These data were presented by 2020, when migration waves were reduced due to coronavirus infection and many restrictions. According to official statistics from EuroStat, migration in European countries since 2019 has a special V-shape (Figure 1). It means that there is a failure in the migration flow in 2020, when strict restrictions were imposed on entry into the country due to restrictions, when in 2019 and 2021 these values were much higher (Eurostat, 2023).
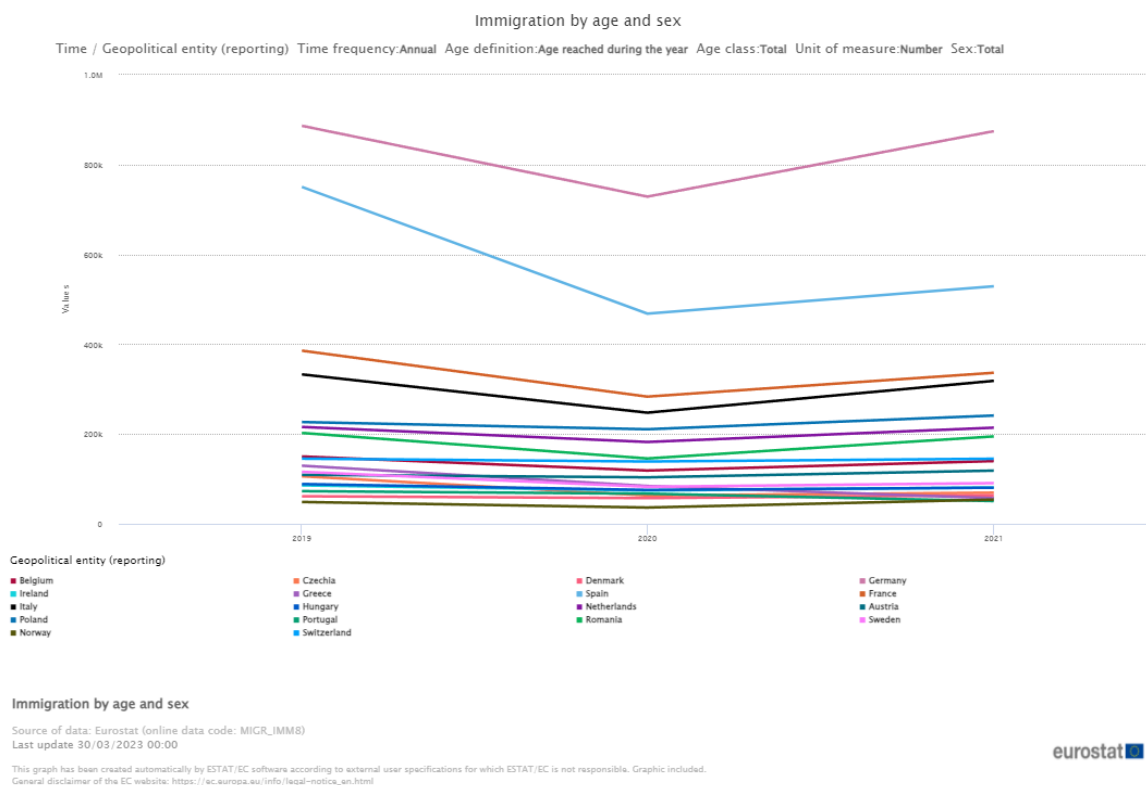


*Figure 1, Line chart of migrant flows in several Europe countries for bigger amount of immigration from Eurostat database for 2019-2021 years (Eurostat, 2023)*

The researchers note that, despite the fact that migration is the result of individual decisions, the possibility of mobility depends especially strongly on the macrostructures on which the possibility of movement depends (King et al, 2023). Since the covid-19 pandemic dominated in 2020-2021, migration has been greatly reduced, although we see some positive

recovery trend in 2021 (King et al, 2023). However, this is not true for all countries, as European countries have introduced various restrictions and permits based on the epidemiological situation. One of these countries is Portugal.

As shown in the graph (Figure 2), according to the migration waves in Portugal, after 2019, with the official start of covid, migration to the country decreased. All restrictions on entry into the country were lifted only in July 2022, according to the Lisbon Portugal Tourism Guide (Latest Travel Requirements - COVID-19 in Lisbon, Portugal, 2023). There are no available statistics on the situation with mobility in the country by 2022, however, some researchers suggest that the situation with migration will repeat the crisis of 2014-2015 in case of increase in refugee entrance in Europe (O'Brien et al., 2021). According to the classification of European countries by the degree of closure to emigration during the pandemic, Portugal had a moderate status of restrictions, but was one of the most radical in case of closeness according to the classification of O'Brien et al. (2021). Researchers conclude that a covid-like shock leads to responses from many social structures (Mari-Liis Jakobson et al., 2023).



Immigration by age and sex

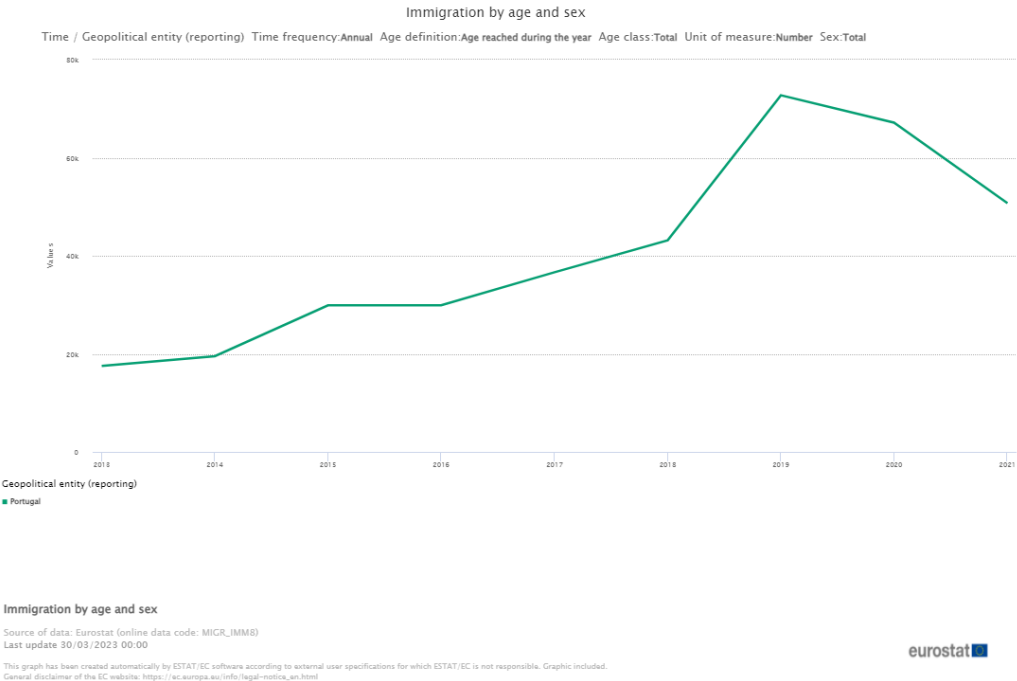*Figure 2, Line chart of migrant flows in Portugal immigration from Eurostat database for 2014-2021 years (Eurostat, 2023)*

Thus, according to the forecast of demographers, a temporary stop of the migration inflow to the countries should lead to a large return influx after the lifting of all restrictions (O'Brien et al., 2021). This is supported by many demographic studies when crises (natural

disasters or wars) limit the usual demographic actions within society. Subsequently, one can expect to resume habitual behavior, which leads to both positive and negative consequences. One such example is the "baby boom" after World War II (Eggeben and Sturgeon 2014). O'Brien et al. the study suggests that the migration "stop" in many countries will lead to the constant return of the usual rhythm.

As noted by researcher Douglas Massey (2020), migration occurring and observed now, after the abolition of coronavirus restrictions, will determine the essence of meditation for the next century. Since the official end of the pandemic according to official sources was announced on May 5, 2023, the forecasts assumed by sociologists and demographers are only assumed, but cannot be noted now. However, outside of statistics, these processes are already happening. And modern research has already come to the conclusion that countries' attempts to establish a migration system to create a safer environment lead to the "alienation of migrants from host societies" (Ryan L., 2023).

## 1.2. **Migration in COVID-19 turbulence**

In research, crises are understood as "an unexpected and undesirable circumstance requiring an urgent response" (Boin et al., 2016, 5). Coronavirus infection refers to natural disasters, endogenous crises, according to official data. This crisis for the whole world has had an increasing, but very intense dynamic for 4 years. Coronavirus infection, based on the separation of Hart and Boin (2001), is a crisis with a long shadow, which leads us to study the further fate of migration in Portugal in particular. In turn, such crises strongly affect all areas of society and its life. Thus, we are coming to a migration crisis in the post-covid era.

The consequences of crises for the migration structure are diverse and not always predictable (King et al, 2023). The literature on crisis suggests that they can be avoided or contained, while researchers use the term turbulence in such acute social situations. It is assumed that turbulence is not intended to "solve" the problem, while it needs to be managed (King et al, 2023). One solution to turbulence is to "embed" migrants into a new society (Ryan & Mulholland, 2015).

It is the lack of a system of embedding and integrating new members of society in the host country during the pandemic that has been noticed by many researchers (King et al., 2023) (OECD, 2020). Coronavirus infection, as a crisis, has led to turbulence not only in the field of migration, of course. Because of this, many states did not pay due attention to the integration

strategies of new residents of the country, although the turbulence in migration and integration was just as strong (OECD, 2020).

Like many of the crises already experienced, this context provides the ground for widespread racism and xenophobia against migrants. This can be traced back to previous natural crises and subsequent social turbulence. Obviously, there is always an "action-reaction" phenomenon in the field of crises (Tertrais, 2021). Migration and mobility contribute to the emergence of epidemics, such social turbulence during the crisis provokes a response to the restriction of freedom of movement (Tertrais, 2021). Throughout the history of the fight against plague or other diseases, humanity has built walls to isolate cities, introduced quarantines that are outdated (Tertrais, 2021). However, the most common feature for all pandemics has been the tendency to scapegoat and discriminate against migrants (Tertrais, 2021).

Some studies highlight that the era of coronavirus infection differs in the nature of its spread and social changes from previous crises (King et al., 2023) (OECD, 2020) (Tertrais, 2021). However, the scapegoats were still found. A large wave of racism and xenophobia occurred among migrant workers in European countries (Asmelash, 2020). Migrant workers are subjected to physical and mental violence inside closed borders when integration programs have been curtailed or stopped. In addition, anti-immigrant sentiment within the countries was too strong, which led to xenophobia and racism both in the workplace and in public places.

1.3. **Xenophobia and racism towards migrants in Europe**

Mobility and globalization have flourished in European countries in recent years before coronavirus infection, and society's attitude to this phenomenon has been mostly positive. The European Social Survey (ESS) showed that attitudes towards all types of immigration became more positive between 2002 and 2018 (Dennison & Geddes, 2020). However, the turbulence after the global pandemic has already provoked the opposite changes in many European countries. According to research, "anti-immigration sentiments are associated with an assessment of security and personal security or the presence of a moral foundation based on authority and loyalty within a group" (Dennison & Geddes, 2020). However, the coronavirus infection differs from previous crises and periods of turbulence by a sharper reaction from social policy and broad media coverage, which also affected anti-immigration sentiment. Researchers from the Network Contagion Research Institute tracked misinformation and hate through social media channels in their new report related to work-migrants in line with the pandemic (Asmelash, 2020).

Delving into the history of this issue, prejudice and discriminatory attitudes are meant by a biased attitude or sentiment against a minority with negative views towards a group of individuals (Pettigrew, 1980). Such behavior in the host society is a defensive reaction to challenges and threats when a situation of struggle for resources and privileges is created (Quillian, 1995; Scheepers et al., 2002). In the case of the Covid-19 pandemic, resources and privileges were an opportunity to go to the hospital and receive medical care, on the other hand, migrants were perceived as a threat, since they were associated with carriers of the virus (Semyonov et al., 2006). Decades of migration research have established the importance of life experience in shaping social and political attitudes towards migration (Dennison & Geddes, 2020). Once established, installations can be resistant to change (Dennison & Geddes, 2020). Thus, almost 4 years of anti-immigration sentiments and practices could critically replace the previous positive practices towards mobility and migration.

From the point of view of sociology and demography, anti-migration movements in society proceed from the theories of social identity and self-categorization (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Tigpeg et al., 1987). A person most often identifies with several social groups, which is felt much more acutely against the background of high mobility. "High levels of immigration can strengthen identification based on ethnic or national borders at the expense of others" (Weber, 2019). Of course, feeling the presence of an external group does not always mean negative views of this group (Brown, 2000). However, when this does happen, we talk about the "group threat theory", when an alien group poses a real threat to "wealth or power or a symbolic threat to cultural hegemony" (Weber, 2019; Blumer, 1958). In simple words, this is a situation in which society feels threatened and possibly harmed by another group (Stephan et al., 1998). Speaking in the context of this study, immigrants from other countries to Europe are mostly perceived primarily through a visible ethnic difference. "An increase in the proportion of immigrants or ethnic minorities among the population can then be perceived as an indicator of the increased potential of competition with local residents for scarce resources" (Weber, 2019; Olzak, 1987). Studies show that the formation of a sense of group threat in a public environment is more often based not on clear data, but on "anecdotal evidence" (Weber, 2019). In the case when information from personal experience is limited, for example, by quarantine measures, information from the media, which tends to cause threats, has great power (Schluter & Davidov, 2013). Unconfirmed data can be obtained either from personal experience, or hearsay from friends or from media reports. Thus, exposure to the perceived negative effects of

immigration inevitably developed during the pandemic and may continue in the era of new migration after the opening of borders (Dinesen & Sønderskov, 2015: p. 516).

The theory of ethnic competition follows from the realistic theory of group conflicts (Scheepers et al., 2002). It postulates competition for social and material benefits within one society between groups (Schneider, 2008). However, according to the latest contextual analysis study, it is not the economic status and strength of immigrants, namely non-Western origin, that increases the level of ethnic threat perceived in society (Schneider, 2008). Since the level of addiction to migrants in the last few years may have weakened due to coronavirus infections, we especially bring the theory of stigmatization to the fore when talking about xenophobia and racism.

The virtual social identity of most non-European migrants in the European environment suffered greatly during Covid-19 due to the media and conspiracy theories. Such people are accused of spreading the virus and transmitting it around the world. Due to ethnic and racial differences, even migrants who have acquired citizenship and integrated into some circles of society can still feel the difference between virtual and real social identity (Goffman, 1963). Which is especially intensified now. Therefore, stigmatization is emerging in society. "The term stigma, then, will be used to refer to an attribute that is deeply discrediting, but it should be seen that a language of relationships, not attributes, is really needed. An attribute that stigmatizes one type of possessor can confirm the usefulness of another, and therefore is neither creditable nor discreditable as a thing in itself.", "Stigma is a special kind of relationship between attribute and stereotype" (Goffman, 1963). In the case of non-European migrants in Europe, their appearance is a kind of stigma "abominations of the body" - the various physical deformities (Goffman, 1963). If races are too visible for others in case of non-European migrants, for example. Stigmatization, racism and xenophobia arise precisely in the situation of mixed contacts, which are now possible for a wave of new non-European migrants to European countries. In the context of group threat and ethnic struggle for resources in the field of healthcare, racism is mainly understood as the racial superiority of Europeans within the European Union. On the basis of this wave, already existing stereotypes and discrimination are formed and consolidated in society (Giddens, 2018). This happened during the height of the epidemic, when migrants became invisible to many governments and found themselves in a defenseless position (OECD, 2020). Negative biases have been formed over the course of 4 years of coronavirus infection, but they are not amenable to change in the face of new migrants (Giddens, 2018). This is promoted by stereotypes, making migrants scapegoats, which has been

proven before. After all, ethnic competition for health and well-being resources in the country develops discrimination and leads to gradual institutional racism. Established institutions in society discriminate against migrants as strangers in closing countries due to coronavirus infection. On the other hand, such opposition is deeply rooted in European culture due to the centuries-old history of racism (Giddens, 2018). Thus, we come not only to racism in the form of negative attitudes in society, but also institutional, which develops into waves of xenophobia.

"Xenophobia and racism stem from intense rivalry between migrant groups and the indigenous population; jobs and cheap housing are particularly scarce in times of economic crisis, and from the point of view of established residents, migrants compete for living space and work opportunities" (Wimmer, 1997). One of the most common manifestations of xenophobia is stereotypes and prejudices against people of different races, ethnic and racial groups and cultures. This was written earlier in the framework of the concept of racism. Xenophobia can also lead to discrimination and alienation of people from different walks of life. This takes various forms, such as denial of employment, housing, or access to medical care. Hate crimes and violence are the most extreme manifestations of xenophobia. A report by the Southern Poverty Law Center found that hate crimes and harassment cases against immigrants and minorities have become more frequent (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2019).

CHAPTER 2
# Statistical review

Unfortunately, social phenomena and their tension outstrip the ability of researchers to collect and process enough data to confirm hypotheses, investigate behavior, and propose changes and improvements in policy. Therefore, in order to explore this new one. but a rather acute question, we will involve all available open databases. Based on the statistics of recent years, we will be able to understand how the issue of tension towards migrants evolved during the coronavirus and after the lifting of all restrictions on mobility. We will also look at the features of the migration flow to Portugal, recent changes and statistics in the field of support for the integration of migrants using the example of a database provided by the government of the country.

According to the official statistics of the Portuguese Instituto Nacional de Estatística in Portugal, a wave of permanent migrants in the amount of 117,843 people is expected in the country by 2022, according to the population census of 2021 and modeling based on collected data and trends (Figure 3, INE, 2023). However, the constant influx of migrants relies statistically on previous trends in modeling social processes and cannot be as sensitive as possible to sudden social cataclysms.

| | | Imigrantes permanentes (N.º) por Sexo, Idade e Naturalidade; Anual | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | | Sexo | | |
| Período de referência dos dados (1) | Local de residência | HM | H | M |
| | | Idade | | |
| | | Total | | |
| | | Naturalidade | | |
| | | Total | | |
| | | N.º | N.º | N.º |
| 2022 | Portugal | 117 843 | 73 315 | 44 528 |

Imigrantes permanentes (N.º) por Sexo, Idade e Naturalidade; Anual - INE, Estimativas anuais de imigração
Nota(s):
(1) 2021: valores revistos em função das Estimativas Provisórias de População Residente 2021.
2011 - 2020: valores revistos em função da série Estimativas Definitivas de População Residente 2011-2020.

*Última atualização destes dados: 15 de junho de 2023*

*Figure 3, Instituto Nacional de Estatística constant immigration flow in Portugal (INE, 2023)*

On the other hand, if we turn to the statistics collected by Eurostat on immigration in Portugal until 2021, the progress is obvious. Since Eurostat relies mainly on government statistics in countries, and does not collect data on its own, we can add up the values from Figure 2 and Figure 3. Thus, the difference between 2021, the year of continuing bans on mobility, and 2022 is about a twofold increase in the number of immigrants to Portugal. Of course, this conclusion cannot be 100% valid, since statistics for 2022 have not yet been collected in Portugal, representing a complex statistical process. However, we can still conclude that migration in

2022, as in the year of easing and lifting restrictions on the mobility of migrants, opened up an opportunity and increased the flow into the country.

QA5  What do you think are the two most important issues facing the EU at the moment? (MAX. 2 ANSWERS)
(%)

| | | The EU's influence in the world | | | The state of Member State's public finances | | | Immigration | | | Pensions | | | The environment and climate change | | | Energy supply | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | May/Jun 2023 | Jan/Feb 2023 | Diff. May/Jun 2023 - Jan/Feb 2023 | May/Jun 2023 | Jan/Feb 2023 | Diff. May/Jun 2023 - Jan/Feb 2023 | May/Jun 2023 | Jan/Feb 2023 | Diff. May/Jun 2023 - Jan/Feb 2023 | May/Jun 2023 | Jan/Feb 2023 | Diff. May/Jun 2023 - Jan/Feb 2023 | May/Jun 2023 | Jan/Feb 2023 | Diff. May/Jun 2023 - Jan/Feb 2023 | May/Jun 2023 | Jan/Feb 2023 | Diff. May/Jun 2023 - Jan/Feb 2023 |
| EU27 | | 9 | 9 | 0 | 15 | 14 | 1 | 24 | 17 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 22 | 20 | 2 | 16 | 26 | -10 |
| BE | | 9 | 10 | -1 | 13 | 14 | -1 | 29 | 19 | 10 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 25 | 26 | -1 | 15 | 28 | -13 |
| BG | | 12 | 11 | 1 | 9 | 8 | 1 | 31 | 32 | -1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 6 | 3 | 16 | 28 | -12 |
| CZ | | 9 | 5 | 4 | 17 | 15 | 2 | 27 | 23 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 10 | 4 | 25 | 34 | -9 |
| DK | | 12 | 11 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 24 | 10 | 14 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 43 | 39 | 4 | 15 | 28 | -13 |
| DE | | 10 | 9 | 1 | 14 | 19 | -5 | 36 | 21 | 15 | 1 | 2 | -1 | 28 | 24 | 4 | 17 | 29 | -12 |
| EE | | 8 | 6 | 2 | 10 | 8 | 2 | 21 | 21 | 0 | 1 | 2 | -1 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 24 | 37 | -13 |
| IE | | 8 | 10 | -2 | 5 | 6 | -1 | 33 | 26 | 7 | 1 | 2 | -1 | 22 | 17 | 5 | 23 | 23 | 0 |
| EL | | 12 | 11 | 1 | 21 | 16 | 5 | 25 | 15 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 14 | 9 | 5 | 25 | 43 | -18 |
| ES | | 7 | 6 | 1 | 18 | 13 | 5 | 14 | 12 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 16 | 15 | 1 | 12 | 25 | -13 |
| FR | | 9 | 9 | 0 | 10 | 9 | 1 | 19 | 17 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 26 | 23 | 3 | 13 | 21 | -8 |
| HR | | 13 | 10 | 3 | 23 | 20 | 3 | 11 | 14 | -3 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 18 | 12 | 6 | 20 | 28 | -8 |
| IT | | 5 | 6 | -1 | 17 | 16 | 1 | 18 | 11 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 18 | 18 | 0 | 17 | 28 | -11 |
| CY | | 3 | 4 | -1 | 11 | 5 | 6 | 47 | 48 | -1 | 3 | 4 | -1 | 9 | 8 | 1 | 11 | 14 | -3 |
| LV | | 5 | 8 | -3 | 7 | 7 | 0 | 22 | 19 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 11 | 8 | 3 | 15 | 27 | -12 |
| LT | | 11 | 8 | 3 | 6 | 7 | -1 | 17 | 14 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 12 | 9 | 3 | 18 | 31 | -13 |
| LU | | 10 | 10 | 0 | 12 | 16 | -4 | 18 | 12 | 6 | 3 | 5 | -2 | 26 | 24 | 2 | 15 | 24 | -9 |
| HU | | 11 | 9 | 2 | 22 | 20 | 2 | 23 | 17 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 14 | 12 | 2 | 24 | 33 | -9 |
| MT | | 5 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 10 | -5 | 41 | 22 | 19 | 1 | 3 | -2 | 16 | 19 | -3 | 7 | 18 | -11 |
| NL | | 13 | 14 | -1 | 11 | 11 | 0 | 49 | 32 | 17 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 46 | 38 | 8 | 12 | 25 | -13 |
| AT | | 11 | 10 | 1 | 12 | 12 | 0 | 23 | 22 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 32 | 25 | 7 | 22 | 24 | -2 |
| PL | | 9 | 9 | 0 | 14 | 16 | -2 | 22 | 17 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 12 | 12 | 0 | 13 | 21 | -8 |
| PT | | 13 | 10 | 3 | 24 | 19 | 5 | 18 | 10 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 12 | 11 | 1 | 7 | 9 | -2 |

*Figure 4, Eurobarometer Q5 "What do you think are the two most important issues facing the EU at the moment?", EU and Portugal (Public Opinion in the European Union, 2023)*

The most sensitive and relevant statistics in the European Union now is the Eurobarometer, which updates some components for several months. Of course, from the point of view of validity and generalization, such data can suffer greatly due to the speed of data collection and a small sample by country. However, nevertheless, the Eurobarometer is a well-known and popular tool for diagnosing some social phenomena. Since the purpose of this section is not to approve quantitative conclusions, it is only to highlight the problem that is being investigated within the framework of this work. As part of this study, we use the latest version of the Eurobarometer - "Standard Eurobarometer STD99 : Standard Eurobarometer 99 - Spring 2023". By examining the public opinion of EU residents by the spring of 2023, we can

conclude that Europeans are really concerned about the issue of immigration. To the question: "What do you think are the two most important issues facing the EU at the moment?" the majority of EU residents choose the categories of "health" and "immigration" (Figure 4) (Public Opinion in the European Union, 2023). What is noteworthy in these statistics is that Europeans are still worried about their health, compared with the data for January/February 2023, while anxiety about immigration increased by 7% by May-June 2023 (Figure 4) (Public Opinion in the European Union, 2023). In Portugal, these responses have an even greater effect. The difference between Portuguese responses between January/February and May/June 2023 is an increase of 8% (Figure 4) (Public Opinion in the European Union, 2023). This leads to the idea that the theory of group harm and ethnic competition can still really take place in the case of migrants of a new, post-teen wave. However, we cannot say this for sure because of various political tensions in the world. On the other hand, we will investigate this issue further.

Thus, we really see both the influx of migrants to European countries and the growing concern of the local population about increased mobility after the lifting of coronavirus restrictions. To further investigate the situation in Portugal, we investigate the national composition of migrants and the situation with institutional racism, which was noticed earlier in the studies. To do this, we turn to another valid state and narrowly focused statistics in Portugal - Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras. According to the latest statistical report for 2021, the largest number of migrants in Portugal come from the following non-European countries: Brazil (23.3%), Cabo Verde (4.9%), India (4.3%), Angola (3.7%), China (3.3%) (Figure 5) (SEF Relatório de Imigração, Fronteiras e Asilo, 2021). Meanwhile, the growth of migrants from Brazil, India and Angola increased by 11.3%, 23.2% and 5.5%, respectively, compared to the results of previous years. As part of this study, we will focus on migrants from Brazil and India. This is due to the fact that migrants from the African continent encounter racism everywhere in other countries, regardless of new circumstances, which is a separate problem for the study. Migrants from China, firstly, are the most closed migration group, and secondly, they will face racism from the point of view of the position of "scapegoats" during and after coronavirus infection and the conspiracy theories generated by it (Asmelash, 2020).

**Nacionalidades Mais Representativas**



| | Número de residentes | **00.000** |
| | % em relação ao Total | 0,0% |
| | NACIONALIDADE | |
| | % da subida/descida | 0,0% |

Brasil: 204.694 — 29,3% — ▲ 11,3%
Reino Unido: 41.932 — 6,0% — ▼ -9,3%
Cabo Verde: 34.093 — 4,9% — ▼ -6,9%
Itália: 30.819 — 4,4% — ▲ 9,4%
Índia: 30.251 — 4,3% — ▲ 23,2%
Roménia: 28.911 — 4,1% — ▼ -3,8%
Ucrânia: 27.195 — 3,9% — ▼ -5,0%
França: 26.719 — 3,8% — ▲ 7,2%
Angola: 25.802 — 3,7% — ▲ 5,5%
China: 22.782 — 3,3% — ▼ -12,6%
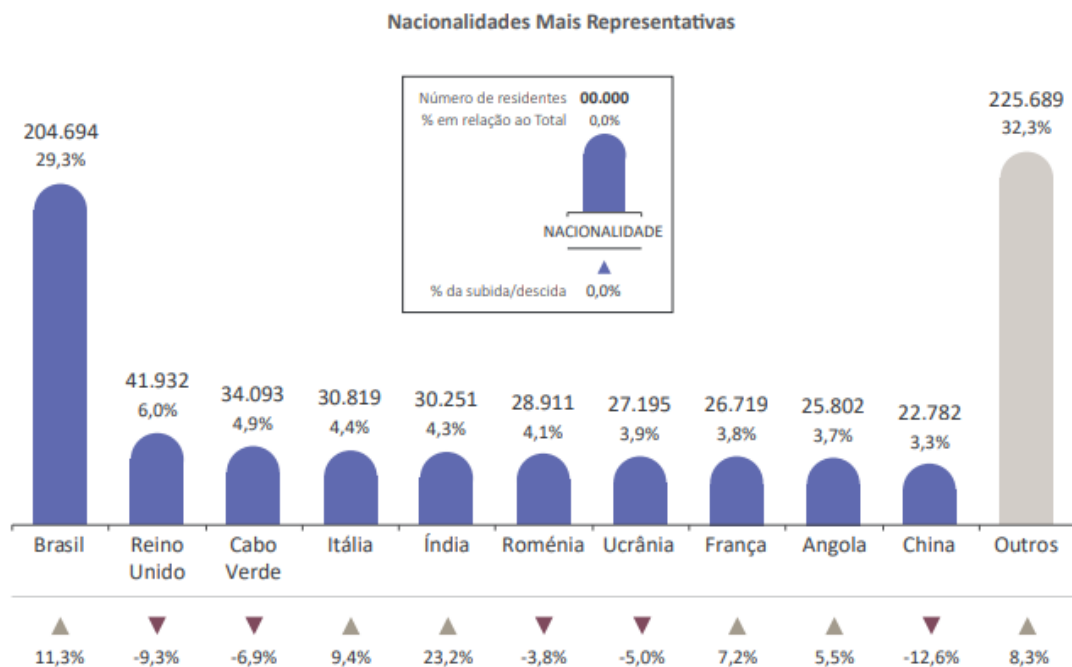Outros: 225.689 — 32,3% — ▲ 8,3%

*Figure 5, SEF Relatório de Imigração, Fronteiras e Asilo in 2021, nationality of migrants in Portugal (SEF Relatório de Imigração, Fronteiras e Asilo in 2021)*

**Distribuição Geográfica por Concelho**

| Concelho | Residentes | Área Km² | Densidade Residentes por Km² |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lisboa | 108.894 | 100 | 1.088,9 |
| Sintra | 42.475 | 319 | 133,2 |
| Cascais | 34.097 | 97 | 351,5 |
| Amadora | 23.834 | 24 | 993,1 |
| Loures | 21.579 | 167 | 129,2 |
| Odivelas | 20.788 | 27 | 769,9 |
| Porto | 18.950 | 41 | 462,2 |
| Loulé | 18.707 | 764 | 24,5 |
| Almada | 16.570 | 70 | 236,7 |
| Albufeira | 16.433 | 141 | 116,5 |

*Figure 6, SEF Relatório de Imigração, Fronteiras e Asilo in 2021, distribution of migrants through largest regions in Portugal (SEF Relatório de Imigração, Fronteiras e Asilo in 2021)*

On the other hand, the study will take place on migrants who work and live in Lisbon. Of course, this is a fairly obvious conclusion, since it is the largest city in Portugal and is the capital of the country. Let's confirm this fact with statistics. According to Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, in 2021 there were 108,894 residents of foreign origin in Lisbon,

which is an absolute record among other major cities (Figure 6) (SEF Relatório de Imigração, Fronteiras e Asilo, 2021). Then there is no doubt about the research focus.

Turning to thinking about institutional racism, this is a separate statistical and research question. According to data from the Eurostat open database on migrant integration, the number of migrants from non-European countries by citizenship in Portugal and Lisbon has only increased since the coronavirus infection. By 2021, this number was 529,367 and 194,668 people in Portugal and Lisbon, respectively (Figure 7) (Eurostat, 2023). These figures cannot be interpreted uniformly, since migrant workers were unable to return to their homeland due to closed borders. On the other hand, it shows the openness of state structures to the integration of migrants into the institutions of society.

| ⇅ ✕ TIME | 2016 ⭥ | 2017 ⭥ | 2018 ⭥ | 2019 ⭥ | 2020 ⭥ | 2021 ⭥ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CITIES ⭥ | | | | | | |
| Portugal | 274 799 (d) | 279 796 (d) | 318 557 (d) | 404 254 | 503 019 | 529 367 |
| Lisboa | 111 905 (d) | 112 330 (d) | 131 925 (d) | 165 281 | 190 534 | 194 668 |

*Figure 7, Population by citizenship and country of birth - cities and greater cities (Non-EU foreigners) (Eurostat, 2023)*

| ⇅ ✕ TIME | 2016 ⭥ | 2017 ⭥ | 2018 ⭥ | 2019 ⭥ | 2020 ⭥ | 2021 ⭥ | 2022 ⭥ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GEO ⭥ | | | | | | | |
| Portugal | 18.6 | 13.2 | 11.9 | 17.3 | 20.0 | 7.0 (bu) | 17.8 |

*Figure 8, Population by citizenship and country of birth - cities and greater cities (Non-EU foreigners) - unemployed, out of labour (Eurostat, 2023)*

On the other hand, with the increase in migrants, the proportion of residents of non-European origin who do not have a job and are outside the job market has also increased significantly (Figure 8) (Eurostat, 2023). Most notably, in 2021, during the height of the pandemic and coronavirus restrictions, this number fell, but approached the value of 2019 in 2022 (Figure 8) (Eurostat, 2023). Probably, in the case of institutional racism, everything is not so clear, since the available statistical indicators give different information.

Worth noting that a question about nationality we want to reorganize. Instead of giving freedom to respondents here, we would like to know exactly the country of birth. Since we have taken migrants of contrasting non-European origin, they are most likely to become the target of racism and xenophobia. It is this way of determining nationality that is both statistically and explorationally more reliable (Hémet & Malgouyres, 2018).

CHAPTER 3
# Methodology

## 3.1. **Approach**

This study examines the forms of racism, xenophobia, discrimination, and stigmatization in relation to the new wave of non-European migrants in Lisbon, as in the concentration center of migrants in Portugal. The research question is as follows: how do the new migrants of the past-covid feel about the new conditions of social sentiment in Lisbon?

In order to investigate this issue, it is supposed to communicate directly with migrants who came to Lisbon during the removal of coronavirus measures. Therefore, a qualitative research approach using the technique of identification - semi-structured interviews - is used as a research methodology.

## 3.2. **Procedure**

Interviews were conducted using calls in various digital technologies, as well as face-to-face personal conversations (N = 20). Before the interview, each participant was provided with information about the conversation, consisting in an oral information consent. It contained information about the objectives of the study, questions, the possibility to refuse individual questions or full participation, as well as informed consent about the use of information in the study. The conversations consisted of open questions on the following topics: socio-demographic information, general perception of stigmatization and discrimination, cases of discriminatory treatment during job search, in the workplace, in state institutions and in public places. During the interview, various research methods were used, such as probing, echo-probing, to learn more about the respondents' personal experience. Within the framework of a sensitive issue, it is quite important to address all cases of discrimination of any kind. Of course, despite the popularity of this topic in debates and science, many people cannot identify all unpleasant and disturbing cases as such due to, for example, psychological protection. Therefore, some of the interviews are based on the use of questions from the Opinion Poll Special Eurobarometer 113 and inspired by the recent literature review on the topic, as a valid tool for questioning about the types and manifestations of racism, xenophobia and stigmatization. All interviews were transcribed in the form of text documents. The videos have been deleted.

### 3.3. **Participants**

To participate in this part of the study, an unlikely, purposeful sample of non-European migrants was selected from 10 men and 10 women, where 5 people in each group are migrants not for the first time. This is due to the fact that, firstly, we are interested in comparing migration experience and adaptation in different societies, but migrants for the first time can feel the traumatic experience of stigmatization more acutely. Therefore, it was decided to divide this criterion equally between them.

Sampling must meet several criteria:

1. non-europeanEuropean migrants (as they are most easily identified as migrants and subject to stigma based on appearance and type of legal permissions/document);

2. Migrant worker to Lisbon (as the pandemic has hit this group of migrants harder (Tertrais, 2021));

3. age from 24 to 40 years (this is the largest group of labor migrants, which goes beyond young migrants, but also does not reach the pre-retirement age, it is assumed that people of this age are the most active (Tertrace, 2021));

4. migrated after the beginning of the opening of borders due to the easing of restrictions due to the pandemic (2022, the earliest date);

5. faced with a negative experience of any degree of perception of migrants in the near future;

6. migration to Lisbon is not the first migration - in the case that a person can compare two experiences and their differences on a sensory level, also such people are more likely to encounter racism and xenophobia, which makes them more educated in this matter.

Entry point for the migrants with such a background was social network and work experience of the researcher. For recruitment a questionnaire was used in Google Forms. A small survey included questions on all criteria above for the sample. Of the 22 responses, 7 were deleted because of not meeting the criteria. The final sample of 15 responses was saved. The age of the respondents ranged from 25 to 42 years; the average age was 31. For the study, migrants from Brazil and India were collected, as the most common countries for immigration to Portugal and Lisbon. All of the respondents moved due to a job change.

### 3.4. **Data analysis**

The interviews lasted from 60 to 120 minutes. The interviews were transcribed verbatim, the analysis of the texts was carried out using thematic analysis, which correlates with

the recommendation of thematic analysis by Brown and Clark (Braun & Clark, 2006). Afterwards, MAXQDA software was used to code all the interviews.

# CHAPTER 4
# **Findings**

Migration is one of the most important social processes that occurs in the world constantly and almost non-stop. Coronavirus infection has become the last barrier to this flow of mobility in the world. Many countries have imposed restrictive measures on the entry of migrants and tourists, literally erecting walls at the borders. This is what is the most famous example of xenophobia in the world - walls on borders with other states, as America did with Mexican irregular immigrants, for example. The latest and brightest outbreak of xenophobia in Europe can be called the migration crisis in 2015-2015. At that time, the uncontrolled flow of irregular and even legal migrants increased so much that xenophobia was recorded at the state level in the form of restrictions on crossing the borders of many states. Only 4 years have passed, and the world is faced with a new problem that forces us to rebuild the walls around the borders anew. This time, such behavior was so necessary and obvious that it was perceived by the majority of society as a necessary protective measure. However, it also caused a lot of problems. Society has adapted to the challenges of the new time, people have received new patterns of behavior and formed defensive strategies. Having lived 3 or 4 years in this habit, negative strategies of behavior towards "strangers" were formed, maintaining the memory of the previous crisis. Thus, recently, European society has somehow supported xenophobia within itself under the influence of various factors. Adding to this phenomenon embedded racism and its even longer history, we come to the conclusion that the current situation in society exacerbates institutional racism and discrimination due to xenophobic forced and learned attitudes. That is why the migrants of the new wave after the cancellation of the pandemic may face a large wave of aggression and negative moments in the host European country. This is exactly what the conversations and interviews in the framework of this study were devoted to. The most prominent group of migrants from the point of view of European appearance was chosen taking into account the peculiarities of the national composition of migrants in Lisbon. All of them are migrant workers (they received an invitation to work or planned to find a new one in the country), who previously also had experience of migration to other European countries. This sample was quite purposeful and difficult to find, however, the migration social ties within the host country are especially stronger than at home, so each individual migrant most likely had contacts with another, which was a kind of snowball technique, as we assume, which was still checked before being invited to an interview.

## 4.1. **Re-migration experience and COVID-19**

Within the framework of this study, all participants were migrants for the second or more time, that is, everyone already had experience of relocation to another European country and not only. That is why they were most valuable to be able to compare new and previous experiences on a heuristic level. Despite the fact that the first migration is always much more difficult due to lack of experience and a sharp change in cultural and social background, this may have great research value within the framework of this work.

For the respondents in this study, each of the decisions to move to another country was driven by a desire to improve labor and living conditions. Anyway, the first experience of migration was described by many as difficult and testing due to the lack of experience in many issues and support in documents and adaptation in the host society:

*"My migration experiences have been quite challenging. This isn't my first migration; I previously worked in the Middle East (Turkey). <...> The first migration experience was tough as I had to adapt to a new culture and language, which were very different from my hometown. It seemed to me that Turkey, as a southern country, would resemble my homeland. And if the food and climate could coincide in some way, then the difference in history, culture and mentality sometimes struck me very much." (Respondent 3, M, 27 y.o., Brazil)*

Such conclusions are completely natural and logical for migrants from non-European countries, especially from other continents. The lack of a common history, subsequent culture and social characteristics (at least a sense of integration into the European community at the level of institutions) becomes a big obstacle. However, this difference shifts over time, as migrants adapt to society on their own or through government assistance programs that were widely supported before the outbreak of the pandemic. And it is important to note that all respondents in this study had previous experience of migration before the outbreak of the pandemic or at its very beginning. That is, they could have found undeveloped programs to support migrants and a support program during the pandemic. Of course, the issue of the state of the migration issue during closed borders within European countries is a separate discussion, but many migrants in the framework of this study had a successful experience of interaction with state medical and migration institutions:

*"The last migration was not forced due to COVID-19; it was a personal decision for better opportunities. I moved to Italy at the beginning of 2020, when everyone already knew about the*

*coronavirus, but could not imagine how it would turn out in the end. I was invited to return to my homeland by friends and relatives, but I decided to stay. I moved by invitation to a better and better-paying job, my employer promised help with medical issues. Since things were better with medicine in Italy than in my homeland (Brazil), I decided not to miss the chance."* (Respondent 5, F, 31 y.o., Brazil)

Thus, many respondents were forced to adopt the behavior and lifestyle of Europeans during the pandemic and closed borders. It also could be noted the very contrasting position of the Brazilian government at the time (Bolsonaro) respect Covid (respect Italy response to the pandemic). The society in which a person is located, as well as the people with whom he communicates, according to the theories of relational sociology, shape a person much more and better than previous experience, rebuilding him in a new way. So our respondents, despite their pronounced non-European nationality, can be called, for some part, learned Europeans. It is this fact that will be most interesting later in the study.

*"I do feel a difference between my migration experiences, especially in terms of the cultural reception. Moving to Lisbon was much easier for me, I changed jobs and received an invitation to an OTP startup for a good position. I felt more confident in European society, I was savvy in matters of documents and lifestyle. I can say that I already felt more like a European than I once did as a migrant from India."* (Respondent 12, M, 35 y.o., India)

Many respondents of this study chose Lisbon as a new point of their migration path because of *"good job opportunities and a vibrant culture" (Respondent 1, F, 25 y.o., India)*, on the other hand, it is a little easier to get citizenship here and stay for a longer period than in other developed countries in Europe. This reason is very relevant and has been pointed out by many recent migrants. You can mention here the positive changes in the Nationality Law that makes Portugal one of the European countries with more favorable nationality laws (MIPEX).

## 4.2. Lisbon society in terms of new migration wave hospitality

Earlier, we noted that the respondents in this study, due to their existing experience of living in European countries, are assimilated migrants whose behavior and cultural environment have shifted from the learned perception at home. However, it is noteworthy that such migrants still note negative interactions with local residents after moving to Lisbon:

*"Unfortunately, my interactions with locals in Lisbon have often been negative. I've encountered a negative attitude related to my race and the fact that I'm a migrant. People sometimes make hurtful comments or treat me unfairly." (Respondent 20, F, 29 y.o., India)*

It was migrants from India who spoke more often about such behavior. We can only associate this with a more contrasting appearance with the inhabitants of a European country. Of course, this is not a widespread practice and a positive attitude has also been encountered, but this does not negate the problem itself.

The most frequent cases of negative experiences with the locals of Lisbon were the points of a large concentration of people - public places. In such places of the city, it is much easier to do this in relation to a person who is sharply different from the people around. The respondents themselves talked about negative interactions with people at bus stops, in shops, cafes and on the subway. Quite often, Lisbonians use Portuguese to discuss migrants or make fun of them in their circle, assuming that a person of another nationality will not be able to understand them well enough:

*"Another time, while shopping in a local market, I overheard derogatory comments from a group of locals who assumed I couldn't understand Portuguese well. They made fun of my accent and referred to me as an outsider. These experiences were hurtful and made me feel like an outsider in the community, even though I was trying to integrate and build positive relationships with locals." (Respondent 17, F, 32 y.o., India)*

Public transport is one of the most traumatic places for migrants in Lisbon in terms of neglect and public discrimination. Respondents mentioned what could be a relic of a pandemic, when every migrant was perceived through the prism of a virus carrier and a potentially dangerous member of society. After the end of the epidemic, unfortunately, this behavior persisted, although it began to manifest itself much less often according to migrants:

*"While riding the subway, I noticed that some passengers would purposefully avoid sitting next to me. It was clear they were uncomfortable sharing a seat with a migrant, and this made me feel isolated and unwelcome." (Respondent 17, F, 32 y.o., India)*
*"These experiences, while not representative of all locals in Lisbon, have been disheartening and made me acutely aware of the challenges that migrants can face in their daily lives." (Respondent 3, M, 27 y.o., Brazil)*

On the other hand, the second most unpleasant experience was the search for housing. It is quite common practice to rent apartments only to locals or Europeans in good areas of the city. It can be difficult for a migrant, even with a good and stable income, to find an apartment and get it rented for himself, since he is considered an unreliable and untidy person:

*"During my housing search, I encountered landlords who seemed reluctant to rent to me once they realized I was a migrant. They made excuses or suddenly claimed the place was unavailable, which was disheartening and frustrating."* (Respondent 5, F, 31 y.o., Brazil)
*"Searching for housing was another challenge. Some landlords refused to rent to me because of my migrant status. I've heard similar stories from other migrant acquaintances as well."* (Respondent 7, M, 29 y.o., India)

What turned out to be pleasantly surprising, is that only some migrant respondents said that they had encountered discrimination or abusive behavior in state migration structures. Most often, migrants complained about the complex system of filing and processing documents, but the workers themselves in state institutions were rarely really negative. On the other hand, negative stories still happened:

*"In various public spaces like cafes and government offices, I've encountered negative attitudes and sometimes even discriminatory behavior, which is disheartening. It's essential to address these issues and promote inclusivity and acceptance in society to create a more welcoming environment for migrants like me."* (Respondent 8, M, 40 y.o., India)

Since in this study we focused specifically on migrant workers who came to the country to look for work or to be invited to work, a separate topic is the negative experience when searching, hiring and at the workplace itself. In general, it is quite difficult to find a job in another country *"due to language barriers and limited local connections"* (Respondent 11, F, 26 y.o., Brazil). Even if the company is English-speaking, employees will most often communicate and interact using Portuguese. On the other hand, companies do not want to hire migrants because of paperwork, which highlights institutional racism, for example:

*"In my current job, I work as a software developer. Finding a job initially was difficult because some employers were hesitant to hire migrants. Thankfully, my current team is supportive and welcoming, but I have faced negative workplace attitudes from colleagues in the past."* (Respondent 11, F, 26 y.o., Brazil)

*"During job interviews or interactions with potential employers, I've encountered condescending attitudes that implied migrants were somehow inferior or less capable. This form of shaming was both demoralizing and unjust." (Respondent 13, M, 37 y.o., India)*

In addition, institutional racism is expressed in the idea that the education of migrants cannot be compared with the education of the local population. These biases of employers, not even based on any solid experience, create a barrier for migrant workers when looking for a sufficiently qualified job:

*"While seeking employment, I encountered situations where my qualifications were overlooked or devalued simply because I was a migrant. This discrimination left me fearful of my job prospects and economic stability." (Respondent 18, M, 28 y.o., India)*

*"Some employers in Lisbon were unfamiliar with the educational qualifications and work experiences from my home country. This made it challenging to convince potential employers of my skills and qualifications." (Respondent 13, M, 37 y.o., India)*

Many migrant respondents called such cases racism, xenophobia and simply discrimination based on the dogma "local" - "not local". This confirms the idea of the prevalence of racism in society, and institutions, as well as the catalyst-a pandemic in the intensification of xenophobia.

*"It's unfortunate that racism and negative attitudes towards migrants are prevalent in some European countries, and these experiences can be disheartening."(Respondent 1, F, 25 y.o., India)*

*"These experiences are distressing and can take a toll on one's mental and emotional well-being. They highlight the need for increased awareness and efforts to combat racism and xenophobia in society." (Respondent 9, F, 33 y.o., Brazil)*

## 4.3. **Racism and xenophobia towards migrants of the new post-covid wave on the example of the Lisbon study**

Of course, the study of such sensitive topics as racism and xenophobia can mislead respondents. Therefore, as part of the interview, the researcher first asked questions about whether the migrant had ever experienced such cases in order to hear the respondent's own pure opinion. Further, the researcher defined more precisely what constitutes racism and xenophobia in cases of negative experiences with local residents in Lisbon. Firstly, it helped respondents

better evaluate their experience in the right terms. Secondly, it helped migrants remember other additional cases during the conversation that were missed during the first conversation.

### 4.3.1. Xenophobia and its manifestations

As mentioned earlier, xenophobia in the simplest sense is the fear of strangers. This fear is supported by the theory of group threat and ethnic rivalry, when migration groups are so visible and noticeable, as it became after the coronavirus and long restrictive measures to limit mobility. People, we can say, have not yet fully recovered from the epidemic in order to return to the old rhythm of life. Until now, many are trying to build a protective wall between themselves and migrants who can be identified within society.

Many respondents noted that they felt unjustified fear in their direction:

*"There were times when I noticed that some people would clutch their belongings tightly or cross the street to avoid walking near me, seemingly because of my appearance and racial background. This made me feel unfairly singled out and feared by others solely based on my ethnicity." (Respondent 10, M, 38 y.o., Brazil)*

On the other hand, all the cases that were described earlier about behavior in public places can also be attributed to fear. Locals guard their territory, speak only Portuguese to emphasize their belonging to the society of the country, unlike migrants. Thus, an invisible wall of xenophobia and fear of migration tides to Portugal is being built.

*"While discussing my background with a group of locals at a social gathering, one person openly criticized my decision to migrate to their country. They questioned my motives for coming to Lisbon and implied that I was taking job opportunities away from locals. This experience was shaming and made me feel unwelcome and judged for my migrant status."(Respondent 10, M, 38 y.o., Brazil)*

On the other hand, local residents may be completely unaware of their behavior, which happens even more often than tangible actions. This is expressed in the views that often fall on migrants with a pronounced nationality:

*"In public spaces, I've often received prolonged and hostile stares from people, as if I didn't belong there. This constant scrutiny and suspicion contributed to a feeling of fear and unease. These incidents of shaming were not frequent, but they did occur and had a negative impact on my sense of belonging and acceptance in the community." (Respondent 1, F, 25 y.o., India)*

### 4.3.2. **Racism (behavioral and institutional) and its manifestations**

Many researchers note the interconnectedness and coexistence of xenophobia and racism in European society. Xenophobia at one time gave rise to a long history of racism, which is expressed in direct behavioral or indirect institutional situations. We have already noted institutional racism when applying for a job or obtaining a work permit in the country in the form of stigmatization of education or a long bureaucratic process.

The behavioral racism that is observed in people's daily behavior has also been seen in language barriers and in xenophobic sentiment in general. In some public places, the fear goes further, taking the form of real racist discrimination, when the service in the cafe depends on the nationality of the visitor:

*"I entered a cafe, and the waiter made a derogatory comment about my appearance and accent. This comment was clearly meant to humiliate me, and it was a hurtful experience that left me feeling embarrassed and degraded." (Respondent 12, M, 35 y.o., India)*

On the other hand, some cases go as far as direct verbal insults with the direct purpose of offending a person, but such cases were manifested by respondents most rarely:

*"I have been subjected to hurtful racial slurs or derogatory comments from some locals. These insults were humiliating and made me feel vulnerable and unsafe." (Respondent 20, F, 27 y.o., Brazil)*

Of course, it is worth highlighting institutional racism in hiring. Migrants are cut off from a large share of the employment market, as even the hiring procedures are deeply discriminated and offensive:

*"In a few instances, I encountered overt discrimination during job interviews. Some employers seemed biased against migrants, assuming that I might not have the same qualifications or work ethic as a local candidate." (Respondent 24, F, 28 y.o., Brazil)*

After discussing all these points, migrant workers from Brazil and India in Lisbon expressed their concern that people in Portugal should be more tolerant, and the state needs to pay special attention now to the destroyed institutions for the integration of legal migrants into the host society in order to combat xenophobia and racism, including institutional. The pandemic is over, there are no more logical excuses to push migrants away from the whole society, justifying

it with protection. Public policy should show society that such patterns should be eradicated from behavior:

*"Overall, these difficulties were primarily related to the challenges migrants often face when trying to integrate into a new job market, including language barriers, cultural differences, and biases." (Respondent 24, F, 28 y.o., Brazil)*

# Conclusion

Returning to the starting point of our research, let us recall the main research question of the entire work: how do the new migrants of the post-covid era feel in the new conditions of social sentiment in Lisbon? Based on the collected and processed data on the example of non-European migrants from Brazil and India in Lisbon, we conclude that in the post-Covid era, migrants could indeed face a lot of expressions of racism and xenophobia from local residents of the country. This trend is explained by an increased sense of group threat, according to the theory of group threat, when local residents fought with immigrants for access to the most important resources of their time - medical services. Such behavior caused a precipitate and is still observed in open ethnic confrontation. In general, migrants in Lisbon are more afraid than they show open racism towards them. Most often this is caused by misunderstanding and fear in public places: avoidance, less often unpleasant and caustic statements. However, on the part of the labor market, things are a little more difficult. Migrants from Brazil and India face distrust on the part of the hiring party, which is expressed in distrust of the level of education and abilities, discrimination during recruitment and recruitment process, an unfavorable atmosphere at work. Qualified specialists in the areas in demand have to look for work much below their capabilities, as they meet with a kind of glass dome.

We assume that the flow of non-European migrants to European countries will only increase after the abolition of restrictive epidemiological measures, referring to the prognostic model of O'Brien et al. (2021). On the other hand, many programs for the integration of migrants into the host society were stopped or frozen during COVID-19 (Tertrais, 2021; OECD, 2020). Thus, the researchers come to the conclusion that this is a rather vivid problem that needs to be investigated in order for government programs to be modernized in terms of new challenges of the time.

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# Annex A.

Block 1. Socio-demographic information

Hello! Thank you for participating in the interview.Could you, please, tell me a little bit about yourself? Education level, work, etc.?

1. Please tell me about your migration experiences a little bit.

- Is this country your first migration stop or you have previous experiences too?
- Why did you choose Lisbon?
- How was the first migration experience?
- What caused the last migration experience?
- Do you feel the difference between your migration experiences?
- Is the latest migration experience forced due to the spread of covid-19? If so, how? Tell us in more detail?

Block 2. Stigmatisation perception

Now I would like to talk about my life experience interacting with locals in Lisbon.

- How can you, in general, describe your experience? Was it positive or negative, and if so, why?
- Have you ever experienced a negative attitude from the locals?
- Was this relationship related to your race?
- Were they related to the fact that people understood that you were a migrant?
- Have you ever been shamed for being a migrant? If so, how? If not, why not?

Block 3. Racism and xenophobia perception

As part of this study, we are interested in studying cases of discrimination against migrants from local residents in Lisbon. So please tell us:

1. Have you encountered cases of racism? Please tell us more about this traumatic experience.
2. Have you encountered cases of xenophobia? Please tell us more about this traumatic experience.

(At first, the respondent tells "thoughts aloud" without relying on clear scientific concepts within the framework of two sociological theories. We want to hear the respondent's opinion, which will be processed by the researcher later anyway.)

Thank you very much for the answers. I would like to clarify a little the two concepts I have given. Perhaps, after my definitions, you will remember another experience that you regarded as less or not at all traumatic or disturbing.

Racism is disturbing or unfair things that people say, do, or think based on the belief that their own race creates some privilege. On the other hand, these are the same policies, behaviors and rules at the state or public levels that create barriers for people of a different race.

Xenophobia - fear and intolerance of the alien, unfamiliar, unusual; perception of this through enmity.

"Xenophobia and racism stem from the intense rivalry between migrant groups and the indigenous population; jobs and cheap housing are especially scarce in times of economic crisis, and, from the point of view of permanent residents, migrants compete for living space and work opportunities" (Wimmer, 1997).

One of the most common manifestations of xenophobia is stereotypes and prejudices against people of different races, ethnic and racial groups and cultures. This was written earlier in the framework of the concept of racism. Xenophobia can also lead to discrimination and alienation of people from different walks of life. This takes various forms, such as denial of employment, housing, or access to medical care. Hate crimes and violence are the most extreme manifestations of xenophobia. A report by the Southern Poverty Law Center found that hate crimes and harassment cases against immigrants and minorities have become more frequent (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2019).

1. After the facts stated above, perhaps you remembered additional stories that happened to you? Please share your thoughts.

Block 3. Stigmatization in the workplace

You mention that you have a job in Lisbon.

- Could you tell me a little more about it?
- Have you experienced difficulties in finding a job that were related to the fact that you are a migrant? If yes or no, why and which ones?
- How do you assess your relationship with the team in the workplace?
- Have you experienced negative workplace attitudes from colleagues? If so, which ones?
- Have you experienced difficulties finding a job in a new place after the last migration? If so, which ones?
- Perhaps other colleagues refused to communicate with you at the workplace?
- Perhaps you were shunned because you are a migrant?
- Have there been any other negative cases related to your emigrant status?

Block 4. Stigmatization in public spaces

I understand that racism and negative attitudes towards migrants are now very common in European countries. This can manifest itself not only in personal contact at the workplace, but also in public places.

- What negative situations have you experienced in public places? How were they related to your emigrant status?

Please try to remember all the cases of negative experiences. Perhaps it was just looks, avoidance, disparaging treatment in any form.

In the subway

- How can you describe your experience in the subway?
- Have you ever been shunned in the subway? Perhaps people didn't sit next to you or definitely moved from one place to another?
- Maybe there are some other negative stories when you were shunned?

Search for housing

- Have you encountered difficulties while searching for housing?
- Perhaps you have some discriminatory stories?
- Perhaps you have heard similar stories from your migrant acquaintances?
- Have you encountered cases when you or your migrant acquaintance were refused to rent housing?

Other spaces

- Perhaps you have other stories of discrimination or negative attitudes in cafes, public services and other spaces where there are a lot of people?

Thank you very much for participating in the interview, please tell me, would you like to see the results of this study?

# Annex B.

| № | Country of birth | Sex | Years old | Educational level | Previous migration experience | Months spend in Lisbon |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Brazil | M | 33 | high | + | 6 |
| 2 | Brazil | M | 32 | college | - | 4 |
| 3 | Brazil | M | 27 | high | + | 7 |
| 4 | India | F | 25 | high | - | 3 |
| 5 | Brazil | F | 31 | high | + | 6 |
| 6 | Brazil | M | 28 | high | - | 6 |
| 7 | India | M | 29 | high | - | 8 |
| 8 | India | M | 40 | high | - | 4 |
| 9 | Brazil | F | 33 | college | - | 9 |
| 10 | Brazil | M | 28 | high | - | 5 |
| 11 | Brazil | F | 26 | high | + | 3 |
| 12 | India | M | 35 | college | + | 10 |
| 13 | India | M | 37 | high | + | 8 |
| 14 | Brazil | F | 34 | college | + | 3 |
| 15 | Brazil | F | 37 | high | - | 8 |
| 16 | India | F | 27 | college | + | 11 |
| 17 | India | F | 32 | college | + | 7 |
| 18 | India | M | 28 | high | - | 5 |
| 19 | India | F | 24 | high | + | 7 |
| 20 | India | F | 29 | high | - | 2 |