

FEMALE MIGRATION VISION

Immigrant Women in Portugal: migration trajectories, main problems and policies

PORTUGAL

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1 - Introduction

In this second report we will present a brief history of female migration in Portugal, analysing the main groups of immigrants in terms of their history, main characteristics, different trajectories, main problems and, finally some aspects of recent policies concerning immigrants' integration and employability. The main sources of information for this report are: research already published on this topic, interviews, and official statistics provided by Portuguese entities, namely SEF (*Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* [Foreigners and Borders Department]). In relation to the immigrant women of the three main immigration groups, eleven trajectories are presented. The trajectories are based on interviews carried out by the authors of the report (five Ukrainian women and four Cape Verdean women) and two trajectories of Brazilian women carried out in a study by Sertório and Pereira (*Immigrant Women*, 2004). Two interviews with official entities (Foreigners and Borders Department and Commission for Women's Rights) were also carried out.

- Brief History of Immigration

In Portugal, the number of immigrants has been increasing systematically since 1975, after the independence of the Portuguese colonies that resulted in the return of a significant number of Portuguese citizens living in the former colonies, and also in the migration of Angolan and Mozambican refugees and labour migrants from Cape Verde. The decolonization process led to a sudden movement of more than a half a million people to Portugal, in particular to the Lisbon area. These first contingents of people were responsible for an explosion in the number of immigrants in Portugal and the establishment of the main migratory chains (Malheiros, 2002).

During the 80's and 90's, the development of immigration was characterized by a consolidation of the immigrants coming from Africa, and, simultaneously, by a diversification of other foreign population: a "resuscitation" of European and Brazilian immigrants and the emergency of small flows of Indian and Chinese immigrants.

Pena Pires (2002) refers several internal and external factors that have contributed to the growth and diversification of the immigrant population in Portugal. The external factors are 1) the integration of Portugal in the European Community in 1986, which facilitated the intra-community mobility of labour; 2) the community funds available for the construction of infrastructures which led to the increased search of unskilled workers; 3) the fast integration and internationalization of the Portuguese economy and the arrival of foreign investments in Portugal, a crucial factor for the consolidation for professional migration; and 4) the revaluation of the external image of the country which was translated into new migration flows. Regarding the internal factors, the author summarizes the following: 1) a shortage of labour in a context of economic growth; 2) the recrudescence of emigration, mainly for unskilled young workers, which facilitated their replacement by immigrant workers, first by the PALOP's¹ and more recently by Eastern European immigrants; and 3) the sudden decrease and maintenance of the Portuguese birth rate, which is a difficulty for the substitution of generations, and leads to the increase of foreign human resources in Portugal.

¹ African Countries having Portuguese as their Official Language (in Portuguese – *Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*)

During this period of time, Portugal witnessed two different types of migration (Pena Pires, 2002): 1) labour migration (specifically in the case of the PALOP's, who live mainly in urban areas, and were mainly recruited for the building sector, in the expanding areas of building and public works); and 2) professional migration (specifically immigrants from European countries, for example Spain and the United Kingdom, mainly highly skilled professionals, who came to work in more specific areas of the economy). Malheiros (2002) also analyses the different flows of immigrants according to three different categories. Firstly, the low-skilled workers, especially from the PALOP states; secondly, the professionals from Western Europe who came to work and invest in specific areas of the Portuguese economy, and thirdly, the Brazilians, a group initially dominated by highly-skilled professionals, such as dental surgeons, but, that more recently also came to include semi and low-skilled workers, mainly in the commercial sector. We can still mention a fourth type of immigrant flow, such as the immigration from Mozambique, China and the Indian subcontinent, some with strong networks between Asia and Mozambique. These immigrants appear to have medium qualifications and their integration in the labour market is made through professions connected to commercial activities, with a high representation of self employment in their own business (some of family capital) (Pires, 2002) and increasing numbers of qualified professionals (Ferreira e Rato, 2000).

The statistics from the number of working immigrants have been confirming this pattern: there are a higher number of European immigrants working in more qualified professions; whereas the PALOP immigrants work mainly in the building sector. On the other hand, in the services sector there is a majority of immigrant workers from Brazil, India and China. However, it is important to refer that regarding the PALOP immigrants there is a significant difference in terms of gender. Men work mainly in the building sector, as was already pointed out, but women are mainly employed in the cleaning sector or in private domestic services.

More recently, specifically since 2001 (Decree-Law 4/2001, 10th January), when the Portuguese government introduced a new mechanism of admission of foreigners in Portugal, the “staying” permit, a new and recent reality in Portugal became more evident: the new flow of immigrants from Eastern European countries and the increased number of Brazilian immigrants. Moreover, this fact changed the hierarchy of the top groups of immigrants in Portugal – the Brazilians became the main group of immigrants and the Ukrainians are now the second main group of immigrants. The Cape Verdeans are the third main group of immigrants, even if they are still the biggest demographic presence in Portugal (if we include citizens who were born in Cape Verde, but that today have Portuguese nationality, and the ones who were born in Portugal, but that have Cape Verdean family origins).

These new immigrant populations were initially mainly constituted by young adult men, and have been growing substantially through the process of family reunification (formal or informal). At the same time, it is important to point out that, currently, more women are immigrating to Portugal alone, looking for higher salaries and better life conditions. In fact, immigrant women have been acquiring a growing importance in the Portuguese society. According to Pena Pires (2002), initially, during the 80's and the beginning of the 90's, this relevance was more evident demographically in terms of little impact and receptivity in the labour market, but now immigrant women contribute actively to the family income and the economy of the receiving country.

Regarding the evolution in the immigrant flows between 1998 and 2005, the *new immigrants* brought different socio-demographic characteristics to the Portuguese context. On the one hand, there is a continuous increasing number of immigrant women, with low or medium qualifications, from the African countries or Brazil, but, on the other hand, there is a clear growing number of male immigration from the Eastern European and especially from the Asiatic countries (among the latter more than 80% are men), with medium or high qualifications. These new male flows integrate in the traditional non qualified jobs for immigrants in the Portuguese labour market, even if there is some integration in industries, agriculture and different economic services. Among the Eastern European immigrants it is also possible to observe more aged citizens, as there are about 40% in the first flow who came to work, who are between 35 and 54 years old (Pires, 2002). Lately, in a more recent flow of Eastern European immigrants, there has been a growing number of women, mainly through family reunification, but also by their own means.

- Main Characteristics

We will now analyse some official statistics concerning the top three national groups of immigrants in Portugal. We will take a close look at the number of men and women, their ages, district of residence and professional activity.

Table 1 – Number and percentage of immigrants by nationality - 2005

	Total n° of immigrants by nationality (n and %) *	
	n	%
Brazil	66.935	15,00%
Ukraine	66.288	14,86%
Cape-Verde	64.469	14,45%

Source: SEF – *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* (Foreigners and Borders Department)

* Including immigrants with a residence and a “staying” permit, total = 446 178

Table 2 - Number of immigrants with “residence” permit by nationality and gender - 2004

<i>Country</i>	<i>Sex</i>		
	Total	Men	Women
Brazil	28.956	13.815	15.141
Ukraine	1497	656	841
Cape Verde	55.590	31.096	24.494

Source: SEF – *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* (Foreigners and Borders Department)

Table 3 – Number of immigrants who received a “staying” permit by nationality and gender, by year of legalization – 2001-2003

<i>Country</i>	<i>2001*</i>			<i>2002**</i>			<i>2003**</i>		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Brazil	25.940	16.610	9.330	11.373	6.947	4.426	2.648	1.577	1.071
Ukraine	50.898	42.545	8.353	16.523	12.296	4.227	2.546	1.891	655
Cape Verde	6.635	3.237	3.398	2.523	1.554	969	618	363	255

*The data regarding this year is related to the number of immigrants who had an official contract for obtaining the “staying” permit (Pena Pires, 2002)

** Source: SEF – *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* (Foreigners and Borders Department)

First of all, it is important to point out the difference between the top three national groups of immigrants, regarding their legal situation. While in the case of Cape Verdeans the majority has a residence permit, the situation of the Ukrainian immigrants is very different: the majority has a “staying” permit. In the case of the Brazilians the difference is not so evident. This is due to the fact that the Ukrainian immigrants are part of a more recent flow of immigrants in Portugal, which started between 1998 and 2000 and most of them legalized their situation in 2001 and 2002 with this new mechanism of legalization. The Cape Verdeans are part of a well-established community in Portugal, with important and older interpersonal networks, and thus most of them have received residence permits.

The data regarding the immigrants residing legally with a “residence” permit refers to a different process and period of immigrants’ legalization, which has been very restrictive after 1996, only for refugee and special cases of people who need asylum protection. Since then, there hasn’t been any other legalization process through residence permits. Instead, the latest processes have been mainly done with the new and provisional mechanism of admission of foreigners through the “staying” permit (only given between 2001 and 2003) or the normal working visas (given when immigrants are outside the national borders, as in the case of the more recent Brazilians’ legalization process).

Overall, we can see that there is a difference in terms of gender regarding the different permits. While the data from the total number of immigrants with a residence permit shows that there are more women with this permit in the case of Brazil and Ukraine, the same thing does not happen with the “staying” permit where in the three countries there is a majority of men with this permit, the latter thus reflecting a more recent and sudden flow of migration.

The immigrants with a residence permit are related to a flow which arrived much earlier in time. In the case of the Ukrainian citizens these first arrivals are still quite insignificant. As for the Brazilians, we have been witnessing a more significant increase as they have been arriving in Portugal since the 80’s. However, the fact that both these two groups with residence permits are, somehow, more represented by women is an interesting feature.

Table 4 – Number and percentage of immigrants with residence permit by nationality, gender and age groups - 2004

	Residence Permit – 2004											
	Brazil				Ukraine				Cape Verde			
Age	T (n)	T (%)	M	W	T (n)	T (%)	M	W	T (n)	T (%)	M	W
Total	28956	100,00%	13815	15141	1497	100,00%	656	841	55590	100,00%	31096	24494
0-24	7284	25,16%	3607	3677	452	30,19%	189	263	15329	27,58%	7943	7386
25-34	9978	34,46%	4914	5064	597	39,88%	269	328	11506	20,70%	6236	5270
35-54	9977	34,46%	4703	5274	415	27,72%	188	227	22641	40,73%	13669	8972
55-64	789	2,72%	338	451	27	1,80%	9	18	2776	4,99%	1665	1111
65 ou +	928	3,20%	253	675	6	0,40%	1	5	3338	6,00%	1583	1755

Source: SEF – *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* (Foreigners and Borders Department)

Table 5 – Number and percentage of immigrants with staying permit by nationality, gender and age groups - 2001

	“Staying” Permit – 2001*											
	Brazil				Ukraine				Cape Verde			
Age	T (n)	T (%)	M	W	T (n)	T (%)	M	W	T (n)	T (%)	M	W
Total	25940	100,00%	16610	9330	50898	100,00%	42545	8353	6635	100,00%	3237	3398
0-24	7548	29,10%	4772	2776	7468	14,67%	6072	1396	1343	20,24%	595	748
25-34	12264	47,28%	7900	4364	21668	42,57%	17982	3686	3491	52,61%	1778	1713
35-54	5949	22,93%	3810	2139	21258	41,77%	18057	3201	1741	26,24%	836	905
55-64	174	0,67%	125	49	498	0,98%	428	70	47	0,71%	22	25
65 ou +	5	0,02%	3	2	6	0,01%	6	0	13	0,20%	6	7

*The data regarding this year is related to the number of immigrants who had an official contract for obtaining the “staying” permit (Pena Pires, 2002)

Table 6 – Number and percentage of immigrants with staying permit by nationality, gender and age groups – 2002/2003

	“Staying” Permit – 2002/2003											
	Brazil				Ukraine				Cape Verde			
Age	T (n)	T (%)	M	W	T (n)	T (%)	M	W	T (n)	T (%)	M	W
Total	14021	100,00%	8524	5497	19069	100,00%	14187	4882	3141	100,00%	1917	1224
0-24	3287	23,44%	1941	1346	2274	11,93%	1591	683	460	14,65%	244	216
25-34	6442	45,95%	3953	2489	7826	41,04%	5745	2081	1538	48,97%	954	584
35-54	4148	29,58%	2537	1611	8686	45,55%	6636	2050	1112	35,40%	708	404
55-64	141	1,01%	91	50	279	1,46%	212	67	24	0,76%	8	16
65 ou +	3	0,02%	2	1	4	0,02%	3	1	7	0,22%	3	4

Source: SEF – Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (Foreigners and Borders Department)

According to Table 4, we can see that overall the Cape Verdean and Brazilian immigrants with a residence permit have a significant percentage of individuals that are between the ages of 35 to 54 years old. On the contrary, the Ukrainians are mainly between 25 to 34 years old. This is due to the fact that the two first countries are part of an older flow of immigrants.

Regarding Tables 5 and 6, we can see that the situation is different. The Ukrainians have now a higher percentage in the age group 34 to 54 years old, whereas the other two countries' immigrants are between the ages of 25 to 34 in the first period of legalization (2001), but in the second period (2002 and 2003) there is an increasing number of immigrants in the age group of 34 to 54 years old, for all the three countries. In the case of Ukrainian and Brazilian citizens, this can be a result of a strong and continuous pressure of emigration in the sending countries, caused by low expectations regarding economical, social or political improvements, which is affecting individuals from all age groups. As for the Cape Verdeans immigrants, it is possible that these numbers are due to a more advanced stage of the immigration trajectories, when more family members, of different ages, start to arrive.

Table 7 – Number of immigrants with residence and staying permits by nationality and geographic distribution

	Residence permit - 2004			“Staying” permit – 2001*			“Staying” permit – 2002/2003		
	Brazil (n=28 956)	Ukraine (n=1 497)	Cape Verde (n=55 590)	Brazil (n=25 940)	Ukraine (n=50 898)	Cape Verde (n=6 635)	Brazil (n=14 021)	Ukraine (n=19 069)	Cape Verde (n=3 141)
Portugal	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Aveiro	8,73%	9,62%	0,41%	1,95%	7,14%	0,65%	1,70%	7,81%	0,41%
Beja	0,39%	1,34%	0,07%	1,14%	1,49%	0,45%	1,98%	1,98%	0,32%
Braga	4,60%	2,27%	0,25%	2,56%	6,79%	0,21%	1,45%	4,47%	0,19%
Bragança	0,48%	0,07%	0,06%	0,20%	0,35%	-	0,26%	0,41%	-
Castelo Branco	0,77%	2,20%	0,15%	0,61%	1,80%	0,24%	0,69%	1,68%	0,22%
Coimbra	3,97%	3,07%	0,81%	1,59%	4,40%	0,51%	1,26%	2,67%	0,38%
Évora	0,65%	0,33%	0,19%	2,79%	3,08%	1,66%	1,48%	1,68%	1,37%
Faro	6,30%	29,73%	6,16%	9,45%	14,61%	6,87%	6,97%	12,90%	4,55%
Guarda	0,85%	0,33%	0,09%	0,52%	1,04%	-	0,19%	0,48%	0,03%
Leiria	2,43%	4,48%	0,62%	3,19%	11,27%	2,31%	3,16%	10,64%	1,37%
Lisboa	41,21%	22,58%	66,51%	49,02%	18,79%	68,17%	53,39%	24,65%	77,59%
Portalegre	0,47%	1,67%	0,08%	1,33%	0,79%	0,63%	0,65%	0,63%	0,41%
Porto	13,63%	3,47%	1,73%	7,45%	10,83%	1,79%	4,84%	6,32%	1,34%
Santarém	1,33%	3,61%	0,38%	1,94%	6,81%	0,66%	9,22%	13,57%	6,18%
Setúbal	6,83%	7,41%	21,47%	14,03%	5,04%	15,49%	4,92%	2,44%	3,15%
Viana de Castelo	1,32%	0,33%	0,05%	0,34%	1,09%	0,06%	0,24%	0,61%	-
Vila Real	1,10%	0,13%	0,06%	0,19%	0,95%	0,03%	0,09%	0,98%	-
Viseu	2,50%	1,20%	0,10%	1,70%	3,75%	0,26%	2,23%	2,98%	0,25%
Açores	0,70%	4,97%	0,72%	-	-	-	0,97%	0,48%	1,81%
Madeira	1,72%	2,07%	0,07%	-	-	-	1,32%	2,62%	0,41%

Overall, there is a major concentration of immigrants in the urban areas of Lisbon and Setúbal (south centre of the country), Faro (south of the country) and Porto (north of the country). These are all urban areas in the coastal region of Portugal, where there is a higher concentration of economic activities, such as services and commerce (south and south centre), manufacturing and construction (south centre and north), and cleaning firms (employing large numbers of women).

In the case of Brazilian immigrants almost 50% are concentrated in the urban area of Lisbon. There also a significant percentage living in the areas of Porto and Setúbal. Regarding the Ukrainians, their concentration in the Lisbon urban area is smaller, around 20%, but this is still the main area where they are living. There is also a significant number concentrated in the areas of Faro and Leiria. Finally, the majority of Cape Verdeans are living in the urban areas of Lisbon (altogether above 65%) and Setúbal (above 15%). This means that more than 80% of Cape Verdeans live in these two metropolitan areas.

Table 8 – Number of immigrants with “staying” permit by country and economic activity – 2001*

	Brazil	Ukraine	Cape Verde
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	416	2727	99
Mining and quarrying	778	4473	86
Manufacturing	1297	8634	204
Construction	6619	21025	2882
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods	3166	3595	400
Hotels and restaurants	5731	3047	611
Transport, storage and communication; financial intermediation	556	770	64
Real estate, renting and business activities	5827	5420	1760
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security; Education, health and social work; other community, social and personal service activities	1241	955	387
Activities of households as employers of domestic staff	309	252	142
<i>Total</i>	<i>25940</i>	<i>50898</i>	<i>6635</i>

*The data regarding this year is related to the number of immigrants who had an official contract for obtaining the “staying” permit (Pena Pires, 2002)

Overall, and considering the first two groups of immigrants, the Brazilians and especially the Ukrainians, we can see that the main economic sector where these immigrants work is the one related to the building sector (construction). It is important to refer that these immigrants also work in activities related to real estate, renting and business. This sector includes activities such as the rendering of services, industrial cleaning, call centres and security activities. Regarding the case of Brazilian immigrants we can see that a high number have been concentrating their activity in the area of hotels and restaurants. The fact that Brazilians have no problems in terms of language adaptation, as their official language is Portuguese, is an important aspect that facilitates their integration in this labour niche. Finally, in relation to the Ukrainian immigrants a high number have been concentrating in the labour area of manufacturing. This fact can be related to an increasing acceptance of the immigrant workforce by this economic sector, which was not so evident before the new flows of immigrants registered since 2000. For example, in *São João da Madeira* (north of Portugal), the Technological Company of Footwear, a group of companies that has been adopting new technologies has been integrating in their companies a lot of immigrants from Eastern European countries. They have been trying to integrate them not only in the workplace, but also in Portuguese society (helping them in their localization and housing problems).

Because this table only shows the number of immigrants with “staying” permits in the year 2001, it is also important to consider other studies, regarding the case of Cape Verdean immigrants, specifically with a resident permit. Thus, in 1996 around 85% of Cape Verdean immigrants worked in the following groups of professions: craft and related building workers (including the building sector); plant and machine operators and assemblers; other non-qualified occupations (including the cleaning sector and private domestic services). In 1998, a study conducted by the Cape Verdean Embassy in Portugal (*Study of Characterization of the Cape Verdean Community in Portugal*, 1999, with 2 382 respondents, concluded that 61.6% of the men worked in the building sector, whereas 51.4% of the women worked in the cleaning sector (30.4% as employees in companies and 20.8% as private domestic employees) the other women worked in cafés and restaurants (13.6%) and in commerce (6.2%). More recent data, from a study conducted by Machado and Abranches (2005) about Cape Verdeans living in Portugal for more than fifteen years (some had received Portuguese nationality) showed that from the 295 respondents about 67% worked, and within this percentage, 37.7% worked

in the building sector and 44.8% in the cleaning sector. The fact that the main economic sectors in which Cape Verdeans work have not changed over the years, reflects their difficulties in penetrating other sectors of the labour market.

2 – Cape Verdean Immigrant Women

The first major contingent of Cape Verdeans arrived in mid 60's. This was a period when there was a worsening of shortage in labour in Portugal, on account of emigration and the colonial wars. During this period, Cape Verdean workers took jobs in the building and public works sectors and in the mining and manufacturing industries. From the outset there was a concentration of immigrants in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon (Gomes, 1999). It is estimated that between 1963 and 1973 almost 100.000 Cape-Verdean left their country to work in other countries.

The 80's were a period of consolidation of the Cape Verdean community in Portugal, who came with intention of working and finding a job. The flow of Cape Verdean immigrants continued during the 90's, and successive waves of immigrants joined those who were already living in Portugal (migration networks). During this period, the strong growth of some sectors of the economy, the most significant examples being the building and public works sector and also the construction of supermarket chains and large shopping centres, associated to increased consumption, helped to strengthen the recruiting process of foreign workers.

During these decades, the Cape Verdean community has become more consolidated in Portugal. After the first groups of Cape Verdean immigrants, others followed, benefiting from the social networks already established by this community, which resulted in more job opportunities. On the other hand, due to the process of family reunification, marriages and cohabitations, a new generation of Cape Verdean descendents was born in Portugal or arrived at a very early age, and their socialization process already took place within the context of Portuguese society.

Historically, we can say that most Cape Verdean immigrants come to Portugal with the intention of working, that is to find a well-paid job and consequently of finding better life conditions. Thus, most of Cape Verdean immigrants stay in Portugal (permanent migration), and want to bring their family, and constitute a new life in Portugal. However, we can not explain the Cape Verdean migration only through economic factors. In fact, the idea of emigration as a way to prosperity is deeply rooted in the Cape Verdean society, which together with the strong presence of European and American lifestyle elements, increases the desire to emigrate (Carling, 2002).

However, there has been a shift in terms of gender. More Cape Verdean women have been migrating to Portugal. Initially, the majority emigrated to Portugal following their husbands/partners, and in most of the cases through the family reunification process. That is, the man emigrated first, and after some time had passed and his situation in the host country was somewhat stable (job and housing conditions), the woman and other members of the family (children and first degree ascendants) joined the immigrant. In fact, “when the decision of emigrating is based on economical reasons, the tradition is for the man to emigrate first, and only after guarantying the minimal conditions for the subsistence of his household, then he “calls” for his family to come” (Saint-Maurice, 1997). On the other hand, a higher number of Cape Verdean women have also been

migrating to Portugal alone. A high percentage of these women are part of a lone parent family, that is, they have to support their children on their own. In some of the cases the children initially stay with family members and only come to Portugal later, mainly through the family reunification process (Sertório and Pereira, 2004)². This fact is in part due to the emancipation of women – these women are more autonomous, they don't depend so much on their husband/partners for financial support, they work and are financially independent. Another reason that has been pointed out for the increased number of Cape Verdean women to emigrate alone is the fact that it is easier for them to get a working visa, mainly through a contract for private domestic services, as Portugal has special agreements with Cape Verde (Sertório and Pereira, 2004). That is, while the demand for unskilled male immigrant labour has generally fallen throughout Europe, there has been an increase in demand for female domestic workers, and Portugal is no exception.

2.1. Trajectories

Trajectory of two Cape-Verdean immigrant couples

Domingas

Sex: **female**

Age: **44 years**

Marital status: **cohabitation**

Profession: **private domestic services**

Date of arrival in Portugal: **late seventies**

Domingas and José (aged 44 and 50, cohabiting couple, both illiterate) are a typical example of immigration in the late seventies.

In Cape Verde, Domingas worked seasonally as a farm labourer, picking coconuts and cocoa, and later as a maid looking after small children. She started working when she was eight and never learnt to read and write. She went to live with José and his family when she was fifteen and had her first child (one of five) aged seventeen in Cape Verde. José emigrated soon after, was lodged by a relative in the slum, and started working in the building sector. A few years later, after “*nailing together*” a shack, he sent for his wife and child and, later, for his mother and brother. The wooden shack was gradually transformed by José into a brick house, but the family is still waiting for social rehousing.

² However, the reality is generally more complicated. Usually, those who have a residence permit, not only have to prove that they have financial and housing conditions to receive their family members, but also they have to wait in general two years for the actual authorization.

Dulce

Sex: **female**

Age: **37 years**

Marital status: **cohabitation**

Residence: **Lisbon**

Profession: **employee in the cleaning sector**

Date of arrival in Portugal: **1998**

António, a bricklayer (earning 650 euros) had already been working in Portugal for a few years when he met Dulce in Cape Verde during his holidays. Dulce (now aged 37, one year of schooling, cohabiting) stayed in the sending country for a few years, had her first two children there and then joined her husband. She arrived in 1994 but left the two children with her mother in Cape Verde, so that she could work harder.

António had left the slum area by then and rented a small council flat nearby, with one bedroom. This is where they still live today, with four children, the two elder children who came in 1998 and the other two born in Lisbon (the 4 children, now aged 13, 7, 3, 2, share the bedroom).

Dulce first got a job through Cape Verdean friends in a factory (cleaning). As it was very hard work she moved to a cleaning services firm where she now works in two shifts (7am-1pm and from 6 to 9 pm, earning 350 euros). It is difficult to manage work and care, but Dulce has always relied on her older son to look after the other children in the morning; he takes them to school and day care at 8 am (private non-profit, 69 euros for two children). During the day, this son is quite independent: for example, for several years now, he has been going home at lunch time to cook his lunch. Dulce fetches the other children in the afternoon but then leaves them alone for a few hours as she leaves for work at 5pm and her older son has school until 6.30pm. Dulce and António would like to go back to Cape Verde one day and they have already started building a house there.

Trajectory of two Cape Verdean immigrant women who emigrated alone

Julia

Sex: **female**

Marital status: **separated, lone mother**

Residence: **Lisbon**

Profession: **private domestic services**

Year of the interview: **2002**

Julia is a separated mother on her own, who immigrated to Portugal by herself, leaving her daughter with an aunt. She has another daughter, aged two, who was born in Portugal in a second (but now dissolved) conjugal relationship. Since she has been in Portugal, she hasn't had the opportunity to go back to Cape-Verde, or to bring her first daughter to Portugal. This is due to her financial circumstances. Julia works in the cleaning sector and she earns the national minimum salary, around 355 euros, and she

has to pay the nanny (around 100 euros) to look after her daughter, and the rent (also around 100) to her landlady, and with the rest she has to pay for the seasonal transport, to go to work everyday, to buy food and try to send money to Cape Verde.

She has no financial support from the children's fathers, and no social support from friends or neighbours. Apart from her financial situation, she often worries about leaving her child with the nanny, as the latter sometimes leaves her daughter with another underage child. However, this mother has no other possibility besides paying a nanny to look after her child, as family members are not available, and paying a crèche is considerably more expensive. Julia has difficulties making ends meet, and sometimes goes hungry to send money to Cape Verde. She feels lonely, ashamed of living in a room in one of the worst shanty towns, and depressed about her own future and her daughters' future.

Augusta

Sex: **female**

Age: **40 years**

Marital status: **single**

Residence: **Lisbon**

Profession: **private domestic services**

Date of arrival in Portugal: **December 1998**

Augusta was born in Sao Tome and Principe, but her family is from Cape Verde and she lived most of her life in Cape Verde. Her mother raised her alone, as well as her other five brothers and sisters. Augusta has the 9th grade and trained to be a teacher. She worked for five years as an elementary teacher at the same time that she was studying. During that period of time she had her first child and later on she had her second child. The boy is now 17 and the girl is 13. She raised both her children alone, as the father left Cape Verde.

Professionally, Augusta wanted to go farther and she was able to finish her teaching course, which allowed her to have a better and stable life. However, she had some health problems, which she couldn't solve in Cape Verde, so in 1998 she came to Portugal for a treatment. She was hoping to be ready to go back to Cape Verde in March 1999, but when she contacted the school, where she was a teacher, they said that she no longer had a job and that a disciplinary process was opened and that she couldn't work as a teacher in Cape Verde for a period of five years.

When Augusta arrived in Portugal she didn't know anyone here, and was completely alone. She first stayed in a boarding-house, but some Cape Verdean neighbours invited her to stay with them. Then her brother came to Portugal for holidays and then decided to stay in Portugal, and they rented a house together. Augusta's intention was to go back to Cape Verde, but she didn't risk going back, knowing that she couldn't work as a teacher.

She had another daughter in Portugal, but she is raising her alone, as she is separated from her partner, who, nevertheless, pays the crèche and provides a pension for the child. She also has to send money to her other children that are with her mother in Cape Verde. Since she has been in Portugal, Augusta has worked in several different places. First, she worked in a restaurant, but as her manager would not provide the papers for her legalization, she then moved and started working in a graphic company. After that, she also worked in a place for the restoration of dolls, but then because of the working

hours, she had to stay at home for a year and a half to take care of her daughter. Now she works in the cleaning sector and in the private domestic services. She works in four different places and is paid by the hour (five euros). She is also doing a hairdresser course and is part of an association, the “Afronidos” association, which organizes small parties, excursions and promotes the exchange of experiences with other associations. She would like to find another job, one that allowed her to have more spare time to study and to spend with her daughter. She also misses her family and her friends, which are all in Cape Verde. She also refers that she feels alone in Portugal, as, in her opinion, it is more difficult to contact with other people, even with Cape Verdean as the life style is very different. She would like to ask for a revision of her certificates to the Portuguese Department of Education to see what equivalence she could have to work as a teacher in Portugal. However, she is still waiting for her legalization process to be concluded. She asked for a residence permit for the first time in 1999, and then again in 2001, and she was still waiting for a response. She would like to have her other two children with her, but as her legalization process is still unsolved she can not apply for the family reunification process.

2.2. Main difficulties and problems

In this point we will refer some of the main difficulties/problems that we have identified while analysing the trajectories of Cape Verdean women, and some research on the topic of immigration.

1 – Loneliness: many Cape Verdean immigrant women who come to Portugal alone refer that they don’t know anyone and feel very lonesome, as they find it is very difficult to contact new people, even if they are also Cape Verdean immigrants.

When Augusta arrived in Portugal she didn’t know anyone here, and was completely alone (...) she feels alone in Portugal, as, in her opinion, it is more difficult to contact with other people, even with Cape Verdean.

“When I arrived in Portugal, I was completely alone” – Augusta, 25 years old, private domestic employee

2 – Housing conditions: the housing conditions of many Cape Verdean immigrants are quite precarious, as in many situations it is difficult to pay for the amount of rent that some landlords ask. Also, and this is a problem that many immigrant women have, it can be difficult to find a landlord who is willing to accept children in the house or room that they are renting. Many families still live in shanty towns on the outskirts of Lisbon.

In the case of Domingas and José their wooden shack was gradually transformed by José into a brick house, but the family is still waiting for social re-housing.

3 – Working conditions and discriminations: the majority of Cape Verdean immigrant women work in the lowest qualified and lowest paid jobs in Portuguese society: in the cleaning sector and in private domestic services. Some also have to work in different shifts, which is a problem for those who have small children and have difficulty in finding someone to take care of them when they are at work. Furthermore, and this often happens to those women working in private domestic services, the employer often

does not provide the papers required for their legalization process, or is willing to do the proper deductions, such as to pay for social security.

Dulce first got a job through Cape Verdean friends in a factory (cleaning). As it was very hard work she moved to a cleaning services firm where she now works in two shifts (7am-1pm and from 6 to 9 pm, earning 350 euros).

Julia works in the cleaning sector and she earns the national minimum salary, around 355 euros, and she has to pay the nanny (around 100 euros) to look after her daughter

“(...) my salary is 71 contos (355 euros). I don’t always get 71 contos, because they sometimes deduct the hours when I don’t show up for work if I am ill. I have to pay the nanny 20 contos (around 100 euros), rent of 20 contos (around 100 euros) to “her (the landlady), then with the rest I have to buy my season ticket to get to work, so that I can get my salary again” – Julia, private domestic employee.

Augusta works in the cleaning sector and in the private domestic services. She works in four different places and is paid by the hour (five euros).

“Now, I am paid by the hour, five euros per hour, I have to run from one place to another, because I work some hours in one place and in other place. I work in three houses and in an office, where I also clean once a week”. – Augusta, 25 years old, private domestic employee

4 – Legalization process: many Cape Verdean immigrant women have to wait a long period of time to have their legalization process solved. The fact that many employers are not interested in providing the obligatory deductions, inherent to any employment contract, is a barrier that many Cape Verdean women have to overcome.

Augusta worked in a restaurant, but as her manager would not provide the papers for her legalization, she then moved and started working in a graphic company.

(...)

Augusta is still waiting for her legalization process to be concluded. She asked for a residence permit for the first time in 1999, and then again in 2001, and she was still waiting for a response.

“In 1999 I did my first request, through a lawyer, for my legalisation. In March 2001, I applied for a residence permit for the second time, when I was cohabiting with my partner. My daughter was not even born yet. Two years have already passed and I still don’t have nothing” - Augusta, 25 years old, private domestic employee.

5 – Family Reunification: the family reunification process is very slow and causes a lot of suffering for the different parts involved. Usually, the mother emigrates and has to wait for her legalization process to be concluded, as only legal immigrants can apply for the family reunification process and only after staying legally in Portugal for at least one year. Moreover, it is necessary to also prove that the immigrant has financial and housing conditions to receive the family members. The average waiting time for the actual authorization for family reunification is in most cases almost two years. So,

together with first year that the immigrant has to wait to apply for the process, the average waiting time to bring family members to Portugal is actually around three years. All these aspects increase the number of family members entering Portugal through more informal processes, and leads to a high number of immigrant women living and working illegally in Portugal.

Augusta would like to have her other two children with her, but because her legalization process is still unsolved she can not apply for the family reunification process.

“My children would like to come to Portugal, I already tried but it was not possible. They can only come while they are still underage. The boy is losing his hope, as he will be 18 soon.” - Augusta, 25 years old, private domestic employee

6 – The integration of children: this is a problem which is more evident in the case of single mothers, who have no social support from family members, friends or neighbours. In order to go to work, which for many Cape Verdean immigrant women involves doing different shifts during the day and night, the mother has to leave the child with someone (for example, to hire a nanny), as crèches are more expensive and don't take care of children at night. Another problem is related to the lack of extra-curricular activities in public schools, during the school year and also on holidays, where mothers can leave their children.

Julia often worries about leaving her child with the nanny, as the latter leaves her daughter with another underage child. However, this mother has no other possibility besides paying a nanny to look after her child, as family members are not available, and paying a crèche is considerably more expensive.

7 – Confronting a different culture: Cape Verdean immigrant women feel that it is sometimes difficult to overcome some cultural barriers. They point out family life as one aspect that clearly distinguishes the Portuguese culture from the African culture. The families in Portugal are mainly nuclear (parents and children), whereas Cape Verdean families are often cohabiting and lone mother families. Also, they often have very few family members living nearby and have little time to be with each other at the end of the day. They also refer that there is a difference in terms of sociability – Cape Verdean immigrant women say that it is difficult to communicate with other people in Portugal, even with other Cape Verdean immigrants.

Augusta misses her family and her friends, which are all in Cape Verde. She also refers that she feels alone in Portugal, as, in her opinion, it is more difficult to contact with other people, even with Cape Verdean as the life style is very different.

“The way of life here is different, even among Cape Verdeans. Back in Cape Verde we would socialize more closely, we are more close to each other. Here, even with neighbours, it is hard to communicate with each other. It is by phone or at the weekend. If we don't call, we don't know about each other. But there, in Cape Verde, we would meet on the way to work, or in some party. But here I think that there is a big distance, I don't know if it is the way of life. In Cape Verde people are more united than here, people care more about their friends. For example, here, I have more difficulties with my daughter. If I want to go out at night, I don't. But there in Cape Verde I have my

mother, my aunt and my sister. Here it is completely different.” – Augusta, 25 years old, private domestic employee.

3 – Brazilian Immigrant Women

During the second half of the 1980's, a large number of Brazilian people from various socioeconomic levels started to emigrate to various countries, not only to America, but also to Europe and Asia. Much of the emigration from Brazil has been related to economic factors.

The 80's was a decade known in the country's history as a “lost decade” (in terms of economic growth), followed by another decade of unsuccessful economic policies, which meant that even educated Brazilian workers could earn more money in low-skilled jobs in foreign countries. As a result, during the 1990's almost 1.8 million Brazilian people were living abroad (2000 Brazilian Consulate Report). The main receiving countries were the United States of America, Paraguay, Canada, Italy, Portugal, United Kingdom, France, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Australia and Japan (Amaral, 2005).

In the 80's decade, the first large migration flow from Brazil to the U.S.A., entered the country with a tourist visa and stayed for a period of one to two years, and then returned to Brazil for another two years and repeated the process again, when there was the need to earn more money. But, as the migration policies in the U.S.A became more restrictive, this back and forth movement also became more difficult to maintain, and, consequently, there was an increase in the number of illegal Brazilian emigrants entering the U.S.A. (Amaral, 2005). In the last few years, more Brazilians have started to obtain a tourist visa for Mexico, and while in Mexico they attempt to enter in the U.S.A. crossing the Mexican borders.

The migration flow of Brazilians to Paraguay dates back to the 60's and most of them work in agriculture and many are landowners in the border regions. Most of the Brazilians that choose Japan to emigrate are descendents of former Japanese immigrants (Amaral, 2005).

The choice of Portugal as a destination country has a lot to do with the fact that the two countries have been connected historically since 1500, when Pedro Álvares Cabral arrived in Brazil during the period of Portuguese Discoveries. Since then Portuguese people have always been a strong presence in Brazil, which is reflected in the special relationship between the two countries. Also the fact that the language is the same is an important advantage of integration of Brazilian people in Portugal, and this is taken into consideration in the decision to emigrate.

Regarding the Brazilian emigration to Portugal, the 80's was the decade of the first major flow of Brazilian emigrants to Portugal. As was stated above, this was a decade of economic crisis in Brazil, but was, on the contrary, for Portugal the decade of the formal entering into the European Community (1986), which represented an increase in terms of European funds. This first flow was characterized by young Brazilian immigrants (men and women) highly qualified (dentists, publicists, engineers, doctors) (Diniz, 2004). However, during the 90's the flow of Brazilian immigrants changes, mainly because of the demands of the Portuguese labour market, with the immigrants

becoming more concentrated in the building and services sector (restaurants, cleaning and commerce) (Baganha, Ferrão and Malheiros, 1999). In 2001, through the new mechanism of admission of foreigners in Portugal, the “staying” permit (which was only valid until 2003), a high number of Brazilians benefited from this new form of legalization. A total of 37.951 Brazilian immigrants received a “staying” permit between the years of 2001 and 2004. Together with the number of Brazilian immigrants with a residence permit (around 29 000), in 2004 this group became the top group of immigrants in Portugal (around 67 000) (SEF (*Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* [Foreigners and Borders Department])).

In 2003, an agreement was made between Portugal and Brazil. This agreement was destined to put into practice an extraordinary legalization process for all the Brazilian immigrants that have entered in Portugal before 11th of July of 2003, day of the celebration of this agreement, that became known as “acordo Lula” (Lula’s agreement). In fact three agreements were signed between the president of Brazil, Lula da Silva, and the Prime Minister at the time, Durão Barroso. The first one establishes the regularization of thousands of Brazilian immigrants that did not have their legal situation solved, through the obtaining of working visas; the second one states the free circulation of people between the two countries for a period of ninety days, and the third one is intends to prevent and repress the traffic of immigrants. To apply for the working visa the immigrant has to do it outside Portuguese territory (the nearest examples are the Portuguese consulates in the cities of Vigo, Seville or Madrid), and to present an employment contract or the promise of an employment contract.

Since the agreement was made around 31 thousand of Brazilian immigrants applied to receive a working visa (more 15 thousand than was initially expected), and after two years have passed only around 14 thousand have seen their regularization process solved. Portugal has become the fourth country with the highest number of Brazilians (it is estimated that around 90 thousand Brazilian immigrants are living in Portugal). The first three countries are the U.S.A. (750 thousand), Paraguay (450 thousand) and Japan (270 thousand).

Brazilian immigrant women have been representing almost 50% of the total population of Brazilian immigrant residing legally in Portugal (SEF (*Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* [Foreigners and Borders Department])). This means that in Portugal there is not a high asymmetry in terms of gender, regarding this community. Generally, Brazilian women in Portugal are young and work in specific labour market niches, mainly in cafés and restaurants, shops and in the cleaning sector. The majority comes from the states of the Southeast (Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro e Espírito Santo), and also from the South (Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina). However, more recently there has been an increase in the number of immigrant women coming from the states of Goiás and Randónia and also from the Northeast (Diniz, 2004).

While in Portugal, they are mainly concentrated in the Lisbon urban area, but also in the North and Central coastal regions of the country. Their main reasons for immigrating to Portugal have to do with financial motivations. They come looking for a job with a higher salary, which will allow them to have a better life here and also to send some money to their families in Brazil. Many Brazilian immigrant women come to Portugal leaving their children with relatives (usually close family members) and one of their

main purposes here in Portugal is to earn money to send to their family in Brazil, so that they can have a better life there.

According to Amaral (2005), many Brazilian immigrants choose to return to Brazil, despite the fact that the Brazilian government does not have any specific policy to bring the emigrants back to their country of birth. In fact, the Brazilian economy has been benefiting from the remittances of its emigrants. So, many Brazilian women come to Portugal with a perspective of short-term migration, as they ultimately would like to go back to Brazil. However, there is also a significative percentage that decides to stay in Portugal and to start a new life. An important factor is that Portugal continues to be in demand for unskilled workers in specific sectors of the economy, the arrival of family members and also the fact that the situation in Brazil hasn't been changing significantly in terms of economic growth. All these different aspects lead to a stronger connection with the host country, making the possibility of returning to the country of birth more remote.

3.1 Trajectories

Marli

Sex: **female**

Age: **45**

Marital status: **divorced**

Residence: **Lisbon**

Profession: **employee in the cleaning sector**

Date of arrival in Portugal: **2000**

Marli is a 45 years old Brazilian woman. She lived in Espirito Santo and studied until she was 16 years old and then she got married and started working. She used to sell at the beach and in hotels. She raised her two daughters and her son alone, as she is divorced from her husband since her first daughter was very young. She lived for ten years with a partner, from whom she has been separated for three years.

Marli has good memories from Brazil. She thinks a lot about her family and friends. She has nine brothers and sisters and always felt very close to her family but dreamt of finding a better life outside Brazil. Her two daughters are already married, and both studied and have jobs. So, before leaving Brazil she lived with her son and worked in a newsstand at the beach, but her salary was very low (340 Brazilian real, around 152 euros) and she could only pay for food and clothes. She couldn't save any money.

Marli first tried to go to the United States of America, but she could not get a visa, and then through an agency she decided to come to Portugal as the language is the same and the culture is very similar. The agency had a contact of a person in Portugal who received Marli when she arrived in Lisbon, but she had to pay 220 euros to this person.

After eight days of being in Portugal, she got a job as a private domestic employee, through a temporary employment agency. Marli was satisfied with her job, but she felt lonely. She stayed all day alone in the house of her employer, there was no-one she could talk to, and she used to cry a lot when she remembered her family. She decided to leave her job and to find something else to do. Marli went to Cacém to live with a friend and she applied for several jobs. After a very short period of time, she started working

in “Carrefour” (a very large supermarket chain), as a cleaning employee in the night shifts. Marli likes her working hours, because this way she has more time to do other things during the day. However, she refers that it is very tiring. Marli did not have her legalization process concluded at the time of the interview and this has been an obstacle to receive her salary. Because of her illegal situation she did not have a bank account and she had to ask another person to cash her salary cheque. However, the company where she works has already sent an employment contract to the *Inspecção Geral de Trabalho* (General Work Inspection), so she should be legalized in a few months.

Marli feels that she is discriminated against, not because she is a foreigner, but because she works in the cleaning sector. She says that other people at her workplace would not talk to her because they feel that they are superior and she is only a cleaning employee. Besides that, she is very satisfied with her salary here in Portugal, as she can pay for all of her things here and still has some money to send to her family (her son and parents). At the time of the interview she had been in Portugal for two years, and she feels very adapted and completely integrated in Portuguese society. She has many friends here from work, but because she works at night (three part-times of three hours each) and on Saturday morning she also works in a private house, she has little time to spend with friends.

Marli has been dividing the rent with other people. First, in a house where she lived with other people, and more recently she rented a room in a house where three other Brazilian couples live. Her life is better now. She has some money to send to her family, but her wish is to go back some day, as she was building a house in Brazil, that her son was finishing. One of Marli’s daughters is also in Portugal with her husband in Ericeira, and Marli would like to have her son with her too. Finally, Marli biggest wish is to have her own house and her own car, in Brazil or in Portugal, so that she could have her family together and spend more time with her friends as well.

Nilda

Sex: **female**

Age: **40**

Marital status: **separated**

Residence: **Reboleira**

Profession: **employee in the cleaning sector**

Date of arrival in Portugal: **August 2001**

Nilda is a 40 years old Brazilian woman. Her parents have always worked in a farm in Baía as well as her five brothers and sisters. Nilda has two daughters and is separated from her partner. She used to live with her partner in Araçatuba, São Paulo, and they built a house together there. After the separation it was agreed that the house should be for her and for their daughters. Nilda had to take care of the two girls alone, so she used to spend most of her spare time with her daughters and at night she carried out her studies.

Nilda has good memories from Brazil, but she also remembers how hard it was because of the unemployment problem.

When she decided to come to Portugal, the most difficult thing for her was to leave her daughters, who stayed with her mother. Her main reason for emigrating was the fact that her salary in Brazil was very low and she couldn’t pay for the basic things and already owed some people money. She chose Portugal because the language is the same and she

already had a cousin living in Setúbal, who helped her when she arrived in Lisbon in August 2001.

First, Nilda worked as a private domestic employee, for many hours and the salary was low (lower than she was expecting to earn in Portugal). She was also expecting to have an employment contract, which her employer never agreed to do. When she decided to leave the job, she also did not receive her last salary as the employer demanded a thirty-one day notice. Then through a Brazilian friend who also worked there, Nilda got a new job in “Carrefour” of Oeiras, as a cleaning employee. After a short period of time she moved to the “Carrefour” of Telheiras. She was working at night and at the time of the interview was expecting to get an employment contract, which her supervisor said was already being assessed by the *Inspecção Geral do Trabalho* (General Work Inspection). In her spare time, Nilda likes to relax and to rest from her working hours. She also likes to go out, but usually she goes out alone as most of her friends work during the day.

After leaving her first job, where she lived in the house of her employer, Nilda moved to Massamá where she lived in an apartment with other Brazilian immigrants, and then she moved to Reboleira, where she rented a room from a Portuguese landlady who rented rooms in her dwelling.

Nilda thinks that her life is better now, but she hopes that it will improve even more when she gets her legal permit. She is very happy to be able to send some money to her parents and to her daughters. However, she feels some discrimination, and this was more evident when she was working as a private domestic employee, as she referred that people would always imply in their speech that somehow they are superior. She also thinks that there are some differences between Portuguese and Brazilian people. For example, Portuguese people are more serious and Brazilian people are more extrovert and communicative.

Nilda would like to bring her two daughters to Portugal, as soon as her life is stable and her legal situation is solved. Her biggest dream is for her daughters to study, to have good jobs and to live a different life from hers.

3.2. Main difficulties and problems

Based on the analysis of the trajectories and the research on the topic of Brazilian immigrant women we have identified some specific difficulties regarding this group.

1 – Loneliness: many Brazilian immigrant women come to Portugal, and do not have anyone that they can talk to. This is particularly difficult during the first weeks. They feel quite fragile and insecure dealing with the emotions of leaving their country and family and of being in a new country, where they do not know anyone.

Marli was satisfied with her job, but she felt lonely. She stayed all day alone in the house of her employer. There was no-one she could talk to, and she used to cry a lot when she remembered her family.

“After eight days of being in Portugal, I found a job as a private domestic employee (...). I liked my job, but because I was only in Portugal for a very short period of time, I felt very alone, because I worked in an apartment, in the 10th floor, and I didn’t talk with the employer because she was at work, and her husband as well, and I stayed inside the house all day long, I began to feel desperate, I used to cry, anxious to leave. I didn’t want to stay. I wanted to go back to Brazil. I was feeling very depressed, in agony, I think I was depressed. I had left a granddaughter, two months old, and a

grandson, five years old, and he was very attached to me, I remembered that and I cried a lot". – Marli, 45 years old, employee in the cleaning sector

2 – Housing conditions: while in Portugal, many Brazilian immigrant women have to share a house in order to be able to pay the rent. Sometimes, they can only afford to rent a room. The main problems that derive from this situation is the lack of privacy and the lack of space to receive their family members, mainly their children.

Marli has been dividing the rent with other people. First, in a house where she lived with other people, and more recently she rented a room in a house where three other Brazilian couples live.

"Since I have been in Portugal, I have been dividing the rent. I lived in a house where a lot of people lived. Now I rented a room in Cacém, and I live with three other Brazilian couples, we use the same kitchen and each one has its own bedroom". – Marli, 45 years old, employee in the cleaning sector.

After leaving her first job, where she lived in the house of her employer, Nilda moved to Massamá where she lived in an apartment with other Brazilian immigrants, and then she moved to Reboleira, where she rented a room.

"The main difficult thing for me was living in a bedroom, and with people that we don't know. After working as a private domestic employee, I went to live in Massamá, in an apartment with other Brazilians. Then I moved out, and went to live in Reboleira and I am in a house of a Portuguese landlady who rents rooms. It is a dwelling". – Nilda, 40 years old, employee in the cleaning sector

3 – Working conditions: this is a problem quite evident for those immigrant women that do not have their legal situation solved. Employers take advantage of that and sometimes refuse to give them an employment contract – an important aspect taken into consideration when someone asks for a legal permit – and to pay fairly for their work. Another relevant aspect, that is quite evident regarding immigrant women working in the cleaning sector, is the fact that they have to work in shifts and in some of the cases during the night, that is, to work unsocial hours.

First, Nilda worked as a private domestic employee. She worked for many hours and the salary was low (lower than she was expecting to earn in Portugal). She was also expecting to have an employment contract, which her employer never agreed to do. When she decided to leave the job, she also did not receive her last salary as the employer demanded a thirty-one day notice.

(...)

She was working at night and at the time of the interview was expecting to get an employment contract, which her supervisor said was already being evaluated by the Inspeção Geral do Trabalho (General Work Inspection).

"First, I worked as a private domestic employee; I started at eight o'clock and worked until midnight, with a very low salary. It was very disappointing my first job, it was through an employment agency. I didn't receive my last salary, because I only said that I was going to leave five days before. She promised me an employment contract, but she

never did it, and didn't pay my last salary. She said that I had to say at least a month earlier before leaving. Through a Brazilian friend, who also worked there, I found my second job, in Carrefour of Oeiras. I worked there in the cleaning sector, and then I went to the Carrefour of Telheiras. I work from the midnight until six am. I am not legal yet, but my supervisor said that my employment contract was already in the Inspeção Geral do Trabalho (General Work Inspection)". – Nilda, 40 years old, employee in the cleaning sector.

4 – Legalization process: for those immigrant women that are still waiting for their legal permit, some aspects of their life become more difficult. Besides having to wait far more time than is supposed for a legal permit, they have to overcome some difficulties, such as their employers refusing to apply for an employment contract or paying them less than they would pay a Portuguese person for the same job.

Marli did not have her legalization process concluded at the time of the interview and this has been an obstacle to receive her salary. Because of her illegal situation, she did not have a bank account, and she had to ask another person to cash her salary cheque.

"I am not completely happy because I don't have my legalization process concluded. I work for a company that has a contract with Carrefour. If I was residing legally I would be very happy. It was already made an employment contract, that is in Inspeção Geral do Trabalho (General Work Inspection) for approval. The Carrefour pressured the company to legalize the employees. Then they decided to do employment contracts, but now I don't know for how long it is going to stay in the Inspeção Geral do Trabalho (General Work Inspection)". – Marli, 45 years old, employee in the cleaning sector.

5 – Family reunification: this continues to be a major difficulty also for Brazilian immigrant woman, mainly for those who do not have their legal situation solved. For the mothers who have left their children with family members, it is not only hard to deal with the separation and to cope with the physical distance from their loved ones, but they also have to wait to have a legal permit for at least one year before applying for the family reunification process, and to prove as well that they have financial and housing conditions to receive their children.

Nilda would like to bring her two daughters to Portugal, as soon as her life is stable and her legal situation is solved.

"I think about bringing my daughters to Portugal, when my life is stable" – Nilda, 40 years old, employee in the cleaning sector

6 – Discrimination: the fact of being foreign women, working in some cases in low-skilled jobs, makes Brazilian immigrant women feel that they are discriminated against. In some cases it is not the fact that they are foreigners, but the fact that they work in less qualified jobs, for example, in the cleaning sector or in private domestic services that leads to some discriminatory attitudes, from the employers and work colleagues.

Marli feels that she is discriminated against, not because she is a foreigner, but because she works in the cleaning sector. She says that other people at her workplace would not talk to her because they feel that they are superior and she is only a cleaning employee.

“I feel a little bit discriminated, not because I am a foreigner, but because I work in the cleaning sector. People despise you, they don’t say hello, at the workplace. In Brazil this doesn’t happen, everyone is equal. I have felt that, even by the replacement colleagues. They earn less in replacing the products than me, but there are a lot people that ignore us”. – **Marli, 45 years old, employee in the cleaning sector**

Nilda feels some discrimination, and this was more evident when she was working as a private domestic employee. She referred that people would always imply in their speech that somehow they are superior.

“I feel some discrimination, but nothing that affects me. I used to feel that when I was working as a private domestic employee, in the way people talk, they are always making clear that we are worst than them”. – **Nilda, 40 years old, employee in the cleaning sector.**

4. Ukrainian Immigrant Women

Ukrainian emigration is not a recent phenomenon, since there are about ten million Ukrainian emigrants around the world, the majority living in Russia, Canada, USA, Brazil and Argentina. Since the beginning of the XX century there were strong Ukrainian migration flows to these countries; during and after the second world war these flows were reinforced but there were also new flows to new countries, such as Belgium and England; however, only after 1992 do we find Ukrainian emigration on the way to Germany and the Mediterranean countries, such as Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal.

The first major contingent of Ukrainian citizens arrived in Portugal at the end of the nineties. The collapse of both the Berlin wall (1989) and the Soviet Union system (1992) changed the economic and political system of these countries and as a result 120 million people from the ex-Soviet countries lived in poverty. Ukraine itself suffered with these deep political and economical changes, with continuous closures and crisis inside industries, enterprises and public institutions, which, consequently, produced an increasing rate of unemployment and low salaries. On the other hand, the attractive cultural and economic hegemony of the Western European countries in relation to the real opportunities presented by the Eastern European region, together with the facility of economic and human exchange inside the Schengen countries and the opening of frontiers in the ex-soviet countries, created a high migratory pressure among the people in the countries of origin like Ukraine.

From the nineties onwards, it became possible to obtain a tourist visa to the Schengen countries through travel agencies established in the Eastern European countries, which aimed, in reality, to setting up a traffic network of workforce from the Eastern European to the Schengen countries. These networks were very successful because they could arrange a migration pack containing a tourist visa to the Schengen countries as an entry pass to the labour market, a crucial achievement in a context of strong restrictions facing the entry in the Schengen countries for any non-communitarian citizen. This pack would usually also contain the means of transportation and a contact in the host countries to help during the first days as they could be strong language problems.

Until 2000 the presence of Ukrainian immigrants in Portugal with a “residence” permit was very residual (about 163 Ukrainian citizens registered in the foreigner and borders department), which meant that in the host country there wasn’t any numeric relevance to support a migration network. On the other hand, there weren’t any kind of historic, cultural or economic privileges regarding Ukraine or any other eastern European country, and also the Portuguese government hadn’t adopted until then, any pro-active policy to recruit workforce from the Eastern European countries. Portugal became an attractive destination of emigration mostly for three other reasons: 1) the difference between the level of life and salaries between Portugal and Ukraine, 2) the symbolic international weight of the Portuguese integration in the European Union and 3) the shortage of labour in Portugal, mostly in low skilled jobs in the building sector. This context endorsed the creation of new migratory demands, well promoted and exploited by the networks inside the travel agencies in the Eastern European countries. As a result, there was a strong increase in immigrants in Portugal between 1998 and 2002, without a proper working permit, especially from these countries and in which Ukrainian immigrants had a leading role.

The goals proclaimed by the strong political restrictions in relation to the entry into the Schengen countries did not coincide with the inefficiency in the administrative controls, a reality shared by all developed and democratic countries (Pires, 2002). This fact resulted in a continuous growth of the irregular immigration, which also provided for a growing segmentation inside the labour market, creating another attraction factor for more immigrant labour force (such as the experience of Ukrainian immigrants in Portugal). The new, massive and irregular migratory flow observed in Portugal from 1998 to 2001 doubled the number of immigrants and forced the need for an extraordinary legalization process at the beginning of 2001, and also led to the adoption of a new “staying” permit in 2001. As a result, this led to another immigration flow until 2003.

According to some studies (Baganha, Marques and Góis (2004); Pires (2002); Gonçalves and Figueiredo (2005)) the majority of the Ukrainian immigrants legalized their situation in 2001 and became, in 2002, one of top three national groups of immigrants. They totalize 14,7% of the total of immigrants and 36,1% of the new “staying” permits, and their main reason to immigrate has been clearly related to economic aspects (they expect to find any job with higher salaries than the ones they earned in their home country).

The education level of the Ukrainian citizens living in Portugal is, in average, higher than the Portuguese average, as they have in their country of origin more than 90% of literacy and a minimum education level of ten or twelve years of study. It is quite common to find Ukrainian citizens with a professional or technical qualification certificate, corresponding to twelve years of study or even a bachelor degree, and others with a higher education level in a civil or in a military university. In Portugal, as mentioned above, these citizens work in economic sectors and professional activities that have few or no similarities with their professional experience or qualifications achieved in their country of origin.

These immigrants live an isolated life, as they arrive in Portugal without having any previous contact with the host country, its culture and language, and these are disadvantages that can lead to social isolation, either from the Portuguese cultural and social life or the Ukrainian one, as they are too faraway from their home country. The situation becomes harder as they depend very much on an employment contract, which leads, quite often, to exploitation in the work place, increasing their potential to social exclusion. However, their higher qualifications usually enable them to learn Portuguese quickly.

Since the beginning, this flow from Ukraine has registered (in the foreigner and borders department in Portugal) more male citizens than female citizens, with a masculinity relation of five males for each female registered (Pires, 2002). This is quite typical in most immigration flows in Portugal, with the majority of the female citizens coming to join their husbands or partners. Later, knowing that this phenomenon is already a considerable one and with a majority of young and male citizens, immigration also relies on informal channels, resulting in self-recruitment for continuous and new immigration flows. Today's reality shows a strong potential for family reunification, *bringing* in new citizens with different demographic characteristics (more women, more children and older people).

Although these immigrants initially have a short-term migration project, the arrival of more family members, the continuous shortage of labour in unqualified professional activities in Portugal and the low expectations of improvement in the political and economic situation of the home country, lead to a strong tendency for a longer/permanent residence in the host country, changing the initial intentions of these immigrants.

4.1. Trajectories

Piatachoc

Sex: **female**

Age: **30 years**

Marital status: **married, living with her husband (from Ukraine) and her daughter**

Present residence: **Lisbon**

Present profession: **employee in the cleaning sector**

Date of arrival in Portugal: **10 February 2001**

Piatachoc is 30 years old. She was born in Drogobych, in Eastern Ukraine, 200 kms from L'viv, the biggest city in the region of Sambir and Styri. She speaks Ukrainian, Russian and also Italian, and she studied eleven years in school, three years as a production control technician and another three months of informatics in Russia. By the time of the interview she had been living in Portugal for nearly one year and a half, with her husband and their daughter, who was eleven years old and had been in Portugal for only three months.

Piatachoc finished her studies in Russia at the age of 18, returned to her country and started to look for a job, finding only a job as a textile factory worker. She worked in the same factory for three years, and during that period she got pregnant and had her daughter. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union falls and both she and her husband had problems finding a job or getting paid for the jobs they managed to find, a situation that severely affected the economic situation of their family. Together with her husband she anticipated in emigration a solution for their problems. First her husband went to Poland, where he worked without an employment contract, then to the Czech Republic, where he was disappointed by the strong connections of the immigrant labour market with what they call the *mafias* from the Eastern European countries. She joined her husband in both countries, working in the private domestic services, while he worked in the building sector. But the experiences didn't go as expected, so they returned to their country and started to look again for a job in Ukraine.

Because the situation in Ukraine didn't seem to change, they emigrated again, this time to a western country and planned not to return. They sold their two houses and wanted to go together to Canada, but the visas cost much more than they could afford, so they turned to the Schengen countries. Through an agency they got their tourism visas at the German embassy and defined a different strategy, paying 800 dollars each: she would go to Italy, where she could find work in the private domestic services, he would go to Spain to work in the building sector. Their daughter stayed with Piatachoc's parents and they left Ukraine. Piatachoc took a bus with other Ukrainian women and arrived in Naples; her husband took another bus only with Ukrainian men, and Piatachoc's brother, but arrived in Lisbon and not in Spain as promised by the agency. Piatachoc

didn't enjoy her stay in Poggio Marino (Naples, Pompei), and only stayed there for three months with no hope of obtaining a work contract, even if she had a job as she was expecting, but the experience was a traumatic one. After crying on the phone with her husband, he decided to rent a car and picked her up at the risk of his legal situation, because he still didn't have his Portuguese permit. He left from the Algarve (south of Portugal, where he was working) went to Naples and came back again to the Algarve, crossing Spain and France, in a seven days journey.

Piatachoc entered Portugal on her birthday, February 1999, and immediately started working with her husband, picking fruit in a big agricultural cooperative in the Algarve. They had a room for themselves and they were hoping to get an employment contract, but they didn't and the experience lasted 6 months, time enough for them to organize themselves and leave the Algarve and try a new job in Lisbon. In Lisbon, they looked for a job with their own means and without help, changing jobs all the time, but mostly in the building sector for him and in private domestic services for her. They organized shifts: when she was working he would look for a job and vice versa. At the end of 2000, she got her first employment contract, as an employee in the cleaning sector with two free days in the week, and he got his contract later, as a metal worker in a small workshop with week-ends free. In 2001, nearly three years after arriving in Portugal, they both had their first "staying" permits. At the time of the interview they both had the same jobs, she in a job that has nothing to do with her qualifications and he in his profession, even if is not very well paid.

As soon as both got their first "staying" permit, in 2001, they organized their holidays together and went to Ukraine to fetch their daughter. The process was possible only with the help of the Polish embassy, they said, complaining that the Ukrainian embassy didn't help them. They have some family in Portugal, her brother and his family, with whom they live now in a flat in Lisbon. Most of their friends in Portugal are new friendships, from Ukraine and Russia. They would like to have two professional activities in order to improve the family's financial situation, but their priority is their daughter's integration in a Portuguese school. Most of their free time is spent showing her the country's culture and teaching her the language. As for the present, they are more satisfied with the labour market in Portugal than in Ukraine, and regarding the future they have no idea if they will live in their country of origin again. Since their daughter is living with them, they haven't made any plans to visit Ukraine, apart from sending some money to help Piatachoc's parents. They are only worried about the future of their daughter, who was, at the moment of the interview, expecting to enter the 5th class in the new school year and was trying to learn, in the meanwhile, the Portuguese language in a short term Portuguese language course, in a public training center together with her parents.

Ludmila

Sex: **female**

Age: **25 years**

Marital status: **single (living in cohabitation)**

Present residence: **Portas de Benfica (Lisbon)**

Present profession: **private domestic services**

Date of arrival in Portugal: **27 January 2001**

Ludmila is a 25 years old Ukrainian woman, living in Portugal with her boyfriend since January 2001. She had lived all her life in Sevezsk (Eastern Ukraine) with her parents and in the last two years before coming to Portugal she lived with her boyfriend. In Sevezsk she studied to be a chemical technician in secondary school and an economic engineer at university. At the time of her departure she was a trainee in the local town council of her residence, as an economic consultant, but she decided to join her boyfriend in Portugal. He was also working in his profession at home, as a metallurgic engineer, but the economical crisis started to affect all sectors and all his salaries were in delay. His main reason to emigrate was to improve his economic situation, and Portugal became a choice because he has a cousin who lives in Portugal for nine years. Ludmila came with a student visa and by plane, a strategy for security thought by her companion to avoid what she called mafias from her country of origin. At the time of the interview (middle of 2002) she was waiting for her first “staying” permit. The only employer who gave a contract that enables her to apply for this “staying” permit was her employer in the domestic services.

In Portugal she barely has relatives, just a cousin of her boyfriend, and some friends from different origins, especially Russians and Ukrainians. First she lived in a small town in the outskirts of Lisbon, where both she and her boyfriend worked, sharing a house with another Ukrainian family. At the time of the interview they were living in a flat in Lisbon with other Ukrainian family. In the first year and an half in Portugal she had three jobs, and only one was with a working contract. First she got work through her cousin as a waitress in a café, seven days a week for two months, a job she had to quit because her student visa didn't allow her a legal working contract, and so she was unemployed for four months; then a Russian friend took her to a discothèque dance group, working about three times a week and being paid with receipts, an occupation she still had at the moment of the interview; the next seven months she also worked with a contract as a private domestic employee in a family, four days a week and was earning the Portuguese minimum national wage. In summary, Ludmila legalized her work situation nearly two years after arriving and her work has nothing to do with her qualifications.

Ludmila has learned Portuguese in a public training center for a couple of months, but she would like to learn Portuguese better, in order to study economy again and try to work as an economist in Portugal. But she complains that keeping two jobs and the responsibilities of a housewife leave her very little time for other projects. Her boyfriend is working in his profession, as a metallurgic engineer, but his situation is not yet stable. He has been in Portugal since 1999, and before he worked as a bricklayer and then as an employee in a slaughterhouse. Together with their cousin, they were trying to organize an immigrant association, to defend themselves from the exploitation they have experienced in the Portuguese labour market.

When asked about their lives in Portugal and their expectations in relation to the future, Ludmila admits the better material conditions she can achieve working in Portugal, but she also recognizes that she would really prefer to be in her country, where she has her family (mostly her parents) and her friends. She says that the real reason for her emigration is the wish of her boyfriend and not hers, and he may want to try a new country again, an effort she would, again, prefer not to go through. But she also recognizes the difference in achieving better jobs and helping their parents at home with some money they manage to send sometimes.

Katiúcha

Sex: **female**

Age: **42 years**

Marital status: **divorced, living in cohabitation (Portuguese partner) / has a 24 years old daughter in Russia**

Residence: **Costa da Caparica**

Profession: **Food packer**

Date of arrival in Portugal: **between August and September 2001**

Year of the interview: **2002**

Katiúcha is a 42 years old Ukrainian woman, who was born in a military base at Maldzoc (Alania, Caucasus) but has a Ukrainian nationality. Because both her father and ex-husband were military during the soviet period, she lived in many soviet countries (Ukraine, Russia, Mongolia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia), but she grew up in Vinnytsia (center of Ukraine) and at the age of fifteen she studied three years in trade managing in a school in Poltava (Eastern Ukraine). Before the independence of Ukraine, she was living in Poltava with her ex-husband and her daughter, and there she studied managing of trade at the university. As the Soviet Union falls, the Ukrainian language became a national priority and both her and her daughter have the Russian language as their mother tongue (even though she speaks Ukrainian), so she moved with her family to Volgograd (Russia). In Volgograd she got divorced after three years but lived there 10 years with her daughter, as a market seller. At the time of the interview her daughter was twenty four years old and was still living in Volgograd.

Katiúcha decided to emigrate not mainly for economic reasons, as she had her house and a stable business settlement. Because she had been divorced for seven years and someone she knew that was living in Portugal told her the country was setting up a new process for immigrant legalization, she planned her emigration to Portugal to find a husband. Katiúcha paid a woman to organize all her documents and traveling procedures in Volgograd, and this way she got a tourist visa from the Italian embassy and came to Lisbon on a bus, together with many other citizens from the Eastern European countries. At the beginning of her stay she shared a room with another woman in a hostel in the center of Lisbon for eight months. After two months of her arrival she started to work as a food packer of food for air companies, with a temporary employment contract and through an agency of temporary work. At the time of the interview she had been living for two months with her Portuguese boyfriend and his grown-up sons and a grandson, in Costa da Caparica. Katiúcha was keeping the same job and waiting for her first “staying” permit, which means that she legalized her

situation in Portugal nearly one year after arriving. However, her work had nothing to do with her qualifications.

She would like to be in the trade business in Portugal, so she attended a Portuguese language course, in a public training center, to improve her Portuguese and maybe to get a job as a seller. She has no family in Portugal, just some new and not very close friendships from Portugal, Brazil, Angola, Russia, and Ukrainia. Katiúcha's family is mostly her daughter, to whom she doesn't send any money because in Volgograd she's working in Katiúcha's settlement, selling clothes in the market. Katiúcha would prefer to live nearer her daughter, but that would mean she would have to leave Portugal or leave everything in Volgograd and sell the house because they are alone there, and at the time of the interview both solutions were, she said, not very realistic. She's very disappointed with her professional situation and also her daughter's professional situation (who studied economics at university), but she sees no chances in Russia, Portugal or even Ukrainia.

Calina Crasnáia

Sex: **female**

Age: **38 years**

Marital status: **married, living with her husband (from Congo) and her son**

Residence: **Almada**

Profession: **managing training courses for foreigners**

Date of arrival in Portugal: **1998**

Calina Crasnáia is 38 years old and had always lived in the region of Donetsk (eastern Ukraine). She was born in Slavensk but she studied medicine at university in Donetsk, where she worked in a hospital. It was at the university that she met her husband, who was an exchange student from Congo at the medicine university. They married, had a child and lived in Ukraine before emigrating. Today she lives in Portugal with her husband and her 16 year old son.

Her main reasons to emigrate were economical and professional ones. In Ukraine Calina Crasnáia had worked in a hospital but during her last year of work she didn't receive her salary and after that she was unemployed for a long period. Her husband didn't work in Ukraine because he had finished his studies and because the situation there was already very difficult, so he decided to come to Portugal. He had an uncle in Portugal who advised them to try Portugal because there was a need for medical doctors, and so her husband entered in Lisbon in 1997. In 1998, Calina Crasnáia joined her husband, applying for a tourism visa at the Portuguese consulate in Kiev and took a plane to Faro (south of Portugal). In the beginning she rented a room with her husband in Odivelas (outskirts of Lisbon), sharing the house with a family from Guinea Bissau for three months. After December 1998 they moved to a small studio in Almada, where they were still living at the time of the interview. She returned to Ukraine only in December 2000, to fetch her son who was living with her mother, and they returned on a bus through Poland, where they took a train to Madrid and then another bus to Lisbon. In the beginning of her stay in Portugal her economical situation was very unstable. First she was unemployed, second she worked for one month as an employee in the cleaning sector, third she worked for half a year as a factory worker and then she was unemployed again. In her first year, she studied Portuguese in a non governmental organization and in 1999 she also took some informatics courses there. After leaving

her job in the factory Calina Crasnáia was unemployed for six months so she spent her time creating a manual of the Portuguese language for Eastern European immigrants, together with her Portuguese teacher. After that project she started working in the translation business as a second occupation and as an independent worker, and in the beginning of 2001 she had an opportunity to work for the non governmental organization where she had learned Portuguese. There she was working part-time and with a temporary contract, managing training courses for foreigners. At the time of the interview Calina Crásnaia had these two occupations and got her first “staying” permit, nearly four years after arriving. Her work was a qualified one, but had nothing to do with her original qualifications. Her husband had been working mostly in the building sector since the beginning and mostly without a contract, and lately he had his working and legal situation regularized and was working as a pneumatic drill operator.

Calina Crasnáia has only her husband, her son, a cousin and his family in Portugal. Her son’s integration in Portugal is becoming a problem for her, because he has been developing an aggressive behaviour towards his parents, accusing them of abandoning him during the two years they were in Portugal without him. Her friends are both Ukrainian and Portuguese, relationships she keeps from work and from an immigrant association in Lisbon. In this association she is one of the leaders and gives lessons of Russian language. She would really like to practice medicine again, but the process for obtaining equivalence is quite hard (requires passing examinations), and she was planning with her husband that she could study and then trying to work as a doctor again. Meanwhile he would work and wait for her to finish her studies, so he could try to study also, and then they both could find a job in their profession. But the “staying” permit doesn’t allow for permanence in Portugal without an employment contract, so when Calina Crasnáia is asked about her future she is not very optimist, neither for her life in Portugal or for the possibilities in Ukraine.

Tatiana

Sex: **female**

Age: **25 years**

Marital status: **married**

Residence: **Loures**

Profession: **employee in the cleaning sector**

Date of arrival in Portugal: **December 2004**

Tatiana is a 25 years old Ukrainian woman, who speaks Russian as her mother tongue and lived all her life in Vinnytsia. She got married when she was 16 years old, and had her son when she was 17. She studied at the university for five years, first in a secretarial course and then she studied to be a physiatrist and was self-employed for two years. She started working only when she was 23 years old, and was earning something like 150 euros each month.

Tatiana’s husband worked as a policeman in a Ukrainian prison, together with her father who was his superior. They both earned 100 euros. It was through their work that he met her family, and both her mother and father strongly recommended him as a husband for Tatiana. She was 16 and he was 23 when they got married, and her mother offered them an house with three rooms, a kitchen and a living-room. Because Tatiana studied until she was 23, they had to get an employee to take care of their son and their house, an old woman with no family and very poor, that was living with them. Her mother

used to work as a secretary at the university, also earning 100 euros. Both her parents are pensioners now, her father since he was 45 years old, due to cut downs in the police force (receiving only 60 euros per month).

Her father is now 53 years old and was the first in the family to emigrate, convinced by a friend of her mother who had been living in Portugal for twenty years and visited them in Ukraine during her holidays. He decided to emigrate in 2000: he got a tourism visa and a bus ticket from Ukraine to Italy, France, Spain and Portugal, paying an agency 700 euros for all the services. He started to work in the building sector with no employment contract for five months, didn't get his salary but only the food expenses, and lost the contact with the mother's friend. Her husband arrived in Portugal in 2001, getting a tourism visa and a bus ticket through Poland and Austria, and then a train ticket to Lisbon, paying 400 euros for all the services. When he arrived he went to work with her father, in the building sector just for one month, and they were living, at the same time, in a house in Carcavelos. After that, her father got a job in the cleaning sector, through a Portuguese friend, and then he took her husband along and they both got an employment contract, but they don't have any free days from work. Her father earns 545 euros per month, working one shift from 4 a.m. until 2 p.m., and her husband earns 890 euros, working two shifts but just has a contract for the first shift. The first shift is from 4 a.m. to 9 a.m., and the second from 9 a.m. until 5 p.m. Her father got his first "staying" permit in 2001, her husband in 2002.

Tatiana joined her husband only three years after his arrival in Portugal. Before that she was studying and her son was too small to be left alone, then she started to work as a physiatrist, but in reality she never wished to come to Portugal and was hoping that her husband would come back to Ukraine. But her husband started to earn enough money and got his "staying" permit, which allowed him to work in Portugal and bring his family. Strongly advised by her mother, she came to join her husband in the end of 2004, through a family reunification process. To get her family visa through her husband's "staying" permit, he had to prove he had an employment contract and housing conditions, send his papers to her and wait for her permit. In Ukraine she said there wasn't any Portuguese embassy, so all things were taken care of in Moscow (Russia), where she waited for three months, at her uncle's house. After getting her visa she came home to prepare her luggage, and again in Moscow she took a plane to Lisbon, in December 2004.

In Portugal she is living in Loures, with her husband, her father and a Bulgarian man (who is a teacher and teaches her Portuguese every time they both have free time). Even though she and all of her family are quite religious, she doesn't go often to the Orthodox Church in Portugal. The only Orthodox Church she knows is directed by the Portuguese Catholic Church (in Arroios, Lisbon) and there women are not obliged to enter with a long skirt and a scarf over their heads, which for Tatiana is not normal.

Her first job was as a café employee for a family business, a job she got through the Bulgarian man who lives with them as a way to improve her Portuguese. She worked there for four months, and she was on her way to get an employment contract and her work authorization, but her boss started to blackmail her, threatening her with her job, her employment contract if she didn't agree to have an intimate relationship with him. She refused and started looking for another job, again with the help of her Bulgarian friend, and this time they put advertisements in several places, such as supermarkets, which allowed her to get her present job. She is now working as a part-time employee in the cleaning sector at a public research institute, with the promise of an employment contract and waiting for a response from the foreigner and borders department to get her working permit. Even if she is legal here she must apply for an authorization to work.

To be occupied all day long, she also started working in a home for old people, in the cleaning services, working about ten hours per day after leaving her cleaning job at 12 a.m. However, she was asked to carry out some nursing jobs, which she refused, and then her boss beat her and insulted her, and so she left the job a few days after starting. This home only recruits Ukrainian immigrants in order to exploit them, and there she met her only friend in Portugal, a Romanian woman, 29 years old, who is now working with her as a cleaning service employee in the public research institute. At the time of the interview she started to look for another part-time occupation. She now rents a room every Saturday in a hairdresser near her house (in Loures), and there she gives massages, for 15 euros each person, keeping 10 euros for herself and 5 for the hairdresser.

She feels very lonely in Portugal, because her family members are working all the time and she doesn't speak the language enough to have Portuguese friends. Except for her Romanian friend, who lives with her husband in Portugal as Tatiana lives, she is not interested in making friends among other immigrants. She says that the majority are people living alone here, even if they have family with children in their home land, and they often have other boyfriends and girlfriends here in Portugal, an attitude Tatiana clearly disagrees with. And then she also says that immigrants just make friendships because of their problems with money and work, and she is tired of it.

Only her mother stayed in Ukrainia, taking care of her son and the houses of the family. She is now living in Tatiana's house, with the old lady, and rented her house to another couple. The main reason for emigration in the family is the family economic situation, since the salaries they earn in the host country are much higher than the salaries in the country of origin. The situation in Ukrainia was also getting worse because her sister was very sick, even if she has her own family and house. With their emigration, they are able to send home 1000 euros every two months, from which her mother will pay her son's education, clothes and private English lessons at home (in order to make him familiar with the Latin alphabet). They also manage to send 200 euros to her husband mother every time she demands for it, and 100 euros each month for the church in their homeland. That means a lot of remittances, knowing that all together they earn 1 735 euros, paying two thirds of 385 for renting the house and something between 150 / 200 euros for food (she says they don't eat much meat and fish).

Tatiana would prefer to be in her country, because there she has her son, her mother, her friends and her church, which she's very connected with. There is a chance that they will remain longer in Portugal, but that depends very much if her husband gets a residence permit or not. This situation will be in about two years, as now he's getting his fourth "staying" visa, her father his fifth and herself her second. Only then, she says, they will decide if they bring their son or not to Portugal. She will decide depending also on the job she gets in Portugal, because she's feeling very humiliated because she's working in the cleaning sector, a fact that she hasn't told her son or even her mother. Before coming to Portugal, she had never cleaned a house or cooked, there was always her mother, husband or the employee to carry out that service, so the new situation with the arrival in Portugal is very hard for her.

4.2. Main difficulties and problems

Based on the analysis of the trajectories and the research on the topic of Ukrainian immigrant women, we have identified some specific difficulties regarding this group:

1 – Loneliness: in the beginning of their stay in Portugal, these women live in a situation of social isolation, either from the Portuguese cultural and social life or from the Ukrainian one, because they don't know the culture and language of the host country and they don't have any previous contact with it. The majority of these women come in a family reunification project, by formal or informal channels, but there are some cases of women that come alone, and this experience also means a more isolated daily life. Also, many are married but have their children in their country of origin (Hellermann, 2005) These women complain of some isolation because they tend to avoid the inner circles of their co-national citizens, as in these circles the men tend to have a paternalist or a discriminatory behaviour towards them, because they are women alone in a foreign country.

"The Portuguese have their family, but we don't." - Calina Crasnáia, 38 years old, managing training courses for foreigners.

"I just have a friend in life. Other people are known ones. (...) I don't find a man for me I'll go back to my homeland. I don't want to live in Portugal because I'm alone here." - Katiúcha, 42 years old, hand packer.

2 – Language: the lack of knowledge of the host language is one of the main reasons for a more isolated life in a foreign country. In general, these women live a very hard period of integration in the beginning of their stay in Portugal, because they don't know the language and sometimes they are exploited by other co-nationals, employers or lawyers because of their lack of knowledge of Portuguese. With time the situation doesn't improve much as their jobs don't give them much free time to study the host language. It is clear that a good level of language projects these women to a more active social and cultural life in Portugal, as well as new and better opportunities in the labour market.

"(talking about the importance of the Portuguese language to work in her profession with her qualifications) (...) for the profession, easier, you understand things (...) there are some Portuguese that when they realize you don't speak well, they start think you are stupid." - Piatachoc, 30 years old, employee in the cleaning sector.

"You need to know the language, and then you need to know economy. (...) I can't study this language. I don't know how my husband can (...) I don't have time." - Ludmila, 25 years old, private domestic services.

"(...) want to write, want to read, just correct. Because I want live in Portugal (...) I want to do everything as Portuguese. (...) (justifying her lack of knowledge about her rights in Portugal) Because I don't know all words in Portuguese language (...) You need not only to know the language to speak, you need to know the language for a profession." - Katiúcha, 42 years old, hand packer.

"(speaking about the first year in Portugal) During that time no one wanted to give a job for an immigrant that can't speak Portuguese. (...) (at that time she wanted to write

a book) *at that time I was much in contact with the Portuguese teacher(...) we discussed themes, examples, exercises for the book (...) my experience with interviews and translation, is the most important in Portugal now. (...) first is the language (...)*" - **Calina Crasnáia, 38 years old, managing training courses for foreigners.**

3 – Housing conditions – many Ukrainian women have to share a house in order to be able to pay the rent. The ones who came alone share a room with other women in a hostel or in an apartment, the ones who came to join their husband/partner, share a house with other immigrant families. The main problems that derive from this situation are the lack of privacy and of conditions to receive other family members, such as their children. With time, some manage to rent a house just for their family, but that implies to get a more stable working situation and a better salary, which is not so easy for the majority.

"In the beginning she rented a room for three months, in a house with another family from Guinea Bissau(...)since December 1998 she lives only with her family in a studio(...)speaking about buying a house) *to get a house here is very difficult.*" **Calina Crasnáia, 38 years old, managing training courses for foreigners.**

"First she lived in a hostel for eight months (...) sharing a room with another woman, and paying not a fixed rent.(...) *I'm tired of living in a hostel, then in an apartment, then in another apartment. (...) I want to have my house (...)*" - **Katiúcha, 42 years old, hand packer.**

"In Portugal, she first lived in Pêro Negro, with another Ukrainian friend and his family; they were five (...). Today she lives in an apartment in Portas de Benfica with a Ukrainian woman, her son and her ex-husband" - **Ludmila, 25 years old, private domestic services.**

"They had lived in a room in a agriculture cooperative, for about six months. At the time of the interview they lived in Beato (...) with Piatachoc's brother, his wife and daughter, for one and an half year. *Six people, and three rooms and one living room (...)*" - **Piatachoc, 30 years old, employee in the cleaning sector.**

4 – Working conditions: All these women refer having problems in solving their legal situation in Portugal because it is not easy to get a work contract. Apart from the work contract, they also have experiences of salaries in debt or employers who fail to pay the salaries, especially in situations in which there isn't any contract, only an agreement between the two parts. In most of the cases the schedule is not as intensive as for their husband/partner, but their days off are not always during the week-end, which makes it harder for the family to be together. From these interviews, all women had worked in unqualified jobs; almost all kept the same kind of jobs, except one. All of them were working in professions that were below their qualifications, and the ones who have intentions of changing say that the immigrant policies don't give them much chance to improve their situation, because legally if they have a "staying" permit they can't be here just to study. Nevertheless, these are all working situations they had already experienced in the country of origin.

"(...) *I arranged that work in a industry (...) it was an occupation for me at the beginning (...) an industry in a place where there's nothing else (...) if you don't take food with you you'll be like that all the day (...) You never knew if you were going to*

receive money that month or not (...) To work, to study (...) we don't have a chance to make plans! I don't want anymore my profession (...) You always feel down in life. (...) I feel I live in a prison, where I earn my money, but I can't travel, can't study, make my life. And when you ask me if I like to live in Portugal, it is the same to ask: Do you like to live in a prison?" Calina Crasnáia, 38 years old, managing training courses for foreigners.

"(speaking about the situation in the home country)The economy is finished. The ones who finished university will sell in the market or do cleaning (...) this job where I am working now is stupid (...) but thanks to God I have a job (...)" - Katiúcha, 42 years old, hand packer.

"What I feel when I'm working as a private domestic service? Of course, I feel sad...But this work is a work as others.(...)" - Ludmila, 25 years old, private domestic services.

"(...) because you'll always change work, because you look for a job with an employee contract. (...) I always looked for a job in the newspaper (...) Always cleaning, hotels, other things I have never saw. (...) I never saw people working in their profession." - Piatachoc, 30 years old, employee in the cleaning sector.

5 – Legalization process: These women had a very recent legal permit or were expecting to get their first one at the time of the interview. Besides having to wait for more than is stipulated for a legal permit, they have to overcome some other difficulties, such as the irregularities committed by their employers: for example, the absence of contract or the non payment of the social security deductions, or the limits in the law itself. In the case of women who came alone and have a "staying" permit, they are not allowed to be self-employed or to work in other Schengen countries. For the women who came through a family reunification process, their right to work is not automatic; they have to apply for an authorization to work.

"The third obstacle (after the language and the confusion in the services for the immigrants) is this law, the "staying" permit, which doesn't allow us to travel, to study, our rights..." Calina Crasnáia, 38 years old, managing training courses for foreigners.

"This is a cooperative. (...) Half an year and I always said I need a contract (...) But the boss doesn't make it. (...) Very hard. (...) In the end of 2000 (...) we got a job with a contract." - Piatachoc, 30 years old, employee in the cleaning sector.

6 – Family reunification: Three of these women came to Portugal through informal family reunification, one of them came through a formal process and one of them came alone and legalized her situation through the obtention of a "staying" permit. One brought her son through informal ways and another brought her daughter through legal family reunification. Their difficulties to legalize their situation made them prefer the informal way to join their companions and bring their children.

"(speaking about her first arrival) I don't want to talk about that airplane journey, because I was arrested in the airport (...)(speaking about when she fetched her son in Ukraina)First until Poland, then Poland in train, then bus to Madrid, Madrid bus to Lisbon." Calina Crasnáia, 38 years old, managing training courses for foreigners.

"(with a student visa) Moscow – Amsterdam – Lisbon.(...)Airplane, this is better, because in the bus we have "mafia"..." - Ludmila, 25 years old, private domestic services.

“(her husband and her explain how she came to Portugal, when he went to fetch her in Naples) *I rented a truck in the Algarve (...) (she speaks) At this moment he doesn't have any visa (...) Always on the road (...) one night in Pompei (...) then another in Madrid. (...) Then, in France Republic (...) Come the police (...) He asked: “Show me your passport. Show me your visa.” Criminal register, everything clean. (...) ”Your visa is out of date, you know that? (...) Why do you go to Italy?” “I work in the Algarve. (...) We went on holidays in Italy.” (...) ”Ok, go fast to Portugal. Go to the police and control your situation better.”* (speaking about when they went to fetch their daughter who was still in Ukraine) *We got a legal work, and then we went to Ukraine (...) To fetch daughter. Three months to get our daughters' paper.”* - **Piatachoc, 30 years old, employee in the cleaning sector.**

7 – Integration of the children: Three of the interviewed women had children, and in two cases the children were living with them in Portugal. They were very concerned about their children, but in different ways. One of the children had been here for less than one year and both the mother and father were doing all they could for her to have a better integration, especially in learning the language. The other mother had problems of communication with her son because he was angry with both parents for all the migratory experience, even if he seemed very well integrated in the Portuguese society.

“(...) I left one son and found another one. (...) He didn't want to speak with me on the phone. Because he started to think we had left him forever (...) I can arrange all (...) in my life (...) but I can't arrange my son. (...) I think that's the hardest thing I had to go through with this immigration and I'm very sorry that he didn't come with me from the first moment.” **Calina Crasnáia, 38 years old, managing training courses for foreigners.**

“To study, to go for a walk (...) and always learning. (...) Portuguese, English (...) Church, very beautiful. The girl needs to see these things. Very beautiful painting. New brain learns better.” - **Piatachoc, 30 years old, employee in the cleaning sector.**

8 – Discrimination: Most of them feel discrimination because they are foreigners, and some accept that as natural, others feel revolt. These discriminations are at work or due to a lack of general social and civil rights.

“(speaking about staying longer in Portugal) If I can have more rights, more concessions, yes (...) if I will feel like a person from the third world no one knows then one day I'll go away to my home country.” **Calina Crasnáia, 38 years old, managing training courses for foreigners.**

“(...) when my friend wants to come with me, and live in Portugal, I say: “Your life you have to make where you live and where you know everything. Because it's very difficult (...) to make a life in other countries. It's just a life in building sector.” (...) You cannot speak. This is not your country. This country has its people! It needs them, they need work also. If we don't have, we don't have!” - **Ludmila, 25 years old, private domestic services**

9 – The confront of different cultures: In general these women don't talk much about their culture in relation to the culture they have found in Portugal, maybe because most of them have been in Portugal for one or two years. Nevertheless, there are some remarks.

“(speaking about the Portuguese people) *Make a lot of promises (...) to be very polite is to don't say no. (...) they make a lot of blábláblá (...)*” **Calina Crasnáia, 38 years old, managing training courses for foreigners.**

“(...) *you in Portugal are better than we in Russia. (...) You want to help more (...) I think if a Portuguese comes in my home land, no one will help him.*” - **Katiúcha, 42 years old, hand packer.**

“*You make other traditional parties. We are more joyful.*” - **Ludmila, 25 years old, private domestic services**

5. Policies that help or enhance immigrants' family and social life integration and employability

- Policies promoted by the government

1. Family Reunification Process

The Portuguese legislation grants immigrants that have had a “residence”³ and “staying”⁴ permit, for at least one year, the right to family reunification, with his or her family members that are outside Portuguese territory, or, that for other justifiable reasons, have entered in Portugal legally and are already living in the country⁵. But if the family members' current situation is not legal, he/she will have to pay a fine (usually a very high one), in order to benefit from the process of family reunification. To apply for family reunification, the immigrant has to show that he/she has financial and housing conditions to receive family members; and to present documents that prove these conditions. He/she also has to present the criminal record of the family member that will benefit from the family reunification process. However, there are no criteria defined, objectively, for these financial and housing assessments. The entity responsible for approval of this process is the *Foreigners and Borders Department*, which has a legal period of nine months to assess and provide an answer, but this period is extended in most cases to one or two years. One of the facts that contributes to this situation is that some of the main documents that are required have expiration dates that are usually exceeded.

If the immigrant has a “temporary” residence permit (for two years) or a “permanent” residence permit (for five years), the family member will receive a temporary, but renewable, residence permit, having the same rights as defined by law for resident foreigners. This permit thus depends on the residence permit of the immigrant who applied for family reunification. However, once two years have passed, an independent residence permit will be given, if family relations remain the same. This independent permit will be of a period of two years in the case of “temporary” residence permits, and of five years in the case of “permanent” residence permits. If the immigrant has a “staying” permit, the only way for family reunification is to ask for a temporary visa for family members. This means the right to one year of permanence (renewable) and will always depend on the immigrant who applied for family reunification (for at least five years).

The family members that are considered for family reunification are the following: spouses; underage sons/daughters and adopted children by the immigrant or his/ her spouse (below 18 years old); first degree ascendants of both the immigrant and his/ her spouse (only when they are economically dependent on the immigrant or his/her spouse); and underage brothers/sisters that are under the custody of the immigrant residing in Portugal. It is important to point out that the situation of cohabitation is also valid for family reunification, but only since 2003 (Decree-Law 34/2003, of 25th February).

³ Decree-Law 244/98, of 8th August

⁴ Decree-Law 4/2001, of 10th January

⁵ Decree-Law 34/2003, of 25th February

The spouses that benefit from the family reunification plan have the right to work (the law only forbids the first degree ascendants and the descendents of the immigrant to work). However, spouses that come with a temporary visa (i.e. to join an immigrant with a “staying” permit), if they want to work, they have to apply for a special working authorization; otherwise, and this often happens, they will work illegally. The authorization must be submitted to the *General Working Inspection* or the *Foreigners and Borders Department* (Executory Decision 6/2004, of 26th April), and is also a lengthy process which takes several months.

Regarding the educational rights of the children that arrived through this process, they have full access to the educational system, like any other Portuguese child. However, for the immigrants with “staying” permits, the law says that they can’t apply for family or child allowances (Decree-Law 176/2003, 2nd August). For children that have no documents, in February 2000 a Resolution of the Inter-ministerial Work Group decided that: 1) they should be allowed into the educational system; 2) their academic results should be public and legally published, as in the case of any other student; 3) they should be guaranteed the same access to exams, without discriminations; 4) their transition to another year or educational level, regardless of the situation of the country, should also be guaranteed; 5) they have the right to educational benefits, according to their parents’ income situation; 6) and school diplomas or certificates should also be ensured by the schools.

2. PER – *Programa Especial de Realojamento* (Special Re-housing Program)

This is a program created by the Portuguese Government to financially support the construction of houses for the re-housing of people living in shanty towns (Decree-Law n° 163/1993, 7th of May). The houses are built with the financial support of the State, which offers tax reductions, either for the acquisition or construction of new infrastructures. In 2003 a new Decree-Law was passed extending the scope of the programme to include the rehabilitation of poor housing areas, mainly in urban areas (Decree-Law n° 271/2003, 28th of May). It also includes the funding of social equipment, since in accordance with the principles of the programme it is essential to create better conditions for the integration of families.

3. ACIME - High Commission for Immigration and the Rights of Ethnic Minorities

- National System of Support to the Immigrant

The High Commission for Immigration and the Rights of Ethnic Minorities (ACIME) has a national system of support to the immigrant. This service is divided into the National, Regional and Local Centres of Support to the Immigrant. These Centres are dedicated to welcoming all immigrants and to providing them with information, in several areas, such as education, employment, housing and health. Because these centres work with immigrant associations and several NGO’s, there are some association members working there, which can be helpful to understand bureaucratic procedure when they co-nationals and can also be a good way for the immigrants to know the associations that exist to support them and than can help them in their integration process in the host country.

The High Commission for Immigration also provides other services through other Offices like the Office of Recognition of Qualifications and Skills and the Office of

Technical Support to Education, Higher Education and Employment. The first one tries to develop integrated and efficient answers to the recognition of qualifications and professional skills. The second one is a structure that aims to support immigrant associations in the several steps of their projects, for example implementation and assessment of the initiatives promoted by the association. Regarding the process of family reunification, the High Commission for Immigration also has a Department to support the immigrant. This department provides information regarding the legal requirements to apply for the process of family reunification, and, besides providing information it is also an objective of the service to follow the process until it is concluded. Finally, the High Commission for Immigration has a partnership with the Lawyers' Association, and there is a service available with the objective of providing legal information, in order to help the immigrant with any doubts about the Portuguese legislation, and to provide help in the defence of the immigrant's rights.

- Centre *São João de Deus*

This organization has a temporary centre, *São João de Deus*, destined mainly for immigrants (but also for national citizens), who have been having difficulties in integrating into Portuguese society. Therefore, besides providing these immigrants with temporary lodgings, this centre also has different departments (health, employment, psycho-social), of which the main goal is to provide them with an opportunity to integrate into Portuguese society.

- Information Bulletin

The Information Bulletin is published every month and it is destined not only for immigrant associations, but also for NGO's and different opinion leaders of different communities. This bulletin presents news related to immigrants, training opportunities and also successful integration cases of immigrants in Portuguese society. It has, at present, a circulation of 5000 copies.

- Telephone Line *SOS Immigrant*" (SOS Immigrant)

The High Commission for Immigration provides a telephone line open six days a week, from 8 am to 20 pm, in four different languages (Portuguese, Creole, Russian and English). This telephone line is destined to help immigrants in difficult situations, providing useful information and endorsing the immigrant to other institutions/associations that can help them with a specific problem.

- The programme *Nós (Us)*

The programme *Nós (Us)*, is a weekly TV show (with daily emissions of twenty minutes) broadcast by the Portuguese Public television (at 10 a.m. on Sundays, at 6.30 a.m. during the week). The aim of this program is to create a "bridge" of information for the immigrant, through interviews and debates about current issues, the immigrant's rights and duties, immigrant's associations and services promoted by the government. The programme also promotes several cultural aspects, gastronomy, music, sports and the presentation of immigrants' life stories in Portugal. The programme also has a part entitled "Consultation Office" dedicated to specific topics of special interest to the

immigrant, such as employment, training, visas, family reunification, associations and the return to the sending country.

- Portuguese Language Courses

Through the site of the High Commission for Immigration (ACIME) immigrants have access to a vast list of free Portuguese classes. Most of these classes take place in public schools (for example, in the Secondary School “Eça de Queirós” in Lisbon or the Secondary School “Garcia da Orta” in Porto), and also in some non-profit associations (for example, the “São Bernardo” association in Aveiro, the AGUIPA association in Lisbon, or the Chinese association in Porto).

4. SEF - *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* (Foreigners and Borders Department)

This is the government department responsible for the legalization of immigrants in Portugal. The SEF currently has information available on their website about all the process of legalization, renovation of permits, family reunification, and associations. The site also has a service where people can write their questions and doubts online regarding the Portuguese legislation. The site is still only in Portuguese, but will soon have an English version, to increase the scope of people that benefit from this service.

5. Health Services

- Institute of Tropical Medicine, University of Lisbon

There is a programme ran by the Tropical Diseases Clinical Unit of the Institute for Tropical Hygiene and Medicine (University of Lisbon) which offers health care regarding infectious diseases to migrant populations. It has a preventive unit, where immigrants, who are not patients, can be referred to for testing. This programme also carries out individual counselling about the transmission of infectious diseases. The check-up at this Institute for the immigrant populations is free of charge.

6. Local Administrations

- GARSE – *Gabinete de Assuntos Religiosos e Sociais Específicos* (Department of Religious and Specific Social Subject of the Town Council of Loures)

This is a department created specifically to provide answers to multi-ethnic problems, regarding mainly the immigrant population living in the council area. The main objective is to develop projects and initiatives that aim to promote the integration of the immigrant populations. Therefore, GARSE supports and has been following socio-cultural activities and has been developing projects of Community Intervention together with other institutions and associations in areas such as employment, health, housing, education and environment. The department has also been supporting the development of immigrant associations, through financial and logistic support, training courses in areas like health, dancing, and project management, and assignment of transports and equipments.

6. Training

- *Portugal Acolhe* (Portugal Welcomes) (subsidized and supported by the *Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional* [Institute for Employment and Professional Training])

In 2001, a programme entitled “*Portugal Acolhe*” (Portugal Welcomes) was set up, with the aim of providing access to language and citizenship courses to the legal immigrant population. The training programmes that have been developed by this programme want to promote the development of several skills that are important to integrate into Portuguese society, mainly regarding employment.

The language course’s objective is to develop the Portuguese language. The course is divided into three different levels. The citizenship course’s goal is to promote the exercise of an active citizenship, namely, by pointing out the rights and duties that are inherent to Portuguese society, and is divided into three different themes: 1) people, state and other mediating institutions; 2) equal rights of opportunities and access to employment and professional training; 3) and ways of accessing information.

7. Education

- JRS: Jesuit Refugee Service

The Jesuit Refugee Service is a humanitarian and international organization, with its headquarters in Rome (Italy), existing since 1980. Initially organized exclusively by Jesuits, nowadays it is organized by anyone independently of their religion or absence of religion. They exist almost everywhere in the world, acting directly or indirectly over 60 to 70 different countries and working together with others GO’s and NGO’s, whose aims are to serve, follow and defend the rights of refugees and other foreigner people who had left their country against their one will. In Portugal or abroad, they have projects that concern the following main areas: education and trainship, health care, food, dressing, housing conditions, special vulnerable groups, family assistance, community services, employment and support to cooperatives and specific activities, juridical support, social and human action, among others. Specifically, in Portugal they have been developing important services to help the immigrants in their basic needs: 1) the Employment Club (through which they search for jobs according to the immigrant’s experience and try to solve their equivalence process), 2) the centre for juridical and social support (assisting about 40 to 50 people each day), 3) the temporary hosting centre, and 4) special equivalence and trainship programs for nurses and medical doctors. These last services are quite new in Portugal together with other GO’s and NGO’s, and they consist of a special program of Recognition of Doctors and Nurses’ Qualifications.

- Recognition of Qualifications and Professional Skills

In Portugal, the process of qualification recognition takes into account the number of years of academic study and the entities that perform the evaluation differ in accordance with the number of years of study. Thus, up to and including the twelfth year of school the requests are assessed by the Ministry of Education. In connection with the first 9 years of school it is the Department of Primary Education that performs that evaluation, and from 9 to 12 years of school the assessment is carried out by the Department of

Secondary Education. With reference to higher education, each case is considered independently. Individual higher education institutions are able to grant equivalence to immigrants' qualifications. There is a Support Office for the Recognition of Qualification and Skills, which operates under the premises of the ACIME, and this office helps immigrants in the process of requesting the equivalence of their qualifications. Furthermore, for more detailed information, immigrants can contact the National Academic Recognition Information Centre, which is part of the Directorate-General for Higher Education and also works under the premises of the ACIME, whose main purpose is to provide information regarding the requests that are under evaluation.

- *ATL: Actividades de Tempos Livres* (Leisure Time Activities)

Most public primary schools have implemented this new programme of extra curricular activities, where children can stay after school and participate in very different and dynamic activities (theatre, games, painting, puppet shows, and others) , always under the supervision of childcare professionals. The parents only pay a symbolic amount, which varies according to the family income.

- Town Council of Odivelas – Holidays Activities,

Some local councils also have activities for children during the holidays. For example, in the town council of Odivelas there is a programme to take children to the beach, during their holidays (only for a month) in the morning. Anyone can apply to this activity which is mainly directed for families with lower incomes. The town council is responsible for organizing a team of supervisors to take care of the children.

- **Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's)**

1. Immigrant Associations

- *Casa do Brasil* (Brazil House)

The *Casa do Brasil* is an association with the main objective of providing social, moral and juridical support to Brazilian immigrants. This association promotes several activities and social events, training courses, workshops, seminars, and conferences. These are some the projects/activities promoted by this association:

a) Support in finding a job – together with several companies and the employment centre of Conde Redondo, the association “Casa do Brazil” has created a fund with the objective of helping immigrants, who are unemployed or are looking for a first job, in the process of integration in the labour market.

b) Juridical Support Centre – this is a centre created by the association in 1998 and the mains objectives are: to provide juridical orientation to the immigrants regarding the Portuguese legislation-, to redirect the cases of people who need the services of social workers; to establish partnerships with other immigrant associations, and other entities related to immigration; and to provide information regarding employment, social security, education and housing.

c) Documentation centre – since 1996 that the association has a documentation centre open to the public. This centre has more than 3500 volumes of Brazilian publications, and is mainly directed for students, researchers and journalists, and to everyone who is interested in the Brazilian country.

d) Friday – on Friday nights the association promotes social activities related to the Brazilian culture. They have live music and people can dance, have a drink and socialize.

e) Free access to the Internet – with the support of the Department of Science and Higher Education, the association has computers where people can work and use the internet free of charge.

f) Courses – the association has a dancing course, with different levels, of traditional Brazilian dances, an English course, and other courses related to professional activities of Brazilians, for example, tourism, commerce, restaurants and hotels.

- Respublika

The Russian Immigrant Association – *Respublika*, organizes information in both Portuguese and Russian, and tries to promote a space for useful information in terms of the Portuguese and European law, the equivalence of skills, also providing translation services, news about the home countries and about migration in general, as well as cultural events.

- The Cape Verdean Association

This is a non-profit association working mainly in the Lisbon area, and its main objectives are: to congregate Cape Verdeans living in Portugal, so that people can be in permanent contact; to contribute to a better integration of the Cape Verdean community in Portugal; to establish relationships and partnerships with other institutions and organizations; and to provide people a space of reunion, information and leisure. The activities promoted by the association are varied. They organize parties to celebrate for example the Day of Cape Verdean Independence and Christmas; they provide direct socio-juridical intervention; they organize seminars, workshops, training courses; and participate in initiatives of promotion and divulgation of Cape Verdean culture and of analysis of the problems of immigrant populations. They also take an active role in projects that aim to improve the living conditions of immigrants in Portugal. This association tries to develop partnerships with other institutions and associations. One project that has resulted from these partnerships is the project *Finka Pé – KNOW*, which is a training program for women in the areas of video, television, photography, and another one in socio-cultural animation.

2. Local Associations

- Moinho da Juventude

This association was set up during the 80,s and has been working for more than twenty years in the rundown neighbourhood of Cova da Moura in the city of Amadora. This association aims to provide an answer to several problems at a social, economic and

cultural level. During the several years that the association has been working in this neighbourhood its activity has become a community project working in partnership with other associations and institutions. The association currently provides the population with a crèche inside its installations, as well as other day-care facilities such as a kindergarten and an ATL – Actividades de Tempos Livres (Leisure Time Activities), which take care of hundreds of children from three months old to ten years old. There are also groups of education support, cultural and sport activities that are important and part of the daily life of around 400 young students. Besides these projects the association itself has been able to create seventy five work posts mainly occupied by the neighbourhood population. Clearly, this has been a very important association in a neighbourhood, where most of the populations are African immigrants that have special needs of support and integration in Portuguese society.

- *Olho Vivo*

The juvenile association *Olho Vivo* is a non-profit organization of national scope, funded nearly ten years ago. The main objectives of this association are the promotion of human rights and the combat to racist and xenophobic attitudes. The association has several centres working across the country (for example, Lisbon, Porto, Coimbra and Braga). The centre situated in the city of Porto has established as a priority the intervention in the area of human rights. The centre has been focusing in areas such as integration in the labour market, education and the juridical processes of immigrant's legalization. Since 1997, this association has been developing several projects specifically for the immigrant populations, such as the service of support to the socio-professional integration of immigrants or the anti-racism telephone line. Because this is a juvenile association, some projects have also been developed focusing on the younger populations. Therefore, some initiatives have been put into practice in public schools regarding the themes of racism, immigration and tolerance. These themes were presented in seminars, workshops and conferences with the participation of immigrants and young Portuguese students.

3. Other NGO's

- *Médicos do Mundo* (Doctors of the World - mobile unite)

Facing a growing number of homeless foreigners in Lisbon, some non governmental organizations (NGO) decided to start providing support regarding the basic needs to the population, some daily others weekly. The Doctors of the World are one international NGO, existing in Portugal since 1999, and since October 2001 they initiated a project with undocumented and homeless immigrants. They have a mobile unit that works every night from 8 p.m. to 12 p.m., in different parts of the city, except on Tuesdays and Sundays, and on Saturdays from 6p.m. until 9p.m. They give them free medical assistance in: primary health care, helping them to have access to the national health services, following them for long periods whenever it is necessary, collecting data about their social and epidemiological situation, and providing information about the legalization process, housing conditions, among other needs.

4. Newspapers

- Slovo, Nasha, Immigrati

There are currently three newspapers in Russian in Portugal. The *Nasha Gazeta* was first published in 2001. This journal has a national distribution but it is mainly sold in the urban areas (Lisbon, Porto or Coimbra). The main object of this publication is not to make money but to help the immigrants, mainly by providing information about institutions and associations that can help them with specific problems. The newspaper has presently a circulation of twenty thousand copies. Also in the year 2001 another newspaper was published entitled *Slovo*. Initially with only six pages and with a circulation of six thousand copies, the journal has been growing and now has twenty and a circulation of eleven thousand copies. The objective of this newspaper is also to maintain a connection of the immigrants in Portugal with their culture and to give voice to their problems and difficulties. Finally, and also in the year 2001, the newspaper *Immigrati* was first published in Portugal. The newspaper was initially distributed every two weeks but it became recently a weekly publication. George Vatsadze is the only person working in the newspaper - he writes, directs and prints the copies.

- Sabiá (Brazil)

This Brazilian journal had its first publication in 1992. Initially with a circulation of around two thousand copies, it has now a circulation of seven thousand and five hundred copies. The journal is free can be found at the association and in places where Brazilian people contact with and get together.

6. Conclusions

- The top three main national groups of immigrants have different migration trajectories. The Cape Verdeans are part of a more established community. Their history of migration to Portugal dates back to the 60's. However, they live in the most deprived areas of Lisbon and Setúbal and they are mostly low qualified workers that continue to work in the building and cleaning sectors. In the case of Brazil, the first flow arrived during the 80's, and a second flow has been arriving since the end of the 90's. The first flow was mainly characterized by highly qualified professionals, whereas in the second flow the majority are workers with low or medium qualifications that integrated into lower qualified jobs. Finally, in the case of Ukraine the majority of immigrants arrived between the years of 1998 and 2000, but the reality of this migratory flow only became more visible in the year 2001, when the government created a new mechanism for the admission of foreigners, the "staying" permit. As in the case of the Brazilians, the Ukrainians immigrants have been moving into lower qualified professions, despite their original medium and high qualifications.
- The legalization procedure in Portugal is a long process, with bureaucratic constraints. This fact has been resulting in an increasing number of illegal immigrants, as well as difficulties in the process of formal family reunification. This last aspect has consequences in terms of the number of women and children living illegally, waiting to solve their legalization process, as some of them have joined their family in Portugal through an informal family reunification process. Their situation is of insecurity and employment instability.
- The working situation of many immigrant women, mainly for those who came into Portugal through family reunification (who receive a temporary staying visa) is quite difficult. This visa does not allow them to work automatically; they have to apply for a working authorization to the *Inspecção Geral do Trabalho* (General Working Inspection), which usually takes more than three months to be issued. To ask for this authorization they first have to have a promise of a working contract with an employer entity, and this means they have no labour rights before the answer from the administrative services (General Working Inspection and Foreigners and Borders Department).
- Labour market niches: most immigrant women work in the cleaning sector, for outsourcing companies and as private domestic employees. This is mainly evident for Cape Verdean and Ukrainian women. In the case of Brazilian immigrant women they work mainly in hotels, restaurants, catering services and cafés as table clearers, and also in commerce mainly as shop assistants. The men are mainly concentrated in the building sector, and in the case of Brazilian immigrants they also work in the services sector, hotels, restaurants, catering and cafés.
In all the three national groups, the majority works in low qualified jobs, which in many cases requires working in shifts and having unsocial working hours, such as early morning or during the night. This is particularly true in the case of Cape Verdean immigrant women that are discriminated because of their ethnicity, and in the case of immigrant women who are alone in the receiving country, having left their children in their country of birth and that need to work more in order to send money for their family.

- There are many practical problems regarding the recognition of qualifications and professional skills specifically in the case of Ukrainian immigrants, who generally have higher levels of education. Most of these immigrants end up working in economic activities for which they have very high qualifications compared to the ones that are required, as the equivalence process has not been put into practise effectively. Therefore, most of them work in areas that have little to do with their training and qualifications.
- Exploitation in the workplace: in Portugal in some economic sectors there has been a recruitment of immigrant women as a way for exploiting the workforce. Discrimination is based on nationality (for the Brazilian and Ukrainian women) or on ethnicity (for the Cape Verdean women). This exploitation can assume very different forms (which varies according to their legal situation): long and non-paid working hours, physical and verbal violence, sexual harassment, not only in the workplace but also in their own community, especially if they are women who came alone.
- The feeling of loneliness is referred to by the majority of the immigrant women of the top three national groups of immigrants. However, in the case of Brazilian immigrants, because language is not a barrier, as it is in the case of Ukrainian immigrants, the contact with people and their integration in Portuguese society is easier. Immigrant associations also have an important role. However, in the case of Ukrainian immigrants, they have less membership drive, due to their recent history (strong government control over the individuals in their homelands) and the co-national networks created between their country of origin and the host country, which allowed them to come to Portugal, but towards whom they express feelings of distrust. Immigrant associations are an important mean of entering into contact with other people from their country of birth and for acquiring information on important issues related to the immigrant community in Portugal (for example, the legalization process, the family reunification process, as well as other important associations and organizations).

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