Project: “Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia”

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The “Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia” project (JLS/2007/FRC/036), co-funded by the European Commission - under the Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme, is coordinated by the Spanish Monitoring Centre of Racism and Xenophobia – OBERAXE – and, in Portugal, is undertaken by the High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue – ACIDI, I.P.
1 INTRODUCTION

The subject of this report is the analysis of the focus groups with upper-middle, middle-middle and lower-middle status subjects that took place in Lisbon on the 5th and 18th June 2009 within the scope of the “Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia” project. Besides presenting and analysing this new empirical subject matter, the report also briefly reviews, within this introduction, the national context and the state of the art concerning qualitative and quantitative research on racism and xenophobia in Portugal. In doing this, the authoring team borrowed freely from its previous works on this field of research, updating the information where it was found wanting and adapting it to the present circumstances.

1.1 National Context

Portugal is traditionally an emigration country. As a peripheral Southern European economy, it has a long history of supplying unskilled labour for more developed countries. It is estimated that about 5,500,000 Portuguese and their descendents – which is around half of the country’s current resident population – live abroad (Lopes, 1999). There is considerable public awareness of this fact and in our experience it tends to show up as an argument in favour of hospitality in debates about immigration.

The first few decades of the 20th century were marked by large numbers leaving the country. The destinations of choice at that time were Brazil, Venezuela, Canada and the United States of America. From the 60s onwards, transatlantic emigration was increasingly replaced by emigration to Western Europe. The growth of the European economies and their geographic proximity led to a change in the direction of Portuguese migration flows. Even though the traditional transatlantic migration flows did not disappear altogether, we witnessed a new cycle in the history of Portuguese migration. France was the primary destination for the Portuguese moving to another European country. There followed population flows (corresponding to around 1/3 of the working population) to countries such as Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, England and Luxembourg. The emigration flow to Europe between 1960 and 1974 is estimated at 1,500,000 people, equivalent to around 100,000 emigrants per year (Ferrão, 1996).

However, the first oil shock had immediate and long-lasting effects on migration patterns. Control measures were tightened and borders closed, especially in Europe. Most countries imposed restrictions on new contingents of immigrants and encouraged the return of foreign residents to their country of origin. In this period
the traditional non-European destinations – namely the United States of America, Canada, Venezuela and Australia – were the ones that showed greater permeability to Portuguese immigration. At about the same time, the carnation revolution of 1974 reinstated democracy; brought back the political exiles and made way for a number of social changes that helped staunch the outflow of population. As the decolonisation ensued in 1975, many Portuguese who had lived in the ex-colonies returned to Portugal – it is estimated, on the basis of the 1981 census, that around half a million Portuguese were repatriated – constituting the largest population movement in modern Portuguese history (Pires, 2003). This era of turbulence can be seen to end in 1986, with the country’s entrance into the EEC leading to an unmistakable decline in emigration.

Since we just referred to the carnation revolution, it must be noticed that the Portuguese Estado Novo regime (28th May 1926 – 25th April 1974), to which it put an end, had an idiosyncratic approach to race relations in what was to be the last European colonial empire. Although Portugal remained neutral in WWII, it must be said that the regime had clear fascist leanings and adopted much of the said movement’s symbols and ideology. However, after the fall of the Axis Powers it completely reformulated its approach to race on the basis of a reading of Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre’s work on *lusotropicalismo*. According to the Estado Novo’s reworking of the concept, it would designate a relatively benign (in comparison to other European seafaring empires) colonialism based more on miscegenation that on outright exploitation (see Castelo, 1998). Though this has since been scholarly discredited as outright propaganda, it has had long lasting effects on the self-image of the Portuguese. Thus, it was explicitly addressed in the interview guide and should be kept in mind throughout the analysis.

The new conjuncture which emerged after the oil shock and the fall of the Estado Novo regime not only reduced the outflow, but also worked as an incentive to the entry of immigrant contingents. It is mainly at the end of the 80s and the beginning of the 90s that immigration into Portugal started to become an important phenomenon. Apart from the increase in immigrants, we can also witness a diversification in the origin of flows. This is marked mainly by a slowdown in immigration from the African ex-colonies – which had been ongoing since the 60s, compensating the shortage in labour force derived from the military conscription of the autochthonous population for the colonial wars, the political exiles and the economic emigration –, a slight growth in numbers of Indian and Chinese immigrants and a significant increase in immigrants arriving from Brazil. This so called first wave of Brazilian immigrants arrived in Portugal to work in highly-skilled occupations such as dentists, advertising and marketing specialists, etc.
The overall landscape of Portuguese immigration changed significantly since 2000. The number of immigrants continued to rise, but there were both quantitative and qualitative changes in migration flows which had remained relatively constant until then. A sudden mass influx of Ukrainians made them the most numerous immigrant group, followed by Brazilians, Cape Verde islanders and Angolans. Correlatively, the phenotype of the immigrant shifted somewhat and there was a marked increase in the level of academic and professional qualifications of immigrants in general and their respective occupational integration. This effect was only mitigated by the fact that the so called second wave of Brazilian immigrants, which manifested itself also at this time, was mostly composed of workers with few qualifications that took up positions in the service sector (hotels, restaurants and commerce). But although the immigrants from Eastern Europe who were beginning to arrive in Portugal generally held higher qualifications than the majority of immigrants already in the country, they were mainly employed in sectors requiring intensive amounts of unskilled labour. Also of note is the fact that by then new patterns of geographic dispersal started to emerge in correlation with employment opportunities in local labour markets. Until the mid-1990s the geographic distribution of immigrants was relatively concentrated around Greater Lisbon (Africans, essentially), with some presence in the Algarve (mostly Europeans) and the Northern Coastal Regions (the main areas of previous Portuguese emigration to Brazil). This distribution reflected the concentration of employment opportunities in the country's major metropolitan area and the importance of migrant networks for the settlement of new arrivals. However, as of 2000 a new pattern emerged, with immigrants dispersed around the country. This was due to regional development dynamics and the need to remedy the scarcity of labour in some of the most depopulated regions of the country (such as the interior), as well as public and private investment in infrastructure and facilities (Alqueva dam, development of the road network, stadiums for Euro 2004, etc). Immigrants from Eastern Europe, however, showed wider geographic dispersal than those from the Portuguese-speaking African countries and Brazilians.

That is to say that in the turn of the millennium Portugal had reversed its position in the international migration system. Until the 70s emigration was predominant, but this has seen a significant slowdown and, especially since the 90s, immigration has become a much more significant force. However, the change in the national and international conjunctures may well be returning Portugal to its former role of a majorly sending country. A thorough analysis of the Eurostat data shows, for instance that the number of permanent Portuguese immigrants arriving at Eurostat countries which supply these figures now exceeds the number of immigrants arriving in Portugal. If the traditional non-European destinations of Portuguese emigration were also to be accounted for, the picture would be even sharper.
All in all, despite the rapid growth of migration inflows around the turn of the millennium, Portugal is, when compared to the rest of Europe, far from being one of the European countries with the highest percentage of immigrants and it is one of the countries with smaller yearly influx.

1.2 State of the Art

The publication of studies around the themes of immigration in Portugal has been growing steadily on the last decade, covering several thematic areas of immigrant’s trajectories in Portugal, such as employment, education and culture. Until the mid-nineties such studies were relatively scarce. This was probably due to the fact that, until then, Portugal was a relatively homogeneous country from the point of view of the national and ethnic composition of its population. The exception to this rule was the Roma group and the Cape-Verdeans who had been coming to Portugal since the seventies but whose numbers increased during the eighties. It is from that period on that Portugal becomes also a receiving of immigration and starts receiving significant numbers of foreigners who enter the country to live and work. The growing awareness that Portugal was becoming the site of multiethnic presence (Marques, 2007, p. 15) mobilized a number of academic and political interests towards the realization of research projects on these themes (Machado et al., 2009, p. 3). However, despite the growing attention to the question of immigration, the specific topic of racism, xenophobia and related forms of discrimination has been the focus of a relatively scarce body of work. Things may also be changing regarding this topic. The most recent bibliographic survey on immigration and ethnic minorities (Machado et al., 2009) contains, among several thematic sections related to those matters, one, which is specifically devoted to Coexistence and inter-ethnic representations, racism. Among the works listed there are 88 titles, from scientific books, chapters on books, articles, working papers, minutes of scientific meetings, academic theses, reports, institutional documents, books made up of testimonies or of opinions, produced and published between 2000 and 2008. The focus on racism, xenophobia, representations of the “other”, and ethnic coexistence is a recent one regarding the main trends of research in social science made in Portugal.

A common thread to most of the works done in Portugal on the subject of racism is the deconstruction of the common sense idea that Portugal is, in what regards ethnic relations, a country of “brandos costumes” (gentle ways) (e.g. Vala et al., 1999; Machado, 2001; Cabecinhas, 2002; Marques, 2007; Araújo, 2008). This idea stems from current and commonly held representations of Portugal’s colonizing role as one of promoting miscegenation and inter-ethnic conviviality, contrary to other colonizing traditions, such as the British and
Spanish. According to some authors (e.g. Castelo, 1998, p. 55; Alexandre, 1999, p. 143; Marques, 2007, p. 27) such representations are, in fact, a heritage of the ideology that served as the legitimation of the Portuguese overseas colonial empire in the second phase of the Portuguese dictatorship of the “Estado Novo”. Such ideology, known as “Luso-Tropicalismo”, survived the fall of the colonial empire in 1975 as the largely held belief in a “Portuguese way of being in the world” (Marques, 2007, p. 32; Ferro, 1994; Lourenço, 1994). That such conception is a myth, and that behind the ideological construction of a pacific coexistence among different racial groups, there was a real situation of racial subordination, associated to both cultural inferiorization and harsh economic exploitation, was demonstrated by historians and other social scientists (Boxer, 1977; Vale de Almeida, M. 2000). But the myth had a double effect: on the one side, the perpetuation of prejudice towards blacks as well as feelings of paternalism or superiority (Stoer, 1998, p. 29), on the other side the diffusion of what some literature on race relations calls subtle racism (Vala et al., 1999b), by opposition to a blatant racism. This is the kind of discriminations that emerges when racist or anti-immigration feelings, cannot find direct expression in the public sphere, due to the widespread acceptance of an anti-racist norm that rejects hate speech against immigrants and ethnic minorities (Wieviorka [Ed.], 1994; Stoer, 1998; Vala et al., 1999a).

According to these theories, to study racism in societies that are formally anti-racist demands from the researcher the ability to detect the most polite manifestations of the phenomenon, those that do not question “the racist self-image” (Vala, 1999, p. 3), trying to know if “the expressions of racisms, open or hidden, in Portugal, correspond to discriminatory configurations of beliefs, attitudes and behavioural dispositions similar to those that were already identified in other European countries (Vala, 1999, p. 3).

In the most extensive analysis yet done in Portugal on the perceptions and attitudes of White Portuguese regarding the Black population living in Portugal, the results were similar to those found in other European countries using the same methodology of inquiry (the Pettigrew-Mertens scale). The anti racist norm in place refrains the inquired from expressing blatant forms of racism (i.e. rejection and perception of the outgroup as threat and refusal of close relations with its members), however their answers point to forms of discrimination that are subtle in their manifestation (such as the stressing the cultural differences between the outgroup and the ingroup and the difficulty in expressing positive emotions towards members of the outgroup). Like in other European countries, the anti-racist norm functions against blatant racism, but not against subtle racism (Vala et al., 1999a).
However, other works show that the attitudes of the Portuguese towards other groups, such as the Roma, can be labelled as blatant (Correia et al., 2001) or differentialist racism (Marques, 2004, p. 80). iii

According to Fernando Luís Machado (2001), the expression of racism depends on the contrasts and continuities’, social and cultural, of the minority or minorities in question with the surrounding society. Greater contrasts favour an increase in racism, a greater continuity favour its reduction. The fact that the Roma are one of the groups with greater contrasts – social and cultural –regarding the surrounding society, may be the ground for a greater manifestation of racism towards this group, like it is suggested by the results of several studies (Correia et al., 2001; Silva et al., 2002; Grupo de Trabalho para a Igualdade e Inserção dos Ciganos, Bastos, 2006; Faisca et al., 2006).

In a work recently published about the perception of the minorities on their experiences of racism and discrimination in several contexts, among five minority groups in Portugal – Cape-Verdeans, Guineese, Brazilians, Ukrainians and Roma – the results point precisely to a greater perception of racism experienced by the Roma (Santos et al., 2008).

It is important to highlight that the results found in these works do not answer directly to the question “are the Portuguese racists” “is Portugal a racist country”. To put the questions in these terms is the equivalent of essentialising a people and their attributes, a fallacy that is also racist (Vala, 1999, p. 3; Marques, 2007, p.15).
2 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS GROUP BY GROUP

2.1 Discourse analysis of focus group with upper-middle class subjects

2.1.1 Relationship with immigrants and ethnic minorities

After the introductions were made, when participants were asked to say what they spontaneously associate to the notion of persons of other religions, ethnic backgrounds, skin colour or places of birth, the first two spontaneous words that came out of their mouths were “differences” and “conflicts”.

At this point of the discussion no group had been named yet. Then, the moderator asked the participants to identify some groups with the otherness previously referred to. Those pointed were: Muslims, Blacks, Asians, Buddhists, Roma, Indians, Brazilians, Chinese and East Europeans.

The contexts and the grades of contact with immigrants and ethnic minorities vary between the participants of the group. Those contacts happen in the neighbourhood, at a professional level and at a personal level: “my neighbours”; “I work in a multinational company and I am always interacting with people from everywhere”, “At a professional level, with one Black lady”; “I am married to a person of mixed race [European and Chinese]”.

Three of the participants said that usually they have no contact with persons of other religions, ethnic backgrounds, skin colour or birth places. It is interesting to note that one of these participants works for the European Commission in a position that involves travelling abroad every week and dealing frequently with persons from all 27 member states and third countries nationals that have dealings with the Commission. Her own perception – of no contact with people perceived as other seems to point to a vision of the other as someone who has a different socio-economic status. That is, the greater the contrast in socio-economic conditions is, the greater will be the perceptions on ethnicity or cultural differences (Machado, 2002). The importance of the social status in the perception of otherness also emerged when the moderator asked the participants to indicate with which one of the said groups (Muslims, Blacks, Asians, Buddhists, Roma, Indians, Chinese, Brazilians and East Europeans) they tend to feel more empathy with:

I think there is more to the question, because I think that it has to do with values, with stances that each person has, irrespective of religion or ethnic origin (...) I do not discard any of these possibilities at the outset. I also do not want to enter into the cliché of “Ah, he’s Black, he’s from Africa, he’s backward”. It doesn’t make sense in this world. (...)I think that this empathy that is formed has to do with economic status, with social status, it has to do with education and is therefore transversal to everything.
I know a lot of Muslims who live in the building where I live, with whom I get along very well. Even though there is this opinion of extremist Muslims. (…) In my building I have people who work in the embassy, with ambassadors, Blacks, who are of a completely different level. (…) They are completely different from the other kinds of Blacks that you see out on the street.

In what respects to feelings of sympathy, the participants avoid opting for one group in disfavour of other, usually arguing that the establishment of relationships depends on the persons and on the shared interests.

I think it is more or less clear, everybody more or less agrees, that, in fact, we get along with everyone according to interests, in short, how we identify with these people. And what you [the moderator] are trying to identify is whether, irrespective of this idea, there is a cliché, an image that we associate with these familiar categories, that’s it, isn’t it?

Nevertheless, it is evident in their discourses that some aspects are enunciated as obstacles for a deeper relationship. Those aspects, generally marked as more distinctive in the everyday life practices, are the religious ones:

It has more to do with the distance that people maintain from our social manners, with how these people live in their social environment. There are some that clash more, others less. For example, I would find it very difficult to manage to adapt my life and my everyday existence and my way of being to someone who was a Buddhist, because I think it [Buddhism] is totally extremist with regard to my principles. (…)My problem was not to adapt myself to people, it was to adapt myself to their environment and the other person adapt to my environment to reach a middle ground, so that both of us can live in society. Because it is totally different. Perhaps I would find it most difficult to live with an extremist Muslim, who goes about all covered up or obliges his wife to do certain things that make no sense at all, stuff like that.

I think that gender equality greatly characterises a definition of distance, doesn’t it? Talking of religions, we are open to diverse religions or cultural habits and thus, at least speaking for myself, gender equality, in my view, goes beyond that a bit, i.e. not having equality, to cite the question of Muslims. Yes, but we are here, aren’t we? And you fix meetings, “Let’s have a coffee”. Perhaps with people like extremist Muslims, or Buddhists or [Eastern] Orthodox [Christians], there will probably never be a bridge, a connection between us and these people, an affinity that would allow this connection.

The positions assumed by the participants in face of the different groups were, in general, associated to cultural differences:

I think the question of empathy is complicated. I for example, [think] difficulties in communication are not just limited to the language. It also has to do with customs. Customs are completely different. I have already worked with people in Indonesia, Japanese, Chinese…
In terms of thinking about these groups, I like variety, I like working in an environment with people of many nationalities, of different religions. Although of course I agree that it also depends very much on the individuals, but if one generalises and speaks of groups, there are some groups there with which I do not manage to work very well. (…) The Chinese. This is in the context of Ph.D. applications. Very often, they come here after having already obtained a Ph.D. To start with, they work every day. We work 5 days a week and they work 7, and they aren't obliged to do so. Then, this is not just my opinion, because we have already spoken to other people, for example, they do things as they want. The Chinese are very schematic. They tend to do things how they think it should be done and not as was stipulated in that particular case. I have some difficulty communicating with Africans. [This difficulty is] about a lack of education on the other side. About a lack of education. It's hard to specify this. [The African] reality even at the level of work and dynamics is completely different. Time for them is a very fluid concept.

2.1.2 Representations about integration

After the first approach regarding the identification and the emotional attachments to persons belonging to different groups of affinities, the moderator asked the participants which groups are doing better or worst in Portugal. It is consensual for the group that the Eastern European immigrants manage to integrate better than other immigrant community in Portugal:

Eastern Europeans who also try to and, in fact, do integrate and they manage to do so by themselves, arriving here without any cultural or linguistic affinities, etc. and they manage to integrate. We have examples of people who began as construction workers and have managed to do very well. Well, since we are speaking of integration, it is Eastern Europe. I think the Eastern Europeans have integrated very well.

At the other end of the spectrum, the Roma are, in spite of being Portuguese, seen as a minority group strongly disintegrated.

While the Roma community that has lived here for hundreds of years is not integrated at all and, probably if you verified this, you would find that even at the level of academic qualifications, etc. this group is far behind all the others. Integration is not an objective, they do not want to integrate.

The only groups evoked by the participants on the integration subject were the Eastern European immigrants, Brazilians and Roma. In their speech, participants do not distinguish the immigrants originating from the different countries of the former Soviet Union, though their presence in Portugal is, quantitatively, very diverse. They are considered as a whole and there is a positive attitude towards them: perception of them making an
effort to integrate in the society and a general idea that they are more qualified people than the other
immigrants. When speaking about Brazilians it is possible to notice a disapproval in relation to them “not making
an effort” to adapt to society, usually associated to their lack of will to work. The research team’s experience in
other projects (and everyday lives) is that the attitude of “dissatisfaction” in relation to the Romani people is
common, believed as socially acceptable and easily assumed.

These results corroborate some studies on racism which reveal that the anti-racist standard in force in the
society prevents the cross-examined ones from expressing the forms of blatant discrimination – i.e., rejection
and perception of the out-groups as a threat and refusal of intimate relations with his members –, however their
answers point towards subtle forms of discrimination – in other words, accentuation of cultural differences
between the out-group and the intergroup and difficulty in expressing positive emotions for the members of the
out-group. As in other European countries, the anti-racist standard interferes on the manifestation of the blatant
racism, but not of the subtle racism (Vala et al., 1999b). However, other works show up that the attitudes of the
Portuguese face to Roma are marked by the existence of blatant racism (Correia et al., 2001) or a differentialist
one (Marques, 2004, p. 80).

2.1.3 Discourses on the characterization / attributes of the different groups

When the moderator asked the participants what attributes they spontaneously associate to the different groups
living in Portugal, we were able to perceive that the group dynamic works by contamination, i.e., answers tend
to appear aggregated by negative or positive attributes. One participant starts to tell what he thinks about some
minority group and the other participants tend to follow his discourse with adjectives with similar connotations.
When someone cuts the trend, and uses an attribute with a different sense, the group tends to follow the “new
image” that took place.

The attributes and the emotions regarding Muslims are generally neutral or negative and words like religion or
intolerance are usually referred by the participants in the verbalization of their thought about Muslims:

*They don’t eat pork.*

*They only work part of the day, because of Ramzan.*

*I think that we are very much influenced for the media. The Muslims have nothing to do with what the
people see in the television. As a matter of fact, we did the crusades.*

*Tolerance, but I was thinking more in terms of religion. I see this in a more comparative perspective in
terms of other religions, but I think this religion is more interesting. I was raised as a Catholic, but I am*
not. I think they are more tolerant because they accepted the integration of others, despite covering things, but I like the spirit more.

Muslims make me feel:

Worse than a dog.
Nothing in particular, those I know don’t make me feel anything in particular.
In terms of values, they make me value the evolution of Western society, with regard to the values of individuals, reason, freedom of expression. They make me value the positive course [the West has trod] and also a course of a certain schism between religion and social evolution. This schism that happened, isn’t it? Reason, valuing individuals as human beings, individual values, freedom. Democracy. I feel sorry for them.

Like before with Easter European immigrants, the participants did not differentiate Blacks according to provenance, describing them as a whole. We should notice that the presence of Black persons in Portugal is mostly result of immigration from Portuguese African Speaking Countries, although the numbers differ a lot from country to country. The Blacks are focus of a characterization specially related with their expressiveness and exoticism. The specific attributes that the participants associate to Blacks, are similar to those found and expressed in several different studies done on the perception of the Portuguese of Black people. In those studies, Portuguese do not attribute many negative aspects to the Blacks, nevertheless, they denied some attributes valued in the western societies, like autonomy, responsibility and competence. They have a tendency to see Blacks for a more decorative and playful role, like full of rhythm, musicals and sensual. (Vala et. al, 1999a; Cabecinhas, 2002; Lima et al., 2004). In this focus group, the characteristics associated to Black persons were:

Slow.
They have rhythm in their bodies.
Joie de vivre.
Actually, I think they are honest. All the people I interact with, both here as well as in Angola, South Africa and everywhere else, I think they are honest.

Blacks make me feel:

It confuses me when they mix with the White race. It doesn’t confuse them, but if I see a couple, a Black and a White, it confuses me. It confuses me. I think they are beautiful combinations.
I think it results in extremely beautiful kids.
Insecure.

According the perception of the group, Roma are definitely the minority which joins more negative attributes and that creates a higher negative emotional impact. However, they are also characterized with “light” and exotic attributes. Roma, individuals or groups, are percept on a basis of different physical extern mark (real or imagined) and that is re-meant in terms of a cultural intrinsic mark. In this sense, the racism is a reduction of the cultural features to biologic, an attempt of doing the first one to depend on the second one (Lima e Vala, 2004).

Problematic.
Violent.
Fairs.
Music. Dishonest.
Festivity.
Weddings always last 3 days.
A lack of submission, in the sense that they aren’t interested in, or at least they do not try to conform to, the standards of society.
Amongst them there is a great deal of cohesion.
Group spirit.
Family.
Code of honour.
Clan.

Roma make me feel:

Insecure

The attributes associated to Indians are very dispersing, and generally neutral:

Information technology.
Mathematics
Many languages.
Many religions
Curry
Tradition, history.

Indians make me feel:

Distant, in the sense of small. In the professional sense.
Between 1996 and 2006, the largest increase in immigration to Portugal was from Brazil and China. In a decade there was an increase of around 227% in the number of Brazilians and the number of Chinese resident in Portugal grew by 181%. In what regards the geographical distribution in Portugal, the new flows of Chinese are more spread out around the country. The Chinese population went down in the district of Lisbon, and recorded highest grow in the districts of the interior. Their main activity is the commerce, special in restaurants and Chinese shops (Rosário et al., 2008). Their visibility is then connected with a labour migration and that might contribute to explain how the association to Chinese is mostly based on economic aspects:

- Threat.
- Difficulty in communication.
- Reserved, in the sense that as people they are not very open in what they say, or the body and facial language is often not adequate for what we are used to, the signals that we read in others.
- Body language.
- It's a bit like slavery, for them to work 24 hours without a break, it's normal. Persistence.
- Competitiveness.

Chinese make me feel:

- Small.
- Invaded.

As mentioned previously, the immigration from Brazil increased a lot in recent years. In 2007, the Brazilians were the largest community of immigrants residing in Portugal. The most recent waves of Brazilian immigrants are very different from those entered in the country until the decade of 1990. If in a previous cycle it was mostly qualified technicians (dentistry, marketing finance) who sought Portugal as a destination country, in the last few years a great influx of Brazilians with lower qualifications arrived and is now mostly working in the services like restaurants, bars and shops. This gave them a great visibility in the Portuguese society. The attributes that the group expressed are, in general, not favorable to Brazilians:

- Tiring.
- Indiscipline.
Billions.
You go to the beach and it is full of only Brazilians.
Frivolous.
Cunning
Underhand.
Joy, vivacity.
Samba.
Resentment against us, as a colonising country. Just like adult children.

Brazilians make me feel:

Depends, sometimes, happy, when there’s a party, but if you talk about other things …
I think we are very paternalistic with the Brazilians and they detest that.

Finally, the moderator asked the participants which attributes they associate to Portuguese. The enumeration follows the prior tendency: the group begins with negative attributes and changes it when someone introduces more positive characteristics.

Racist, xenophobic.
Misers.
Traditional, not very open to change.
Complainers. Always complaining.
Fado.
Flexible.
Great capacity for improvisation.
A capacity to get things done.
Hospitable, affable.

2.1.4 Positive and negative aspects of immigration;

The moderator explores the negative and positive impact of migration in the personal perspective of the participants. In general, the positive aspects expressed by the group surpass the negative ones.

The positive effects of immigration, according the participants, are the multiculturalism and the opportunities that it represents to the country at an economic, demographic and cultural level:

Response to the needs of the market.
...the work they develop when they arrive, at least in the first generation, it is mainly unskilled labour, [jobs] which we do not want to do and this could also have – but does not have – the positive effect of catapulting us to more qualified jobs.

...there is a positive aspect for the economy, which is not really developed by successive governments. By not legalising people, this means that the benefits they bring do not serve to benefit our country and other Portuguese. This snowballs and the situation becomes worse instead of better. Positive aspects include cultural aspects. We learn many things with them. A multicultural society, gastronomy, new things that we come across every day. Niceness, being pleasant to the person next to you, because I think immigrants are careful and attentive to please others. The birth rate in a country like Portugal can only grow in this manner and this is a positive effect. In terms of the negative aspects, we are not able to integrate the children that are born.

One negative aspect expressed by a single participant is the increasing criminality.

Some aspects related to insecurity and criminality. Possibly. It’s not so large in terms of quantity and is to the detriment of the 99% of the people who probably want to just earn a living. There are clearly more violent forms of criminality that these people bring to Portugal. They are people who come from societies where the levels of tolerance for criminality and ignorance have nothing to do with our standards. This is an important point, both criminality from Eastern Europe as well as from Brazil.

Although some participants have classified Portuguese as racist and xenophobic, when they are asked about the perception of receptivity to immigrants in Portugal, they tend to agree that the Portuguese society is relatively open, especially the young generations, in which they include themselves.

I think youngsters are. I think those who have had contact with areas outside Portugal tend to be. Now, people who have not had such contact and for whom Portugal is closed and all that, I think it is far more difficult. I see this in terms of past generations, as compared to mine... I think that in my parents’ generation, they are less tolerant but more indifferent. In other words, for them, being Black or Asian is all the same, it’s all the same category and that doesn’t affect us a lot. This is my interpretation, the younger generations, some of them and the vast majority and I agree, we are generally more tolerant. In fact we have younger generations with a far more tolerant stance, there are far more mixed marriages, there is more enjoyment, things are changing. The problem that I also see is that the cases of intolerance, in younger generations, are more serious and more extremist than in the older generations, who didn’t really want to have anything to do with this. I think I used the right word, which is indifference. I think that, perhaps, what I have seen in terms of intolerance are half a dozen youths from the younger generation. I think that is it, there is indifference with regard to the unknown on the part of older generations, there could possibly be racist kinds of manifestations, now... My mother is over 60. It became necessary to arrange some household help for her and I went to take care of it. And she said, “Make sure at the agency that they are not Brazilians, nor from Eastern Europe,
nor from who knows where”. And my mother is a person who has a degree and so it must be because of her age, it’s the only explanation. But she wanted a White, Portuguese housemaid.

I think that Portugal is a tolerant society. I don’t think that there are phenomena of racism in Portugal. The fact that the most visible racist phenomenon is a single billboard at the Marques de Pombal rotunda says it all.

I was in Vienna a few years ago, where there were systematic posters during the political campaigns saying, “Vienna is not Istanbul”. Thousands of them. There are violent attacks, movements are constituted in Europe against the Jews, against Africans, against who knows what. Portugal is obviously not the perfect society, obviously it marginalizes, discriminates, but in this aspect it is a tolerant and peaceful society.

About the perception on how immigrants are received in Portugal, only two participants expressed less optimistic opinions, although they did not dispute the arguments against their point of view.

But there have been serious cases. Like that boy who was killed in the Bairro Alto because he was Black.

I am not belittling that, but I think these are occasional cases, it’s nothing like what happens in other countries in Europe.

Immigration is always a problem.

In the scope of the impact of immigration in Portuguese society and in everyday lives of participants, the moderator introduces a question on the nature of the relationship between Portuguese and Immigrants: competition or cooperation?

In general, the ideas expressed by the group consider the competition, more than cooperation.

Competition, depends on what level you are talking, but it is competition.

I think that in overall terms it is more competition than co-operation. Although co-operation is imposed because we are within the EC, but at the same time this also leads to rising competition.

In our professional circles, there is only a marginal participation by foreigners and thus does not constitute a threat. But if you look at jobs requiring unskilled labour, to an extent those who come from outside could be a threat for unskilled Portuguese.

Threats or risks have begun to appear, challenges at the level of competition, at the more qualified level. Namely, in terms of the question of the Indians.

Nevertheless, it is curious like this question it caused the enumeration of some subjects such as immigrants integration.

In social terms, I think there is indifference. We are trying to reach an absolute generalisation. I think that, in general, Portuguese society is indifferent to immigration. It is not indifferent to immigration when
it needs a housemaid or, “Ai! There was a Black here who robbed the neighbour’s house. Ai! Immigration has only brought us this”. But I think that the Portuguese generally do not think too much about immigration. I also don’t think they have a positive attitude, perhaps they do not have a negative one either, regarding integration, unlike other countries such as Canada, where the community has a very positive attitude with regard to integration. I do not think that civil society plays an active role in integration. I would say that there is an indifferent attitude. I also do not know if we are hosting those who we have the power to host or not.

In the case of one of my female colleagues, she lives in a place where there are various people from various different places, living in her building and in other buildings, Blacks, etc…. In the beginning she was very happy. She thought, “This is what it should be like”, so that there aren’t those ghettos and what not. Now, a few years after living there, she says, “To hell with integration”…And she is completely fed up because, in practical terms, what is happening is that you have music blaring till the early hours of the morning, kizomba and I don’t know what else, she can’t sleep and there are a number of things like this which she keeps telling me. That is the negative side of integration.

My parents live near Lisbon, in a more modest area, it is almost a rural area, with some history. (…) Now, the first Eastern Europeans have begun to arrive there, the first Brazilians, who rented the houses that were empty and have integrated into the community, more or less well, doing some jobs that the locals wouldn’t do. (…) The locals, the community there, at various levels, social, monetary. I do not know if there was integration, also because it’s a smaller environment. I don’t know if they are integrated, I know that people co-operate, but I don’t know if they integrate them.

[in relation to having more immigrants in the building] I also like to have my comfort zone. I have nothing against immigrants, nor against most races, but I also like to… It’s enough when I go to Angola, or when I go to Asia to be integrated into their societies. Here, I like to have people with whom I get along easily, I don’t have to be worried about anyone pushing their way through the door of my house, which has already happened.

The idea of integration seems thus to be linked with the cooperation with the immigrants. Nevertheless, integration, as a process, tends to be conjugated in the third person, that is, respondents tend to say that Portuguese society doing or not doing something to integrate immigrants instead of us doing something for that purpose.

Following the questions about the representations and relations between Portugal and its immigrants, the moderator sought to find out if the participants buy into the mythic image of Portugal as a country of gentle ways and whether they think that racism exists in Portugal or not.

The Portuguese with gentle ways? Those with gentle ways who in the past did the Inquisition, one of the most violent inquisitions in all of Europe? For such gentle ways we are a country with one of the highest rates of domestic violence, so I think they really sell us this idea of ‘gentle ways’. The gentle ways are what we have here, the ghettos we do not show. We have a city, nowadays, and I think it is a pity, that the city of Lisbon is increasingly divided into areas where nobody enters unless you are Roma, places where you only set foot if you are Chinese, etc. etc.
The groups referred to as being most discriminated are, undoubtedly, the blacks. Participants not only established this as fact but also sought to rationalize it:

Normally they are the ones who do the most known damage. The Blacks are the only immigration group we have had for the last 30 years. Immigration by other groups has only opened up in the last decade or so, isn’t it?

I live in an extremely calm area, where until recently there were no problems, and now the police constantly has problems with Blacks. Because they decided that that was a cool place to go steal stuff, then they cause problems with the kids at school, they cause problems on the street, they cause problems at night, a climate of insecurity has been created, which is not controllable. And we are also not going to begin to kill the Blacks who show up there, are we? Because that is also not the solution. But, I have lived there for 8 years and 4 years ago that was paradise. Currently, it’s a mess. And it’s not just there. I speak with colleagues of mine and it’s quite a generalised phenomenon. In Lisbon, and in surrounding areas, I don’t know if you know this, but there are schools where 90% or more of the students exclusively comprise Africans. Exclusively. And there is nothing positive about that any way you look at it. (…) There are no schools only with Eastern European children, schools only with Brazilian kids and with Africans it is very complicated. People who have non-African kids don’t want to put them in those schools, and then the teachers don’t want to go and teach there.

Another group that is perceived as being victimized by racism is the Brazilian immigrants:

I think that the Brazilians are in some way discriminated against in a more blinkered way. Despite the fact that they are a plague. In general, the Brazilians, how should I put it… they have a posture that is not very Portuguese. In restaurants, the staff are all Brazilian and people say “only Brazilians”. The Brazilians are everywhere.

All accounted for, the group does not report much along the lines of manifestations of racism in everyday life. They refer insults and jibes that are heard from time to time in public and only one recalls the existence of a political party that frequently expresses anti-immigrant views. This idea was immediately rebuked by another participant, who said that nowadays there is too much political correctness and that when speaking of minorities one must always double guess, under penalty of being accused of disrespect regarding someone else’s values.

…nowadays, if there is any differentiation that affects an immigrant, irrespective of whether they are Black or whatever, this is avoided, it is eroded, eliminated from discourses. Returning to what I was saying, it is absolutely heretical for someone to affirm that Western civilisation is superior to all others. That is heretical.
As the discussion moved on, it became apparent that the group had begun in a more controlled and careful tone, judiciously avoiding any remarks that might be interpreted as racist. As the group warmed up, more spontaneous interventions surfaced and eventually contradicted opinions expressed before. Taking advantage of this development, the moderator moved on to asking direct questions that, while keeping the discussion possible, eventually led the participants to position themselves unequivocally.

Do Portuguese Roma have the same opportunities as other people? The opinion of the group is unanimous – absolutely not. The general opinion, however, is that the responsibility of Roma segregation is at least as much their own as of mainstream society.

The Roma are discriminated against because they don’t have the same opportunities. It is more a structural part of their culture. It has nothing to do with us. Society discriminates against them and they discriminate against society and there is a boundary there.

Is immigration a threat to Portuguese cultural values? The opinion is that there is no threat, that values are always changing and that immigration might even enrich those cultural values.

Should there be quotas in the labour market in order to tackle inequalities in access for Roma people? Although the group agrees that Roma do not have the same opportunities than the rest of the Portuguese, the group is unanimous in the rejection of quotas arguing that they are a form of discrimination.

I think that obligation doesn’t resolve problems, it simply hides them. Quotas are discriminatory. Quotas are the worst thing you can do and it is a mechanism.

“The colour of the skin does not matter to me”. Do you agree? When asked to comment this phrase the majority of the group defends that the colour of the skin does not matter. Putting the question in a more pragmatic way the moderator then asks if it would be a problem if his or her daughter or sons married with someone with another skin colour. Only one participant said that he would not like that it happened and the rest of the group react commenting with each other and laughing.

I wouldn’t prevent it, but I would mind a great deal. (…) I don’t consider this kind of thing to be racism. The fact that I think races should not mix at a physical level. I do not consider this to be racism. I get
along very well with Blacks and I have absolutely no problem. Now, at a human level, living together, creating something that is a mixture of two races, now that confuses me.

Another participant then sought confirmation by asking: at a biological level?, to which the participant answered: yes, at a biological level.

It is politically incorrect to assume it and that explains the reaction of the rest of the group. This kind of discourse configures the manifestation of racism. The rejection of intimacy and the image of the out-group as genetically inferior are signs of the so-called blatant racism. Previous researches carried out in Portugal and in Europe show that the most frequent is to find subtle racism. The new forms of racism are usually disguised and indirect. They are characterized for the intention of not injuring the standard of the equality and of not threatening the auto concept of egalitarian person (Lima et al., 2004). The authors defend that those forms of subtle racism sometimes are worse than those more explicit since they are more difficult to identify and to combat.

Are Muslims fundamentalists? The group agrees that they are not fundamentalists, although they think the word fundamentalist now sounds like terrorism. On what respects to Muslims, one concept absorbed the other.

Would you have a problem is your daughter converted to Judaism or Islamism?

I say that it depends. If you understand religion to be a completely radical sect and…
If we are talking of the Islamism of a person from Pakistan, who has a terrorist mentality, perhaps (...) If we were talking of a person from Tibet, or something totally different, perhaps, perhaps I wouldn’t. If she converted to Islam and accepted to be a wife with all the man’s other wives, perhaps that would be quite shocking, with our values, wouldn’t it?

Notwithstanding the fact that this document has no ambition to be more than a rough draft – and therefore, it would be unsafe to suggest an ambitious set of conclusions –, we can still point out some observations:

• the theme of effort shows up repeatedly in the libel that some minority groups do not want to work and in the assertion that some minorities do not wish to be integrated;

• while some minorities are seen as posing a physical threat, a completely different set of groups is regarded by these medium-high status participants as posing an economic threat;

• even in this highly educated stratum we were able to find blatant racist discourse
• a critique was voiced that resents political correctness and multiculturalism;

• group dynamics clearly affected what was being said at any time and an emulation effect was clearly discernible.

2.2 Discourse analysis of focus group with middle-middle class subjects

2.2.1 Relationship with immigrants and ethnic minorities

The discussion under analysis was initiated with a presentation of all participants, who were then questioned as to whether and under what circumstances they had opportunity to socialise with immigrants and minority background people. The answers to this established that the majority assumed to have some relationship with minorities either in a professional or in a neighbourhood context. Two of the participants, a saddle maker and a cook, alleged to have no relationship with migrants or other minorities.

The moderator then induced an exercise on the subject of which groups spontaneously came to the participants’ minds when thinking of minorities existing in Portuguese society. The first mentions this elicited were to Africans and Brazilians. Further mentions included Eastern Europeans, Indians, Roma, Chinese and Ukrainians.

When asked about with which of these groups they sympathise more or less, the answers were diverse. Nevertheless, insofar as it is possible to derive some general picture it seems to be that Blacks are the grouping that elicits less sympathy, being connected in the participants minds with criminality and violence, a set of associations also made regarding the Roma, who are also accused of making no effort to integrate.

In the meanwhile, the Black race came into Prior Velho, which, in my opinion, is twice as bad. Until now they have not caused me any problems personally but they have caused serious problems within the neighbourhood. Attacks are commonplace, there is disorder every day, there is no chance. Zero employment, constant assaults.

For me the Roma are the worst race of all. They are parasites on society, they don’t do anything. 90% of them receive those subsidies they give nowadays and many of them have a lot of money and they could work.

For some participants Brazilians were the more attractive grouping, while for other the less attractive. In spite or perhaps because of this polarization, they were the most discussed grouping.
On the contrary, I think that the Brazilians do not like to work. I don’t know if that’s the case individually, but I think that when the Brazilians are in a group they behave differently than when they are separate. I get along well with Brazilians, some Brazilians, and their behaviour is completely different.

On the other hand, participants regard Muslims as an aloof and closed community. Some of the comments, however, were explicitly hostile regarding this grouping.

2.2.2 Representations about integration

On this dimension, we tried to find out which groups participants say they regard as being best and worse integrated.

The almost unanimous answer is that the Chinese are the grouping participants say they regard as achieving a better level of integration, mostly due to the economic activity and the purchase power participants say they perceive the Chinese as possessing. Participants also reference Eastern Europeans as being relatively well integrated, having some purchase power and greater access to housing.

The Chinese at the level of getting ahead in life. They are very hard workers, I think they really have houses, more and more houses, because, really, they can work on the weekend. They work on weekends, holidays...
I agree. I don’t have a lot of information about this, but from what I have heard, the Chinese receive subsidies from their government in order to establish businesses in our country.
I think it’s the Ukrainians, shall we say that. The Blacks were already here, the Ukrainians come from outside and they manage to speak Portuguese far better than the Blacks, who were already here. They manage to speak better, we can understand them fine.

The participants perceive the Brazilians and the Roma as the less integrated groupings, although some participants also refer Romanians, Blacks and Muslims.

I think it’s the Roma. They are the ones who have been the longest in our country and they have never integrated.
Yes, it is the Roma.
In my opinion, the Brazilians and the Roma.
For example, I think Brazilian women don’t make an effort, I don’t get along with Brazilian women…
When asked if Roma have the same opportunities in Portugal as everyone else, participants acknowledge that they do not, although Roma themselves are regarded as responsible for this inequality. Participants argue that the Roma wouldn't be interested in such opportunities.

*I don’t think they do.*  
*But do they want the opportunities? Sometimes they are given opportunities and they don’t make use of them.*

It was also asked of participants what they thought of the use of affirmative action, namely via labour market quotas, to promote the integration of the Romani minority. Participants dismissed this notion was immediately and justified this option with the alleged Roma indifference toward integration.

*They themselves keep away from our culture. If they keep away from our culture they are not capable of having the same habits we do. So hence, and based on their practices, they are not even capable of being rejected. Now this idea of having reserved job quotas for the Roma, I think the quota would never be filled.*  
*They work for themselves, with themselves, by themselves, it is all theirs, everything is for themselves. You don’t see Roma working in a shop or in a restaurant that is not theirs. That is their culture. It is really like that.*

The moderator also asked participants if in their view the Roma were more or less discriminated than homosexuals. Participants said that the Roma are clearly the most discriminated group, namely thanks to the relative ease with which an homosexual can go by unnoticed, while a Romani person can always be spotted.

*You can look at a man or a woman and you can’t tell. But when you look at a Roma you know they are Roma.*

### 2.2.3 Discourses on the characterization / attributes of the different groups

We also asked participants to make quick characterizations of each minority.

Participants started by sketching the Brazilians. We notice that the majority of attributes, whether negative or positive, has to do with the idea of festivity. Participants begin by referencing party, music and dance but soon a negative drift becomes apparent, with mentions of drunkenness, loud music although the night follow.

*Parties.*  
*Dance, music.*  
*Drunkenness, beer.*
Of the ones we have here, I would say that they are all trash. Very poor. They socialise with each other a lot, something is on and the entire family goes. It’s a lot like the Blacks. I think they do not manage to integrate very well into society. I have already been in that situation, there in the building. First one came along, then 2 and 3, 4, 5, 6 and they don’t respect anyone. It’s just blaring music throughout the night and I think they do not integrate well into society, they have no respect. They are not used to our rules.

As for Blacks, the portrayals were clearly negative. The main characteristics pointed out were that this grouping would be racist and suspicious. Along this, participants also make an almost direct association of Blacks with violence and criminality.

In my opinion, the Blacks who are 40 or 50 years old or thereabouts are very different from the youths of today, who are 20 years old. These youngsters are a complete disgrace, they behave badly, they don’t study. So, it is going to be very difficult. They have changed a lot in the past 20 years… They themselves are racist with regard to the Whites. We can be racist, but they are too. They are very suspicious. Mugging. Injuries. Rapes.

Like Blacks, also Indians are regarded as a suspicious group. The feeling of detachment regarding this grouping is notorious in the fact that participants refer that Indians are closed and isolate themselves. And although participants made no explicitly negative reference – stating, for instance, that Indians stay out of trouble – the allegation that Indians don’t bother to use Portuguese language seems to harbour some resentment.

Suspicious.
If one doesn’t buy something, they start talking in that language of theirs… Speaking badly of us in their language. They are a people who do not create problems. They live there in the Portela neighbourhood of Sacavém, they are quite a majority. I have never heard of anyone saying that they mug people or do this or that. They isolate themselves. (...) they have their community and they are very closed. In the mall in Santo António, the entire first floor is theirs. They have shops, DVDs, trinkets, mobile phones, household goods.

Regarding the Chinese, participants view them as hard working, unsociable, suspicious and somewhat isolate. This is possibly the category to which are attributed characteristics that are more neutral. The distancing participants demonstrate towards the Chinese does not question their everyday relationships with this minority.

Hard workers.
They are very smart, they know the prices of everything they have in their shop.
Not very sociable.

They are very wary.

They are wary.

It’s rare to see them on the streets.

I see them in restaurants, I see them in clothes shops and that’s it.

The portrayal of the Roma is not consensual. A first wave of attributes contained epithets like: complainers, swindlers, drug dealers and disorderly. Nevertheless, a second wave of remarks, based on personal experiences, goes against the trend set by the first comments. Thus we come to the conclusion that, unlike the representations of other minorities held by participants, the portrayal of the Roma is finely nuanced by personal experience.

They don’t pay for public transport. In Santo António dos Cavaleiros, none of them pay for public transport.

They are grumblers.

They are suitable candidates for the social insertion subsidy. They sell drugs.

Drugs and they buy nice Mercedes cars.

And good suits.

There is also an area (?), Roma live there and there is no problem at all with them. There is no problem at all. They talk to you, they socialise with us.

That’s true, there really are some there, and I have also seen that there are no problems.

There is no problem at all. But in that area, slightly further North, near the parish council…

There is no problem when they are separate, it’s when they are in a group that they are terrible. I am talking about Macedo dos Cavaleiros, I am talking about Sacavém, who knows, in many other places, when they built those houses there, people had to leave that area of the neighbourhood. They are all over the place there. They themselves would hound out the people who lived there. They themselves did not want them there. They had to leave the area and they themselves hounded them out of those places, because they are disorderly, they themselves create conflicts.

In what pertains to participants’ representations of Ukrainians, they can be considered the most positive of all groups under discussion. This group is defined as hard working, making no effort and being easy to connect with:

Construction workers.
The Ukrainians I know really make an effort in terms of the language, it ends up by being very difficult, some of them have a slightly higher cultural level. The ones I had working there were all graduates.

They are easy to get along with. The only problem is that at the end of the day, with their alcohol problems, they drink vodkas and Red Bulls and who knows what to warm up, but apart from that, they are calm.

And they work for far lower wages than the Whites.

The reader will notice that one of the participants denies Ukrainians access to the status of White. This may seem perplexing but can be interpreted as a social closure tactic based on assimilating immigrants to non-whites.

As for Romanians, participants point them out as the less integrated category and the one with which they themselves feel less empathy. The group is considered treacherous, beggarly and pity worth. There is also some association of this grouping with the Roma, who, as we saw before, elicit a mixed response.

Traitors. Great traitors.

The women who are at the traffic lights, with their children on their hips, washing the windows, begging and we have to have money, otherwise…

Beggars.

I feel pity.

I also feel sorry for them.

I think they are descendants of the Roma. They are a branch of the Roma.

When questioned about Muslims, participants showed some indifference and distancing, but even so the imaged formed at a distance is clearly a negative one. Participants consider Muslims fanatics and associate them with terrorism. Although these ideas were not further developed in the discussion, the overall image is quite clear.

I don’t agree with their ideals. They are very fanatic.

I don’t have any relations with them, I have no idea. When I think about them, a bad image comes to mind.
2.2.4 Positive and negative aspects of immigration

In this section, we will try to understand the perceptions held by participants in relation to migration. For this purpose, we asked participants which aspects of this phenomenon do they hold as positive and negative, and why. Most of the opinions given were contributions given for the negative facet. In fact, the sole positive contribution – the idea of migrants’ contribution to the labour necessary for big public works – was ventured almost as an afterthought.

The development in certain areas of construction, we were capable of not having developed so much. The low cost of labour has ensured that many contractors built things that, perhaps, they would not have done at that time because prices were very high. I think it is good in that aspect.

The Blacks are a strong people, they have a lot of resistance, their physical build, I think they are very tough. I think the majority of construction is all done by Blacks.

On the other hand, the consensus regarding an overall negative image of migration is overwhelming. One of the participants even referred to the consequences of migration as being “terrible”. The main arguments for this are that migrants directly compete with nationals on the labour market and lead to higher unemployment rates in the autochthonous population and that they are directly connected with criminality and violence.

In principle, they take away a lot of jobs, mainly from youngsters. Because there you have it, it’s just like I said a while back, they accept lower wages and they arrive and they say: “Sir, I am looking for work, I will do this job for 100 Euros less”.

Earlier immigration was worth it, there were many public works projects being done, the majority of people who immigrated worked in the construction sector. Now, since there are no jobs, all the people who come here, it’s more likely they’ve come to steal.

Therefore, the answer to the question of whether the term cooperation or the term integration best describe the relationship between the Portuguese and immigrants came as no surprise:

A few days ago, we heard that a factory shut down, then another factory closed, it is already difficult for us to keep our jobs. I personally think so, now they come here and they take the little there is.

The moderator also directly asked participants if Portugal can or not be considered a racist country. The answers were almost unanimously affirmative.
Participants also answered the question of whether the colour of someone’s skin is important in their appraisal of a person. To this, the answers were almost unanimously negative.

Moving on along the lines of the interview guide, the moderator asked of participants if they would accept a one of their children to become part of a mixed couple. Some participants said they would have no objection. In the other cases, the categories most objected to were Roma and Muslims.

This last observation leads us to the answers of the questions of whether participants would accept that one of their children converted to Judaism or Islam. Answers were quite unanimous and demonstrated that for the participants this would be a motive for great concern. For some this would allegedly be the worst thing possible and it would amount to losing a child.

2.3 Discourse analysis of focus group with lower-middle class subjects

2.3.1 Relationship with immigrants and ethnic minorities

This group shows distinct levels of rapport with minorities. After each participant has presented him or herself, when interrogated about the relationships that they might have with minorities, they refer to these with some distancing. When confronted with this first question, the first group to be mentioned is Blacks, quickly followed by Roma. As the discussion progresses, we learn that they do engage in relationships with members of different minority groups. Some of these relations turn out to be personal neighbourly, intimate and even of kinship.

As the discussion moved on further disclosure was elicited by the group dynamic and the moderator’s probing, resulting in statements of personal dislike regarding certain groups. Although this is not very clear cut, the Chinese and the Roma seem, at first sight, to be the less esteemed groups.

I get along very well with Africans and I get along very badly, so to speak, with the Roma. (…) Because the Roma are very false.

I think that, for me, the Indians are people with whom I would not be able to even have [a coffee/a drink]… I have nothing against them, but they are just so different. I could get along well with Ukrainians, with Blacks as well, with the Brazilians, even with the Roma. But it is much easier for me to talk with a Roma man or woman, not everybody [could], isn’t it?

I don’t like them [Muslims], I don’t know. Their religion, that thing with the twin towers. They’re bombers, I associate them with terrorism, I don’t like them.
I do not like the Roma nor the Romanians.
The notion of Africans. There are people with whom I get along extremely well but on the other hand I think they are a little arrogant, I think that is the term for it. (...) With the Roma, I am always slightly hesitant, because they are very mysterious, troublesome people. (...) The Chinese, they are a very closed people, there is really not much to say because, after all, apart from going to the shops…But I neither get along with them nor do I not get along with them, because they are very closed. They are always in their world, in their language. Their life is to work…
The Chinese… There is something in them that doesn't attract me.

As these fragments illustrate, there is little articulation in these dislikes. In spite of this, there is some reference to 9/11 and to alleged arrogance and intentional distancing of the minorities themselves. This seems to suggest that hostility breeds or seeks legitimation in perceived hostility.

Furthermore, it is also quite interesting that one of the participants is married to a person of mixed background who she, despite the personal intimate relationship, perceives with a degree of otherness.

2.3.2 Representations about integration

Regarding integration, participants were posed by the moderator the question of which groups seem to be adapting better –and worse – to mainstream Portuguese society. Answers to this reveal that the Chinese and Brazilians tend to be considered the more successful minorities, especially at economic level.

The Chinese are the ones who are doing the best.
The Chinese and the Brazilians.
The Brazilians in restaurants, because they work very hard.

The Ukrainians and other Eastern Europeans are pointed out as the less successful and most underpaid minority. In reading this we should keep in mind that participants were clearly referring mostly of the economic dimension.

I think the Eastern Europeans aren't faring well.
The Ukrainians earn less.
The Moldavians are very cheap.
In turn, Blacks are regarded as a minority that is increasingly more accepted by mainstream society. Although one of the participants voiced an opinion that this minority was one of the less integrated, this idea was fought by the rest of the group, which argued that nowadays Blacks are much more widely accepted than in the past.

No. I know people who are looking for work and they say, “I won’t give him the job, because he’s Black”. I think that’s wrong. I think that nowadays, at least the idea I have, is that it is no longer like that. But it also does still exist.

Romanians are, on the level with Roma, mentioned as one of the less integrated groups. They – especially the Roma – are seen as rejecting integration and squandering generous opportunities bestowed upon them by the State. When interrogated if Roma enjoy the same opportunities as someone culturally belonging to the majority of the Portuguese population, participants suggest that not only they do enjoy the same opportunities but that Roma even get privileges and opportunities denied to the common Portuguese citizen.

I don’t think the Romanians have any interest in doing well. The ones doing worst are the Roma, who have been here for a long time…

This construct is easily discerned in the comments of participants, especially when questioned if they would agree with the establishment of labour market quotas for the Romani community. Participants say they would not object but that the quotas would be useless, given that this minority has no desire for integration.

This discourse of welfare privilege and indifference towards integration also emerges in comparison with the gay community, that some participants point out as more discriminated than Roma but, at least, to be making a clear and visible effort towards integration. Overall, Roma are notoriously regarded as themselves guilty of their lack of integration.

2.3.3 Discourses on the characterization / attributes of the different groups

When asked to spontaneously characterize some cultural and religious minorities living in Portugal, the results for each group were very homogenous, perhaps because of group dynamics.
Overall, representations are negative. The Chinese however are regarded in a slightly better light and referred to as being polite. It is also clear that regarding the groups about which the respondents know less, representations tend to be more neutral than positive.

When questioned specifically about Blacks, the main negative attributes to be mentioned denote an image in which closure and racism are diagnosed but seem to paradoxically coexist along with outgoing epithets such as ‘flashy’, ‘vain’ or ‘exhibitionists’.

*They are very racist. They are very racist amongst themselves and with regard to us. They are more racist with us than we are with them.*

*They are also very closed in their own group. Although they get along with us, in any case one can note that there is something there that we cannot trust. I think that we are much more open and pure with regard to them.*

*They don’t like to work. I’m speaking in general.*

*Vain. Exhibitionists.*

*They like to be flashy. They always use branded products.*

As for Brazilians, they are referred to as:

*False.*

*Traitors.*

*Liars.*

Participants refer Brazilian women as being:

*Seductive.*

*Be careful with your husbands and everything else. Wherever Brazilian women see money, they pounce.*

*That is why even priests are drawn to them.*

From a more positive standpoint, participants also find them to be:

*But, at heart, they also always appear to be happy.*

*They are a very joyful people.*

*Parties are really parties. Wherever there is a party.*
In this specific case, the influence of the group dynamic is clear in that initially negative attributes succeeded each other and this trend was not so much broken as it actually inflected into a succession of attributes with more positive overtones.

Participants have a negative perception of the Romani minority:

- Because the Roma are very false.
- We have to always be careful with them.
- They like to live at other people’s expense.
- Liars.

Nevertheless, there is a positive valuation of what is perceived as the Romani inter-ethnic solidarity or clannishness:

- They care a great deal for the ties between people.

Also, their dedication to commerce is noted, in not praised:

- They are traders, more than all the others.

However, these traits do not compensate the negative aspects found in Roma. The participants’ overall representation of the Roma becomes quite clear in light of a remark describing Romanians as being:

- They can be even worse than the Roma.

Participants regard Romanians as the utterly irredeemable group:

- The Romanians are just like the Roma.
- Parasites on society.
- Because they live at the expense of society. Assaulting, stealing, cheating. They don’t do anything.
- Everything that comes from that area…because they are capable of even conning compatriots in order to get some money.

Participants describe the Ukrainian immigrants as:

- They are cold. They have no feelings, not even expressions.
Nevertheless, Ukrainians are also found to be:

*Hard workers.*

This seems to be a blanket representation covering also several other Eastern European groups as, for instance, the Moldavians. The latter is the most positively regarded minority group, although participants seemed to tend to abstain from judgement in the absence of anything negative to say.

*I would say hardworking and sincere.*

*Anything that has to do with Eastern Europe, I think they are all very alike (...). The Moldavians, I would let them continue to enter, but with certain precautions.*

*The Moldavians are nicer than the Ukrainians.*

Participants tended to present a more positive view of the Chinese community. At least, the worse traits ascribed to the Chinese are more neutral than the ones used concerning other minorities:

*They are a closed people. A closed community.*

*A complicated language.*

*Mistrustful. Boy, they are really mistrustful.*

On the other hand, they are regarded as hard workers, although it seems that in our participants’ view this can become excessive:

*Hard workers. They only think about work.*

*They work 24x7.*

Finally, perhaps the most positive trait ascribed to a minority in this focus group was voiced in regard of the Chinese. At least one of the participants views them as:

*Educated.*

By contrast, there is a lot of openly voiced hostility towards Indians, who are seen as not making the effort of learning the language and trying to integrate.
The Blacks at least speak Portuguese, don’t they? Now the Indians...You can enter a mobile phone shop, they are always on the phone and for all I know they could be planning a murder, because I don’t understand a word. In fact, I think it is a lack of respect. They have come here, they have to speak our language.

Again, the self-exclusion and reserved character of the group are invoked as a rationale for suspicion and hostility:

A very closed country. They are a very closed race.

Unsurprisingly, although there is little reported Islamophobia in Portugal, participants associate Muslims with terrorism:

I don’t like them, I don’t know. Their religion, that thing with the twin towers. They’re bombers, I associate them with terrorism, I don’t like them.

Again, this minority’s reserve is held against it:

Closed.

Just recently, about a week ago, one of my neighbours told me, “I am Muslim”. And I was amazed because I had been talking to him for ages, but there you have it, I didn’t even know. He told me a story because his family is also Muslim, which he said they hid. And I was so surprised I just said, “But you’re a Muslim?”

2.3.4 Positive and negative aspects of immigration

This dimension concerns the participants’ perceptions of the positive and negative outcomes of immigration. Positive aspects tend to cluster on the labour force increase and in the intercultural exchange that stem from these groups establishing themselves in Portugal:

More labour.

The exchange of cultures is important. We are very closed here in Portugal. Also, so many people come to work, I do not know why our country is in this state. There is no place for us, we have to leave, they are occupying everything and they work so hard, this should be a marvellous country.

On the other hand, a feeling of economic menace and competition – via migrants purportedly being willing to work for smaller salaries – is the most notable negative aspect:
Very sincerely, I do not like beating about the bush, I like to be very sincere. And if possible, somebody should really tell our prime minister that our borders have been opened way too much for all these people. They are suffocating our country, Portugal is very small.

By working they are taking jobs from the Portuguese.

Yes, wages are extremely low, with this labour, I don't know why the country is not doing well…

The large contingents of foreign labour that come to Portugal have lowered the wages of the Portuguese.

Another negative aspect often mentioned by participants is the alleged association of migration with violence and criminality. As before with the economic aspect, the government is, along with and perhaps more than migrants themselves, targeted by this criticism:

The employers don’t issue receipts, the labour is cheaper and they use them. That’s the stumbling block, it’s the State.

In this way, it some of the complexities of the racist equation become perceptible: the identity question, sense of ontological threat, etc. see their effects boosted by the resentment felt by this subordinated stratum towards the status quo.

Moving on along the lines of the interview guide, the moderator asked if the relation between immigrants and the Portuguese is best described as being one of cooperation or competition. Participants overwhelmingly chose the latter:

Perhaps it used to be one of cooperation, but now it is competition.

Competition, at the level of jobs, at the level of benefits.

It is competition at every level.

When asked directly if Portugal is, in their view, a racist country, participants are almost unanimous in answering positively. For instance:

I think we will tend to be more racist.

The exception is a participant who says that racism is mostly a family question and can not be generalized as an attribute of a society:
I don’t agree. Nowadays there is no racism. Those who are racists are like that because their parents were racist.

To conclude, participants were confronted with the hypothetical situation of one of their children manifesting the intention to marry someone belonging to a minority. All participants state that they would mind the situation, even more so if the person in question belonged to the Romani minority. This racist outlook is reiterated, again unanimously, in the answers to the question if whether or not skin colour is relevant in the appraisal they make of someone.
3 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS BETWEEN GROUPS

On this analysis we will use a colour code to signify to which of the three strata any given statement belongs. The upper-middle status discussion group statements will be inscribed within a blue cartouche; the middle-middle status discussion group statements will be enclosed within an orange cartouche; lower-middle social status focus group members pronouncements will be depicted in a lime cartouche.

3.1 Identification of groups perceived as other

The groups spontaneously identified were:

As the diagram makes plain, the groups identified were by large the same in all three strata. Curiously, only the participants of the upper-middle status stratum identified groups on the basis of religion. Jews simply weren’t mention, a fact that can be related either to this group’s low profile in Portuguese society or to our subjects not perceiving them as ‘other’. Also of notice is the fact that this group used a very wide term, namely Eastern
Europeans, where the lower status groups actually singled out nationalities such as Romanians and Moldovans. At times, Eastern Europeans and Ukrainians were used interchangeably.

3.2 Relationship with people from a different background

3.2.1 Social distance

As for relationships with people from a different ethnic background, we were able to grasp the existence of several distinct levels of personal contact with people from other ethnic backgrounds.

In my personal, everyday life I don’t have much contact either, apart from coming across a large variety of people.

In my everyday life, in practical terms, I interact very little with these groups, apart from some of my neighbours.

I have some female cousins who are also mulatto.

I have siblings who are Mulattos.

But I am married to a person of mixed race, of European and Asian descent.

I have my husband, who is a mulatto.

I also know some Blacks.

...one of my close friends is Black.

I have Brazilian friends.

It should be pointed out that there was mention to kinship with minorities on all three strata, but friendship only in the middle-middle status group and great subjective distance only in the upper-middle status group.
3.2.2  Labour relations

Moving on to the occupational sphere, contact with groups perceived as ‘other’ was reported mostly in the upper-middle status group:

Possibly at a professional level, but not very often.

I work in a multinational company and I am always interacting with people from everywhere. I have already been in countries like Mongolia, African countries, hence diverse groups.

I have had experiences of being abroad, with people from all nationalities.

The Institute where I work has people from Asia, Chinese. Before this I have also lived in other countries and the field of research was far more international than here in Portugal.

I work in the area of human resources, interviews with potential employees (…) we speak to everybody.

Because I have been involved in international projects, which involved people from all places, ethnicities, religions. So I am used to dealing with...

This may result of heightened segregation and social distance in the lower echelons of the labour market and seems also to reflect the platitude that higher status groups are more cosmopolitan.

3.2.3  Local community relations

Finally, on a community level, participants in all groups mentioned contact with some minority group or other in the neighbourhoods where they currently live or grew up in and in the public transportation:
Summing up, what we learnt regarding the relationship of our upper-middle status subjects with people from different backgrounds is that such relations take place mostly in a differentiated professional context and, overall relationships of a more personal nature are not established. On an emotional level, distances are kept, although human variety and multiculturalism is valued in theory. The middle-middle status and lower-middle status subjects are familiarised with the presence of immigrants in public transportation, in their neighbourhoods and even buildings, but generally they do not establish personal relationships and purposely keep a vigilant, mistrusting attitude. At this stage some lower-middle status subjects took the opportunity to assert a feeling of superiority that later on we will see that can be understood as masking an installed feelings of competition and discrimination regarding assistance thought to be provided by the State to many immigrants.
3.2.4  Level of sympathy / identification with each of these groups

The first thing to emerge when we start probing for the participants’ views in this matter is the spontaneous and politically correct answer:

I think that it has nothing to do with the group, I would have no problem in getting along with all the people there [on the list], it depends…

In has more to do with the way people live in their social environment. Some have a bigger shock than other... I, for instance, would have a great difficulty in adjusting my life, my daily life and my way of being with someone that was Buddhist. It is absolutely extreme in relation to my own principles. My problem would not be dealing with the person, it would be me adapting to his environment and him adapting to mine so that we have a balance. Here it is exactly the opposite… these people are here and adapt to our environment, so for us they are all the same.

I think there is more to the question, because I think that it has to do with values, with stances that each person has, irrespective of religion or ethnic origin. Thus, we can empathise, more or less, according to status, in the sense that: “what is the status of these people?”. Hence, I do not discard any of these possibilities at the outset. I also do not want to enter into the cliché of “Ah, he’s Black, he’s from Africa, he’s backward”. It doesn’t make sense in this world. We have N examples, and perhaps abroad, as various people have said, there are examples that are far more expressive in quantitative terms than here. But, I think that this empathy that is formed has to do with economic status, with social status, it has to do with education and is therefore transversal to everything.

For me, anyone, as long as they respect me, I get along with all of them, I think there is a bit of everything, there is a mixture of good and bad.

But I know a lot of Muslims who live in the building where I live, with whom I get along very well. Even though there is this opinion of extremist Muslims. In my building I have people who work in the embassy, with ambassadors, Blacks, who are of a completely different level.
Nevertheless, further probing exposes underlying emotions towards most of the groups that were singled out before. The Muslims, for instance, are viewed as:

To be sincere, I do not like those Muslims much I don’t like them (...) Their religion, that thing with the twin towers. They’re bombers, I associate them with terrorism, I don’t like them.

I have never interacted socially with any Muslim, but the way in which they react is very different. It is not possible to...

He [a Bishop] said it was complicated in their society when a Portuguese woman married a Muslim. I agree completely that they are strange, they have a strange society and hence my indifference with regard to them.

Perhaps I would find it most difficult to live with an extremist Muslim, who goes about all covered up or obliges his wife to do certain things that make no sense at all, stuff like that.

Perhaps with people like extremist Muslims, or Buddhists or [Eastern] Orthodox [Christians], there will probably never be a bridge, a connection between us and these people, an affinity that would allow this connection.

We are open to diverse religions or cultural habits and thus, at least speaking for myself, gender equality, in my view, goes beyond that a bit.

Like Bin Laden, all the terrorists.
The Chinese, in turn, are perceived as:

- The Chinese, they are a very closed people, there is really not much to say because, after all, apart from going to the shops... But I neither get along with them nor do I get along with them, because they are very closed. They are always in their world, in their language. Their life is to work and they are really very closed.

- I for example, [think] difficulties in communication are not just limited to the language. It also has to do with customs. Customs are completely different. I have already worked with people in Indonesia, Japanese, Chinese...

- This is in the context of Ph.D. applications. Very often, they come here after having already obtained a Ph.D. To start with, they work every day. We work 5 days a week and they work 7, and they aren’t obliged to do so. Then, this is not just my opinion, because we have already spoken to other people, for example, they do things as they want. There is a protocol for doing something, but they do exactly what they feel like doing. They do not follow [protocol] / I have been in situations where, I was exiting a door and a Chinese lady was about to pass through as well, with her hands full of boxes, and she insists I go through first / The Chinese are very schematic. They tend to do things how they think it should be done and not as was stipulated in that particular case.

- The Chinese... there is something in them that doesn’t attract me. I don’t know why, perhaps because they are also not people who speak, who get along well with other people, or who try to talk, there is always something that is a barrier.

- The ones I like the most are the Chinese. They don’t create any problems. They just work and work and don’t cause problems for anyone.
As we saw before, previous research indicates that the Roma are the group most targeted by racism and discrimination in Portuguese society. Our own results show that:

- I get along very badly, so to speak, with the Roma (…)
  - Because the Roma are very false.

- With the Roma, I am always slightly hesitant, because they are very mysterious, troublesome people.

- When they are in group they become bad and they think they are so much better than everyone else, but when they are on their own they don't hurt a fly.

- I do not like the Roma nor the Romanians. Because Romanians have a bit of Roma in them and the Roma have a bit of Romanian in them. For me it's all the same thing. (…) Their nature, their way of being. (…) Their nature of not working, to live at the cost of the rest of society, cheating people.

- I once even had a problem, in the company where I worked, with Roma. At that time, I called them in Carcavelos and asked them to come and help me because I was being completely threatened. They came to talk with these Roma and to date I have never had problems.

- I don't have anything against anyone, but as I don't like trouble, often, I am a bit doubtful about Roma / to me the Roma are the worst, they are society's parasites, 90% of them earn those subsidies given at the moment, many of them with good bodies to work at building sites, in the countryside... they don't do anything.

- I was virtually born and grew up amongst the Roma. (…) I am respected, (…) whenever I go to visit my parents, they [the Roma] come from Espinho, or from wherever they live, to see me.

- [The Roma make me feel] insecure.

- As for the Roma, I don't think we are the ones who exclude them, but they are the ones who exclude us. They practically cannot maintain a dialogue with us or when they have anything to do with us, it's always to ask for something.

As for Africans, the following excerpts illustrate the kind of representation and valuation that they are object of:
I have some difficulty communicating with Africans. But it is hard to say this when there are Africans with whom I get along well, who I admire, I think they are fantastic, I like to work with them, etc. (...) [This difficulty is] about a lack of education on the other side. About a lack of education.

...we began to work with them and I saw that their rhythm is nothing like ours.

With regard to the Africans (...) I think there is a bit of everything, there is a mixture of good and bad.

I have lived in Prior Velho. (...) only Roma used to live in Prior Velho. (...) They used to create problems for us in the cafés, when they got drunk or something (...) In the meanwhile, the Black race came into Prior Velho, which, in my opinion, is twice as bad. (...) We have already met with the Loures town hall, we have already met with the home ministry, God knows what we have tried. It is becoming extremely difficult to live in that neighbourhood. It is not the older generation, they don’t create problems, it’s the younger generation, the youth. It is a group that has no respect for anybody, even for people of their own race.

I get along less with the Blacks, because they have already mugged my son several times, he has been attacked. So I keep a bit of distance from them.

The notion of Africans. There are people with whom I get along extremely well but on the other hand I think they are a little arrogant, I think that is the term for it. In the place where I live, for example, they are on the sidewalk, we have to try and get to work and we have to wait for them to pass through, they stare at us and it seems that they are thinking: “Well now, you’ll just have to wait! I’ll do as I please”. This kind of superiority, of arrogance, is a characteristic of the Africans.

Of course you can note a difference, even in my husband’s race [of mixed background]. I note that there is a small difference there but I get along well with the family, with friends and I know a lot of people.

In my area, near the school, the first line doesn’t open the windows because the Black kids brake their windows, kids of 7, 8, 9 years of age.

As for the relation of participants with Indians, we just collected three statements:
Finally, a few of the participants had something to offer regarding Brazilians:

**I think that, for me, the Indians are people with whom I would not be able to even have [a coffee/a drink]... I have nothing against them, but they are just so different. I could get along well with Ukrainians, with Blacks as well, with the Brazilians, even with the Roma. But it is much easier for me to talk with a Roma man or woman, not everybody [could], isn’t it? [...] I don’t know whether it is because of their religion that they are different from us, it is possible.**

**I really like the Indians, I adore the Indians.**

**With regard to the Brazilians, I also think there is a little bit of this attitude of superiority, of arriving and... It is a feeling of superiority.**

**I get along best with the Brazilians, because I think they are a very happy and fun-loving people.**

**As for Brazilians, I have also had Brazilian colleagues working with me, I have never had problems, I have even helped them.**

**I agree that they [Brazilians] are false.**

**I think that the Brazilians do not like to work. I don’t know if that’s the case individually, but I think that when the Brazilians are in a group they behave differently than when they are separate.**

**Resentment against us, as a colonising country.**

Summing up, we can observe that, on a first approach, upper-middle status participants try to evade the subject: they are cautious and have a controlled speech so that they don’t ‘fall’ into racist statements. They tend to focus in the groups that are less polemic and that generate less emotional involvement (for instance, Chinese, Muslims, Buddhists) and they avoid talking about Black people, Roma and Brazilians. In comparison, the other strata approach the subject and state their opinions more freely. The groups with middle-middle status participants reacted most negatively to Black people – which they associated immediately with criminality – and to Roma, who are regarded as living aside and being dependent upon society. This stratum also associated Brazilians with laziness, falseness and dishonesty. The lower-middle stratum tends to focus on Roma, to which a greater emotional charge is associated. They perceive the Roma as a threat and associate this minority with their own feelings of insecurity.
3.3 Representations of integration

We asked the participants which minority groups seem to be faring better and worse in Portuguese society. The question was an obvious stand in for an explicit reference to integration, as the participants in the upper-middle status group promptly found out. So, who is better integrated?

The Chinese and the Brazilians. (…) The Brazilians in restaurants, (…) there are many Chinese shops.

The Chinese at the level of getting ahead in life. They are very hard workers, I think they really have houses, more and more houses, because, really, they can work on the weekend. They work on weekends, holidays.

Well, since we are speaking of integration, it is Eastern Europe. I think the Eastern Europeans have integrated very well. (…) And in fact they were people with technical qualifications.

Just like the Eastern Europeans who also try to and, in fact, do integrate and they manage to do so by themselves, arriving here without any cultural or linguistic affinities, etc. and they manage to integrate. We have examples of people who began as construction workers and have managed to do very well.

The Ukrainians come from outside and they manage to speak Portuguese far better than the Blacks, who were already here.

The Ukrainians I know really make an effort in terms of the language.

The Ukrains come from outside and they manage to speak Portuguese far better than the Blacks, who were already here.

The Ukrainians I know really make an effort in terms of the language.

It’s because they (Blacks) have purchasing power, in addition to having incomes. If we find it difficult to move house or buy a house, they buy houses with ease, I don’t know… (…) they all have cars. I don’t know how, but they all have cars, they are always driving around there with music blaring. After 7 p.m. you don’t see Whites on the Sintra Line, not even on the trains. It’s generalised. Then, there are the muggings…

The Roma are doing well. (…) They have always done well...

The Chinese are the ones who are doing the best. [unanimous].

From what I have heard, the Chinese receive subsidies from their government in order to establish businesses in our country.

The Chinese and the Brazilians. (…) The Brazilians in restaurants, (…) there are many Chinese shops.
As for the groups faring worse, the participants in our groups think that they are:

...they [the Roma] are the ones who don’t want to work.

Definitely those who are doing worse are the Roma. (...) Worse in all the aspects of social affirmation, integration and with the aggravating factor of being Portuguese, they have been here for hundreds of years. Hence, for reasons that aren’t worth discussing here (...) integration is not an objective, they do not want to integrate.

I think it’s the Roma. They are the ones who have been the longest in our country and they have never integrated.

The ones doing worst are the Roma, who have been here for a long time...

...they [the Barzilians] don’t want to work.

...Muslims (...) are the ones I feel are more distant.

So, we have a range of Brazilians here, there are top-of-the-range Brazilians to the most unqualified and criminal Brazilians, it’s a tremendous range.

They are capable of substituting the Blacks with Moldavians, but the Moldavians don’t want to work hard, or they work to make some money and then perhaps they go back.

The Ukrainians earn less(...) The Moldavians are very cheap.

There was a time when it was said that when they [Blacks] wanted to rent houses, nobody would rent them a house.

it’s not just in the construction sector, it can be anything else, they don’t give work to Blacks.

They [African immigrants] are not integrated, they can’t manage to arrange a house, they are not able to do anything. That is why I think, that at this point in time, they are the worst off.

Because when the Blacks come here, they already have a cousin or a relative over here and they live 5 or 6 in one room.

The Africans are the cheapest labour.

All things considered, there seems to be a positive attitude towards Eastern European people, based on the perception that they are more qualified people, on the recognition that they are making an effort to integrate.
This view tends to generate consensus. On the other hand, all strata show an attitude of ‘dissatisfaction’ regarding the Roma is common, easily assumed and believed as socially acceptable. When our upper-middle status subjects spoke of Brazilians it was possible to note a tone of disapproval in relation to them for – in our subjects’ regard – not making an effort to integrate and lacking the will to work. Lower-middle status subjects strongly believed that the Chinese (shops) and some Brazilians (restaurants and bars) are the minorities best integrated in the labour market. Finally, the middle-middle status participants think that the Chinese and the Ukrainians are the groups that have best trod the integration path in Portugal: the Chinese because they are strongly included in the national market and the Ukrainians because of their perseverance in learning the language and making an effort to integrate.

What we can make of the comparison of the three strata is that the higher-middle status participants tend to value cultural and scholastic aspects, the lower-middle status participants regard the integration of these minorities as depending on their labour market insertion and the middle-middle status participants show a mix of both these views.
3.3.1 Impact of marriage with someone from another ethnic group

Interestingly, when talking about the hypothetical marriage of their offspring with someone belonging to one of these minorities, Participants in the middle-middle and lower-middle status groups spontaneously mention Blacks.

3.4 Discourses on the characterization / attributes of the different groups

Our intention here was to ascertain which attributes were associated with which groups, in order to see if blatant racism was present – understanding blatant racism here as the use of negative attributes to characterise the exogroup – or if a more subtle strain of racism could be identified, namely one that associates positive but merely folkloric or picturesque attributes to the exogroup. In order to establish a benchmark, we started with the Portuguese.
3.4.1 *The Portuguese*

Amongst the upper middle stratum participants a pessimist view prevails: they see the Portuguese as an undistinguished people. The middle-middle status participants emphasize decadence. The lower-middle stratum participants emphasize inner albeit unexpressed qualities that somehow redeem the outer and rougher aspects of the Portuguese as a people.
3.4.2 Muslims

As for Muslims, their attributes in the eyes of our participants are the following:

- They only work part of the day, because of Ramzan. (...) They have completely different habits. Irrespective of the job I have, for example, if I do what I do today, which is emergency support, I have to be 100% available throughout the day. So I cannot stop to go and pray.

- They are not beggars.

- Extremists.
  - I don’t like them, I don’t know. Their religion, that thing with the twin towers. They’re bombers, I associate them with terrorism, I don’t like them.

- Religion.
  - Intolerance, rigorous about traditions.
  - I don’t agree with their ideals.

- Fanatic.

- I feel sorry for them.

- I think they are more tolerant because they accepted the integration of others, despite taxing [jizya], but I like the spirit more.

- Closed.
  - But they do not show that they are.

- There are many Mozambicans who are Muslims.

- In terms of values, they make me value the evolution of Western society, with regard to the values of individuals, reason, freedom of expression. They make me value the positive course [the West has trod] and also a course of a certain schism between religion and social evolution. This schism that happened, isn’t it? Reason, valuing individuals as human beings, individual values, freedom. Democracy.

- I have never interacted socially with any Muslim.
3.4.3 Blacks

Moving on to Black people, the following attributes were put forth by the participants:

- **Slow.** They do not like to work.
- **Most of them do, perhaps they are slow.**
- **They have rhythm in their bodies.**
- **Joie de vivre.**
- **I think they are beautiful combinations.**

They are also very closed in their own group. Although they get along with us, in any case one can note that there is something there that we cannot trust. I think that we are much more open and pure with regard to them.

- **Racists, more so than us.**

It confuses me when they mix with the White race. It doesn’t confuse them, but if I see a couple, a Black and a White, it confuses me. It confuses me.

- **They are very racist amongst themselves and with regard to us. They are more racist with us than we are with them.**

- **They do not trust people.**

In my opinion I think they would like more to be White than to be Black.

- **Robberies (transport, houses, street, …)**

The Blacks who are 40 or 50 years old or thereabouts are very different from the youths of today, who are 20 years old.

These youngsters are a complete disgrace, they behave badly, they don’t study. So, it is going to be very difficult.

- **Exhibitionists.**

They like to be flashy. They always use branded products. They always have to have good stuff. I don’t have enough money to be able to afford Nike shoes, but they always do.

- **Vain.**

Actually, I think they are honest. All the people I interact with, … I think they are honest.
3.4.4 The Roma

As for the Roma, the attributes with the group are:

- A lack of submission, in the sense that they aren’t interested in, or at least they do not try to conform to, the standards of society.
- They themselves keep away from our culture.
- Problematic.
- Violent.
- Fairs, music, party.
- 90% of them receive those subsidies they give nowadays and many of them have a lot of money and they could work.
- They like to live at the costs of others.
- Good candidates for the social insertion income.
- Dishonesty.
- Crooks.
- Liars.
- Work? No way!
- Because the Roma women are all single. (…)
- Roma continue to have more benefits.
- The Roma make me feel insecure.
- A person always pulls back.
- Weddings always last 3 days.
- Group spirit.
- Code of honour.
- Clan.
- In group they feel the greatest.
- There is no problem when they are separate, it’s when they are in a group that they are terrible.
- Drugs and they buy nice Mercedes cars.
- They sell drugs.
- Fake.
- They don’t pay for public transport. In Santo António dos Cavaleiros, none of them pay for public transport. They know the driver.
- Good candidates for the social insertion income.
3.4.5 Romans

As we saw before, participants singled out Romanians, alongside Portuguese Roma, as one of the distinct groups perceived as other. The following remarks illustrate that their viewed in an even worse light than Portuguese Roma.

The Romanians are just like the Roma. Their physiognomy. It’s just that the Roma language is different.

They can be even worse than the Roma.

They go around in packed cars because they sleep there in the open lots, in the Areeiro neighbourhood. That place is terrible. Why does this race come here? (...) To create more misery.

They are capable of even conning compatriots in order to get some money.

Beggars.

…a branch of the Roma.

They don’t do anything.

The women who are at the traffic lights, with their children on their hips.

They live at the expense of society. Assaulting, stealing, cheating. They don’t do anything.

As we saw before, this group was not referred to by the upper-middle status participants. As a consequence, there are no attributes associated to them by this group.
3.4.6 Indians

All three status groups had something to say regarding the Indians. Mostly of interest to this project are the comments that translate a sense of social distance and closure. There is also another theme on the upper-middle status group that may be of interest for this research: the competition that Indians – not necessarily by leaving their country – represent in sections of the labour market that reward knowledge and cognitive capacity.

- Many religions.
- Many languages.
- Tradition / History.

They make me feel...

- Information technology, mathematics.
- small (on a professional level).

They have their community and they are very closed. They isolate themselves.

The Indians. But I don’t like all their things, you see? (...) They do not make an effort to integrate.

They are a very closed race. (...) The Blacks at least speak Portuguese, don’t they? Now the Indians... You can enter a mobile phone shop, they are always on the phone and for all I know they could be planning a murder, because I don’t understand a word. In fact, I think it is a lack of

Suspicious.

In the mall in Santo António, the entire first floor is theirs.

They are a people who do not create problems.
3.4.7 The Chinese

This sense of closure and distance is, if anything, heightened when the topic of discussion shifts to the Chinese grouping. In this case, not only the language is felt to be a barrier, but also the single mind work ethic of the Chinese is perceived as alienating. Furthermore, some of the remarks made seem to echo the Yellow peril discourse, although this has never, to the best of our knowledge, been a feature of Portuguese popular culture. All in all, the remoteness is prevalent: according to our participants the Chinese neither create problems nor do they trust outsiders to their own culture.

3.4.8 Brazilians

The image participants hold of Brazilians is much more detailed and nuanced. A lot less is said about this grouping’s alleged aloofness. In fact, participants see Brazilians as an outgoing, jovial people. Even the
negative characteristics form a coherent whole with this core: outgoing turns into cheeky and relaxed into lazy. Brazilian women in particular are a focus of anxiety for their Portuguese middle-middle and lower-middle counterparts. In their view, the alleged low inhibitions and a carelessness regarding the rules of decorum make of Brazilian women high-powered sexual competitors.

3.4.9 Eastern European

As we mentioned before, the upper-middle status group didn’t differentiate amongst Eastern European nationals, while the other two groups mentioned both Moldovans and Ukrainians. The following remarks...
originating from the middle-middle and lower-middle focus groups regards Ukrainians. Comments about Moldovans for these two strata mostly emphasize their similarity to Ukrainians.

They manage to integrate easily and achieve success. They are cold. They have no feelings, not even expressions. They are easy to get along with. The culture is similar. The language. Ukrainian women take care of themselves. Except it’s only on the outside, not on the inside. The ones I had working there were all graduates... The Ukrainians I know really make an effort in terms of the language. They work for far lower wages than the Whites. Hard working. Hard workers. We have examples of people who began as construction workers and have managed to do very well. Many of them do not pay taxes [hence them being able to work at a lower price].

Tere used to be far more of them than there are today. (...) They come to work. They have no other objective in being here.

3.4.10 In sum

We may conclude this section with some remarks regarding the three strata. The minorities that participants in the upper-middle status focus group invest of a more negative valuation are the Roma and Blacks. On the other hand, these participants harbour somewhat positive feelings regarding the Eastern European grouping.

The middle-middle status focus group also has a quite negative perception of Blacks and the Roma. Participants in this group associate Blacks with criminality and the Roma with a sense of menace and that anything can happen. The novelty regarding results for the previous group is that people in this focus group also
hold a negative view of Brazilians, which they associate with criminality and deceitfulness. A more positive valuation is bestowed on immigrants from Eastern Europe, who participants perceive as honest, hard working and making an effort to integrate, and on the Chinese, who participants recognize and appreciate on the basis of causing no trouble. Participants in this group are indifferent towards Muslims and almost forget about their presence in Portugal.

As for participants in the lower-middle status focus group, they do not sympathise with any group in particular but show a clear aversion toward Romanians and the Roma in general. Participants in this focus group always see immigrants as distant from the Portuguese values and identity. Even so, the group displayed a somewhat less negative view of the Chinese, because the latter are perceived as not causing trouble and offering interesting products at inexpensive prices, and of immigrants originating from Eastern Europe, because they are thought to be amongst those working the hardest. People in this group showed less knowledge of Muslims, their ways and traditions, than of any other minority.

The empathy participants show towards the minorities seem so vary according to the colour of their respective skins.
3.5 Positive and negative aspects of immigration

We asked participants to identify both positive and negative aspects of immigration. Positive aspects are almost confined to the economic sphere and cluster around the notion of expanding the labour force.

- **More labour... also with this many people working I don't understand why our country is in this state.**
- **If they come from abroad, they come to earn money, they have to put up with some things. The Portuguese don't want to.**
- **There is also the positive aspect related to the work they develop when they arrive, at least in the first generation, it is mainly unskilled labour, [jobs] which we do not want to do and this could also have – but does not have – the positive effect of catapulting us to more qualified jobs.**
- **The development of certain building areas, maybe we would not have developed as much, because the low cost of labour helped to build.**
- **Response to the needs of the market.**
- **The exchange of cultures is important. We are very closed here in Portugal.**
- **Positive aspects include cultural aspects. We learn many things with them.**
- **A multicultural society, gastronomy, new things that we come across every day.**
- **The birth rate in a country like Portugal can only grow in this manner and this is a positive effect.**
- **Niceness, being pleasant to the person next to you, because I think immigrants are careful and attentive to please others.**
Negative aspects, on the other hand, are considerably more varied, and the statements cluster into a number of themes, such as: relative deprivation, felt by low-middle status people regarding all kinds of State support; economic competition, felt in the lower and middle status echelons; and insecurity, which seems to be mostly a concern of participants in the upper-middle status focus group.

- The negative aspects are the ghettos. We do not like the ghettos that are formed, because there isn’t the aforesaid integration.
- Music blaring till the early hours of the morning, kizomba and I don’t know what else (...). That is the negative side of integration.
- They [Brazilians] kill like someone drinks a glass of water.
- By not legalising people, this means that the benefits they bring do not serve to benefit our country and other Portuguese. This snowballs and the situation becomes worse instead of better. It is possible to do this immigration in a legal manner.
- The people who are from here should be ahead of those that come from outside. Even if [native Portuguese] people do not wish to feel like this, they end up by feeling discriminated against.
- Now, since there are no jobs, all the people who come here, it’s more likely they’ve come to steal.
- Insecurity and criminality.
- There are clearly more violent forms of criminality that these people bring to Portugal. They are people who come from societies where the levels of tolerance for criminality and ignorance have nothing to do with our standards. This is an important point, both criminality from Eastern Europe as well as from Brazil.
- They are suffocating our country, Portugal is very small.
- The large contingents of foreign labour that come to Portugal have lowered the wages of the Portuguese.
- They take away a lot of jobs, mainly from youngsters.
- There is no place for us, we have to leave, they are occupying everything.
3.5.1 Perception of receptiveness to immigrants

There is an apparent contradiction in that, on one hand, participants acknowledge that young people today are less racist than participants were in their own formative years while, on the other hand, there are also statements of an hardening of such positions. This is possibly the effect of shifting perspective from an intergenerational analysis to an intragenerational one. The leitmotif of *lusotropicalismo* echoes in some statements but is contrasted to a change in attitudes which participants attribute to a confrontation with the harsh realities of what being an immigration country means.

- Kids today are less racist.
- We have younger generations with a far more tolerant stance.
- There are far more mixed marriages.
- I think that deep inside there is receptivity.
- I think that Portugal is a tolerant society. I don’t think that there are phenomena of racism in Portugal.
- ...we open our doors and this is what we get in return.
- I think that openness is closing.
- We are becoming ever more closed, colder.
- I think that in my parents’ generation, they are less tolerant but more indifferent.
- I think that is it, there is indifference with regard to the unknown on the part of older generations, there could possibly be racist kinds of manifestations.
- My father is a firm racist.
- They [Brazilians] are the ones who should be adapting to us. They speak Portuguese, they should adapt to continental Portuguese. But no, we are the ones who have to adapt to them.
3.5.2 Nature of the relationship between the Portuguese and immigrants

The question was of whether this relationship was one of competition or of cooperation. The answer was immediate and unanimous: competition is the word that best defines the relationship between the Portuguese and immigrant minorities. Still, there are some nuances that must be considered. As could be expected, the idea of a competition between immigrants and Portuguese workers is stronger when participants consider low status occupations, but surprisingly it also includes higher status jobs, which are, for instance, feared to suffer delocalization to Asia.

I think within the labour environment where we move the participation of foreigners is not a threat, but if we go to low level jobs, at some point those that come from abroad can be a threat to low-education Portuguese people.

Competition in relation to jobs, benefits, in relation to everything!

Challenges are starting to show in terms of higher level employment and, in my case, namely with Indians. All the technology sector is being transferred to India.

We Portuguese are discriminated by the State.

It is already hard for us to keep our jobs and I personally think like this: these are coming over now and they will probably take the little there is.
3.6 Portugal’s gentle ways

The very laws that are made for immigrants are a soft habit, when an immigrant commits a serious offense, he is notified to go back to his country and he doesn’t even show up over there, he changes his house, carries on with the same offenses and Portugal doesn’t send them away, doesn’t put them on the plan and sends them back home.

We are indifferent to what happens around us.

We are still this way because Portuguese people like to talk a lot but does nothing.

We are like the dogs that bark a lot but don’t bite... even though we may be upset about certain things.

It is no longer that way.

We of the gentle ways are those who have the highest rates of domestic violence, so, I think that that idea is being sold to us.

3.7 Valuation of attributes
3.7.1 Most appreciated features

The attributes participants appreciate the most are those that, as we have seen before, they impute to the Eastern Europeans and, to a lesser degree, the Chinese:

- Hard working.
- Honest.
- Loyal.
- To integrate.
- To respect the rules of the country.
3.7.2 Is there racism in Portugal or not

The idea that racism is a reality within the context of Portuguese society is shared by all the strata:

I think we are not racist, it's more them in relation to us, I think we are victims of racism.

Yes.

I think there will be a great tendency for us to become racists.

Yes and a lot of it.

After the 25th of April we have had a lot of racism in Portugal.

I think deep inside we are all a little racist.

The competition will be very high, the more people there will be here, the more racism there will be.
3.7.3 *Mainly in relation to which groups*

The notion that Black people are targeted by racism is both unanimous and enjoys “top of mind awareness”. But participants don’t commiserate the Blacks; instead, they provide rationalizations for racism such as the ones below:

For example, we see these incidents on the trains, we’re not the ones who are attacking the Blacks. It’s everything, it’s Blacks and it is also the Brazilians, there are also coloured Brazilians.

They are the most known for causing trouble.

And they are the ones that we have had for 30 years, only now in the last decade the immigration to new groups has started.

We hear about it [crime] everyday, Black people, Black people, if gets to a point where we can’t stand them anymore.

…the police constantly have trouble with Black people.

I have become more racist, I cannot be indifferent to what is happening next to me [problems in the neighbourhood].

was in Africa as a young girl and I often heard that they were dirty, eating with their hands... and that idea stayed with me.

Roma, which are the second most mentioned category get a very similar treatment: as far as participants are concerned, they are responsible for being singled out as targets for racism and discrimination. Indians and Muslims are also mentioned as minorities victimised by racism, but no rationalisation is offered. Finally, the subject of racism towards Brazilians are also brought up, and it is so in a way that seems to be directly associated to their visibility in and perceived appropriation of public spaces, both for leisure (e.g., the beach) and for work (many Brazilians are in occupations that involve direct contact with the public).

3.7.4 *Racist discourse*

Participants identified instances of racism in everyday discourse and in a recent snide remark the leader of the second most voted party, which is in the opposition, produced when she was commenting on the government’s investment policy. Also, participants from more than one stratum mentioned political correctness and self-censorship as a problem and a reason for the inexistence of more widespread racist discourse.
You hear a lot: “go back to where you came from”. 

We have a recent case of the leader of the opposition that said that [by doing big public works the government] would only solve the unemployment problem of Cape Verde...

Nowadays it is something heretic for someone to defend that Western society is superior to others... this is heretic!

In television no, people are afraid to say something.
3.8 Attitudes and spontaneous reactions to the following sentences:

3.8.1 The Roma in Portugal have the same opportunities as other people

As with the question of whether there is racism in Portugal, the answer is unequivocal: the Roma definitely do not have the same opportunities as the majority of the population, but for our subjects this is pretty much to be blamed on the Roma themselves.

Because they are Roma they are discriminated by society and don’t have the same opportunities.

There are even specific plans but they don’t accept them.

They also create the conditions...

They are the way they are and they can’t work for anyone, their law doesn’t allow it.

They discriminate society and society discriminates them, there is a border there.

Sometimes those opportunities are given to them and they don’t want them.

No... do they look for them?

They have more opportunities: benefits in relation to housing, subsidies, health [consensus and hard feeling underneath]

What is the most protected group? The Roma.

Being it on housing level, or educational, I think they are given some attention...
3.8.2 *Immigration is a threat to the cultural values of our country*

Participants of the upper-middle status focus group promptly and unanimously answered that this is not the case. Still, after giving this politically correct answer some of them enter in contradiction. The middle-middle status group didn’t linger on this subject but apparently the existence of such a threat was consensual. In the lower middle status focus group there was no initial or otherwise consensus.

I mean, I don’t treat a gentleman by ‘you’, I treat him by ‘Mr.’ and you came in with the Soap operas already in my generation... and today everyone treats each other by you. It depends what are those cultural values....

To change the dictionary because of Brazilians.

The family because of Brazilian women.

Mixing is harmful because it ruins what we had, there will be a de-characterisation of our identity, African eat differently, Brazilians eat another way, Indians and Chinese too, Muslims, I don’t even know what they eat!

It’s the opposite, it is a contribute to society.

In case of ‘you’, those are things that aren’t all that bad, they simply change the habits and features of society.

We gain a knowledge about other people.
3.8.3 There should be quotas in the labour market in order to tackle inequalities in access for Roma people

Participants in all groups were unanimous in opposing such measures. Not only is affirmative action felt as discriminatory and, in the lower status groups, leads to relative deprivation but is also felt to be a waste, given that, according to participants, the exclusion of the Roma originates in this minority’s own will and practice.

I disagree about any quotas.

Quotas is the worst thing that one can do.

I think that obligation doesn't solve the problem, it disguises it.

They would not accept it, they don’t want to work.

They work for and with themselves.

They don't like to work for someone else, they like to work for themselves.

They [the State / politicians] give them houses and subsidies, why should they get up early, that way they stay home and make money.

They wouldn’t want it, they don’t know and they don’t like to work.

The vacancy would never be filled.

They should have the same opportunities as we do [implying that the Roma have more].

Quotas is discrimination.
3.8.4 *The colour of someone’s skin doesn’t matter to me*

There is no consensus.

My sister is married [to an African]. She is even in S. Tomé e Príncipe now and she has a son and I have many people in the company that are Black in my team here in Portugal.

I don’t think it’s the colour that matters. Right in the morning there’s a smell ‘Black’ sweat

I do believe there is a smell to every race!

I think it does. At the workplace it does. On a professional level I don’t mind, what I don’t like is to see a couple, one person White and the other Black.

If my son came home with a Black woman that would blow it for me!

3.8.5 *Muslims are fundamentalists*

No. I think they are orthodox in relation to our standards.

Nowadays, when we talk about fundamentalists we also think about terrorism and stuff.

I think so. I don’t know them very well.

I think so. I don’t know and have nothing to add.
3.8.6 Would you have a problem if your daughter converted to Judaism or Islamism

- It would be a suicide attempt.
- I was thinking why would a son of mine, with the education I give him, would convert to one of those religions!
- If we were talking about Islamism from someone from Pakistan with a terrorism mind, maybe yes.
- It would make a big difference.
- I would lose a son.
- Oh my! She would get slapped!
- I do think so, they are fanatic.
- That depends, if the person converted to a religion that is a sect with crazy people...
- I wouldn’t like it.
- If she accepted to a wife together with the other ones of the same man, maybe that would clash a bit with our values.
- Deep inside, I would.
- It would be one of the worst things.
3.8.7  There are some groups that do not try hard enough not to be victims of racism and discrimination

- The Roma.
- The Chinese [don’t make an effort to learn the language].
- Indians don’t do anything, they have mobile phone shops and that’s it.
- Black people: they keep themselves aside.
- I think Black people try hard but they end up being the victims anyway.
- But sometimes they are the ones that are racist and put themselves aside because of the colour of their skin.

They are always the first group to say that they are discriminated against and contest the Portuguese community because it believes that Brazilian women are easy and all... But I have never seen any community leader, being it politicians or Embassy people... in the sense of stating positively an attitude.

3.8.8  In Portugal to be poor is worst than belonging to an ethnic minority group

- It used to be! I think it has changed due to this crisis.
- I prefer to be poor! It is much worst to belong to an ethnic minority.
- To be poor in Portugal is a transversal problem to any ethnic minority... and that is the biggest source of discrimination. I think discrimination in Portugal is very subtle.
- There are many ethnic minorities that have more benefits than a poor person. The Roma are an ethnic minority and they have more benefits that poor people, health, subsidies.
- But we have to realise that no one stands up for poor people and people are always standing up for minorities.
3.8.9  The Roma tend to be more discriminated than homosexuals

The lower-middle status participants found it hard to reach a consensus as to which of these groupings could be considered to be more discriminated against than the other.

Yes, the Roma! Much more. [unanimous]

In personal relationships maybe homosexuals are not as discriminated against as the Roma.

Homosexuals are also still very discriminated against.

You don't feel threaten by a homosexual but by a Roma you do.

Homosexuals are not a physical threat to a person.

You look at a homosexual and you can't always tell but a Roma you can tell straight away!

3.9  Concluding findings

Black people, Brazilians and the Roma are the groupings most targeted in the racist discourses we were able to scrutinise with this methodology.

Upper-middle status participants reveal a greater openness to immigration and have frequent professional contact with people from a minority background that share the participants' socio-economic status.

Middle-middle and lower-middle status participants reveal less openness and greater distrust. They focus on the negative aspect of immigration, namely in terms of the increase of unemployment and criminality.

The rhetoric of lusotropicalismo, though challenged by one participant in the upper-middle status, still is taken for granted as a valid description of reality, although – and this is very relevant – only of the past reality of the Portuguese Empire. According to most participants, the gentle ways of yore are breaking down under the migratory pressure the country found itself under in the last few years. Difference is increasingly felt as a threat,
whether in terms of physical integrity (Black, Roma, Brazilians), sexual mores (Brazilian women) or fundamental values (non-Catholics: Muslims, Indians).

Generally, the positive aspect associated to immigration is the economic one, although participants also mention multiculturalism as representing an opportunity for the country.

In the perspective of the upper-middle status participants, Eastern Europeans are the category that has taken up a more increasing role, not only because of their predisposition to work, but also due to their capacity to learn the languages in line with integration. On the other hand, for middle-middle and lower-middle status participants, the Chinese grouping is that, which has stands out most positively, given its perceived businesses into integration in the national market.

In all strata, immigration is consensually associated to violence and criminality. The categories most associated with this are Blacks, taken to be responsible for much of the ‘lighter’ crime (robbing cash points, transports...), and Brazilians, found to be responsible for more serious offenses. Although less often, Ukrainians are also mentioned. As a consequence, there is an overall feeling of insecurity which is ultimately blamed on the State, which participants perceive as facilitating the entrance of immigrants and thus leading to an increase of poverty and criminality.

The sharing of Portuguese language with Blacks with a background in the Portuguese Speaking African Countries and with Brazilians creates, on one hand, more sympathy and identification but, on the other hand, it also heightens assimilationist expectations, thus breeding intolerance for deviation.

Participants not only deny that mainstream society excludes the Roma but they actually claim to feel excluded by the Roma and betrayed by the State, whom they accuse of supporting a group of people that keeps aside and is undeserving. Racism regarding the Roma is socially accepted and easily assumed. The general opinion is that they are society’s parasites and that they do not make any efforts not to be discriminated.

Muslims are the group that participants seem to be less familiar with and regarding which seems to exist a greater social distance: there is no contact or even curiosity. There are associated with fanaticism, fundamentalism and terrorism.

Participants, mainly the middle-middle and lower-middle status ones, share notions such as: that immigration led to an increase of unemployment and a decrease in salaries for the autochthonous Portuguese; that immigrants get more support from the State than the Portuguese; that the State does not defended Portugal
properly when it allows that some immigrants (e.g., the Romanians) enter into Portugal without any conditions to contribute to the economic and social development of the country. Such cognitions lead to feelings of betrayal and relative deprivation that, in turn, foster racism.

Among participants there is the belief that racism has – righteously – increased in reaction to: an increase in criminality in general and of the most serious offenses in particular, the latter being attributed to Brazilians; an increase of unemployment and competitiveness; a perception that immigrants receive a greater share of welfare state social benefits than the Portuguese do. This latter claim is voiced mostly by middle-middle and lower-middle status participants.

Nowadays the relation of the Portuguese with immigrants living in the country is mainly perceived as one of competition.

Participants, namely in the lower-middle status group, feel it is better to be poor than to belong to an ethnic minority.
4 METHODOLOGICAL CHAPTER

4.1 Recruitment

Due to the relative ease with which the research team was able to recruit horizontally within its members’ own social stratum, either directly or through word of mouth, the upper-middle status group was the first of the three groups to take place. We were able to assure compliance with the guidelines for the composition of the group featured in the methodological paper (Ancona & Martínez, 2009b, pp. 2-3), although the age distribution is a bit more clustered than would be ideal.

Table 1 – Upper-middle status participants’ attributes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Professional Status</th>
<th>Area of residence</th>
<th>Relation with immigrants or ethnic minorities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Entrepreneur</td>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>Lisboa</td>
<td>Professional</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Female</td>
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<td>Researcher</td>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>Paço de Arcos</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>European Commission Official</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Carnaxide</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<td>High level public administration official</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Lisboa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<td>Employee</td>
<td>Odivelas</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>Employee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Quality analyst</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Arroios</td>
<td>Personal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: the research being reported.

Having endeavoured for a while to recruit in the middle-middle and lower-middle strata through the same channels used for the upper-middle status group, we were eventually forced to recognise that results were taking too long to materialise. Thus, we opted to outsource recruitment to a market research firm with an extensive database that comprises people from all walks of life who are willing to participate in focus groups. Having worked with this company before, we know for a fact that they screen out would be focus groups professionals.
Table 2 – Middle-middle status participants’ attributes

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<th>Gender</th>
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<td>Bank clerk</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>Vale Mourão</td>
<td>Personal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td></td>
<td>Santo António dos Cavaleiros</td>
<td>Personal</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Employed</td>
<td>Madre de Deus</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Employed</td>
<td>Amora</td>
<td>No relation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: the research being reported.

Regarding the middle-middle status group, we were able to assure compliance with the guidelines for the composition of the group featured in the most updated methodological paper which this research team had received at the time (Ancona & Martínez, 2009a, p. 9), although, as before with the upper-middle status groups, the age distribution is a bit more clustered than would be ideal and one of the participants happened to be a housewife of no clear occupation, who is considered of middle-middle social status given the composition of her family, namely the studies and occupation of the main wage earner. The fact that this group’s demographics, namely the age group of participants, are not in sync with the updated methodological paper (Ancona & Martínez, 2009b, p. 3) is being compensated by the gathering of one additional group, which will take place on the 5th September and whose results will be produced in time for the national experts’ forum.

Recruitment for the lower-middle status group followed the same lines that for the middle-middle status group and was unproblematic, although the age distribution turned out a bit more clustered than would be ideal.
Table 3 – Participants' attributes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Professional Status</th>
<th>Area of residence</th>
<th>Relation with immigrants or ethnic minorities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Office clerk</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Vialonga</td>
<td>No relation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Draftsman</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Barreja</td>
<td>Personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Rinchoa</td>
<td>No relation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Shop clerk</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Zona J</td>
<td>Personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Cleaning lady</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Olivais</td>
<td>Neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Office clerk</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>S.ª Iria da Azóia</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Salesperson</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Rio de Mouro</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Police officer</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Almada</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: the research being reported.

Given that *it is very important not to inform with detail about the main subject of the research at the contacting moment* (Ancona & Martínez, 2009b, p. 5), the participants were informed only that the discussion was concerned with majorities’ perceptions of minorities. The names featured in the ensuing transcript are aliases substituted by the research team.

### 4.2 Venue

Given the time constraints faced by the research team and the fact that the upper-middle status group was the first to take place, we were unable to follow the recommendation on the methodological paper to secure one of the *habitual and habilitated professional rooms* (Ancona & Martínez, 2009a, p. 11). However, this situation was corrected by the time the middle-middle and lower-middle social status groups took place. The upper-middle status discussion took place at an ordinary meeting room, gently lent free of charge by the Representation of the European Commission in Portugal, the latter discussions were held in a psychological research laboratory equipped with an observation room separated by a one-way mirror, where a representative of ADIDI, I.P. was able to may unobtrusively watch the discussions while they progressed. For this, we must thank the kindness and professional courtesy of the Instituto Superior de Psicologia Aplicada (ISPA). Given that:

…*it is usually not a good idea to identify the organization or title of the observers or the reason they are observing. Such identifying information, when provided at the beginning of the session, may reveal too much too soon about the nature of the interview and may bias responses of the participants* (Stewart, Shamdasani & Rook, 2007, p. 93),

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the representative of ADIDI, I.P. only observed the meetings that took place in the adequate room and was only introduced in the debriefing stage.

4.3 Moderation

The focus group was moderated by one of the authors of this report who is also a trained professional with more than ten years of experience in this area. Due to the previously reported delay in receiving the most up-to-date methodological specifications, we were unable to comply with the now more detailed description (Ancona & Martinez, 2009b, pp. 3-4). Fortunately, a prompt very similar to the first of the three now recommended was added of our own initiative and the participants’ spontaneously produced much discourse that unwittingly answers to the second prompt. The third prompt is more problematic and we will try to compensate the current lack of information with data to be gathered on the 4th group, which is yet to take place.

4.4 Interview Guide

The interview Guide prepared by the research team was discussed and approved by ACIDI. Some aspects of the interview guide were revised due to the experience (with life complaints of racial discrimination) of ACIDI’s Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (further at www.cicdr.pt).
5 BIBLIOGRAPHY


6.1 Interview Guide

6.1.1 Brief introduction

Good afternoon, I (and my colleague) work for Númena, which is a Centre for Research in Social and Human Sciences. The High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue has requested us to prepare a project on minorities / minority groups and your assistance is an essential element for this. We would like to thank you for being here today.

The idea of meeting and talking with a set of individuals allows us to perceive different points of view about some questions and it is therefore very important that EVERYONE participate, OK? There are no correct or wrong answers here; it is simply a matter of sharing opinions, speaking about subjects related to our everyday lives and discussing the experiences that each one of us has had.

It is important for you to know that your participation is totally anonymous, i.e. your identities will not be mentioned in any of the documents that result from this project. We are going to ask your permission - if it is all right with all of you - to record the meeting so that we can work with what was said and we do not have to be taking notes all the time. This recording is only to facilitate our work, it will not be circulated and no identities will be divulged through it.

I would therefore request you to speak one at a time; if there are many voices talking together, we will not be able to discern the different opinions in the recording. I would also request you to please switch off your mobile phones or use them in the silent mode so as not to interfere with the recording.

If there are any doubts you can raise them now or interrupt us at any point if you feel it is necessary (please feel free to do so because we will have ample time during our conversation).

6.1.2 Individual presentation

To begin with, I would like each of you to introduce yourselves briefly, so that we can get to know each other a little better. Your name, age, where you are from, where you live, the field in which you work or study, what you like to do in your spare time, in short... anything you would like to share with us. I would also request you to write your name on the pieces of paper before you so that we can refer to each other by name. I will set the ball rolling by briefly introducing myself...

6.1.3 Relationship with people from a different background

Please tell us what groups come to mind when you think of people from other religions, or those who have a different skin colour or who were born in other places? [Ask participants to write on a piece of paper the groups they immediately associate with “others”. At the end of the exercise ask them to show their sheets, read all the answers out loud. Compare and understand which group(s) are repeated the most as being the most present in the experiences of these different people. Prepare a summary of the results on a flip chart.]

At the end of this
exercise, we should introduce as much diversity as possible, i.e. if the participants do not refer to a large number of groups, then we should expand the range of references]

Do you interact with people from these groups? In what contexts? - [Explore - school, work, neighbours, transport, friendships, romantic relationships, etc.]

[According to the answers, explore the following degrees of possible affinity based on the Bogardus Scale.]

Would you accept a person belonging to one of these groups as your friend?

[After hearing positive or negative answers, ask:]

Do you think you would be unlikely to be friends with a person from any of these groups in particular?

Would you accept a person belonging to one of these groups marrying one of your children?

[After hearing positive or negative answers, ask:]

Would you reject the possibility of a person from any of these groups in particular marrying one of your children?

6.1.4 Representations of integration
Which of these groups that we have spoken about do you think are doing better in Portugal? And why?

And which are the other groups that aren’t doing so well? And why?

6.1.5 Discourses on the characterization / attributes of the different groups
It is common to compare the Portuguese to other peoples and say that some are “more this or more that”. Insofar as you think it makes sense to do this kind of comparison, what are the characteristics/attributes that you would say distinguish the Portuguese? [Allow a spontaneous discussion - Over the course of the exercise note the attributes associated with the Portuguese on the flip chart]

Returning now to the groups that we have here (using the groups listed before on the flip chart as a reference), we would request you to now do what you just did in the case of the Portuguese, i.e. tell us the attributes that you associate with each one of these groups. [Allow a spontaneous discussion - Over the course of the exercise note the attributes associated with each of the groups on the flip chart]

6.1.6 Positive and negative aspects of immigration
Sometimes in Portugal we hear people on television complaining how immigrants take their jobs, that immigrants get housing almost free of cost via relocation projects or even that immigrants steal their husbands. On the other hand, it is also possible to argue – and some have done so – that immigrants only do the jobs in which the Portuguese have no interest since these jobs are arduous and badly paid, such as the case of cleaners and construction workers, and that if we have houses it is because they build them, i.e. the very renovation of the housing park is the result of their labours. Moreover, newspapers also carry news items about how if it were not for immigrant women, Portugal would not have enough babies to ensure its future. What do
6.1.7 Portugal's gentle ways

There are those who say that the Portuguese have always had, over the course of the centuries, a unique way of interacting with the peoples of the nations to which they travelled, characterised by being a relatively benevolent and peaceful relationship, resulting in commercial and cultural exchanges and a miscegenation of peoples. Do you think that there is some truth to this idea? Or are we like other nations who have had similar histories, namely at the level of a maritime expansion, such as the English or the Spanish?

6.1.8 Valuation of attributes

Now using this list of attributes that you have created, let us try and establish a hierarchy according to the three characteristics that you value the most in a person.

So let us together try and reach a consensus and choose the first most important characteristic.

[Follow the same procedures for the second and third characteristics]

And do you think that racism exists in Portugal? If yes, with regard to which groups? [If the question does not elicit references to these groups spontaneously, explicitly ask with regard to groups such as Africans, Roma, Muslims, Jews, etc.]

What type of arguments that you usually hear do you consider to be racist?

From where does this discourse arise, i.e. from whom does it originate? And who repeats it?

Do you feel that the Roma in Portugal have the same opportunities as other people? Why?

Discuss racist phrases:

- Immigration is a threat to the cultural values of our country. Do you agree? Yes or no and why?
- There should be quotas in the labour market for the Roma, so as to combat discrimination in terms of access to work. Do you agree? Yes or no and why?
- The colour of a person’s skin is not important to you. Do you agree? Yes or no and why?
- Muslims are fundamentalists. Do you agree? Yes or no and why?
- Imagining that you were an atheist, would you be uncomfortable with your daughter converting to Judaism or to Islam? Yes or no and why?
- There are groups that do not make a sufficient effort to not be victims of discrimination and racism. Do you agree? Yes or no and why?
- In Portugal, being poor is worse than belonging to an ethnic minority. Do you agree? Yes or no and why?

In Portugal, the Roma tend to be more discriminated against than homosexuals. Do you agree? Yes or no and why?
6.2 Transcript of focus group with upper-middle status subjects

**Moderator:** My name is Susana. I am a clinical psychologist, apart from participating in research projects I also participate in these kinds of exercises. As we do not have a lot of time for introductions I would request you to please tell us your name, age, what you do, where you live, so that we can get to know each other slightly better. Let's start from here:

**Xavier:** My name is Xavier. I work in a telecommunications company, the ‘Nokia Siemens Network’, which is a joint venture between Nokia and Siemens, in the telecommunications sector. I have worked in this company for about 20 years. I am 44 years old. I live on the outskirts of Lisbon, in Odivelas.

**Saúl:** My name is Saúl, I am 47, I am a public servant and I live in Lisbon.

**Maria:** My name is Maria, I work in Lisbon. I own a fast food outlet, I have a background in hotel management.

**Raquel:** I am Raquel, I am 41 years old. Until last year I was a researcher at a university. I am currently working as a consultant.

**Filipa:** My name is Filipa, I am a researcher at the New University of Lisbon, at the Institute for Chemical and Biological Technology, in Oeiras. I am 38 years old and live in Oeiras.

**Marco:** I am Marco, I am a communications networks engineer. I am currently working as a manager of a company, which is only just beginning to become well-known, ‘Ericsson’. I work and live in Paço de Arcos.

**Carla:** Carla, I am 37. I am a conference organiser and I live in Carnaxide.

**Moderator:** So, let's begin. What is important in this session is your personal opinion and I would request you to be sincere and honest. Whenever you want to say something, please feel free to speak and when you don't want to say something you don't have to talk. Obviously, it is important that all of you co-operate. Above all, I want you to tell me everything that comes to mind. We psychologists have this mania, so what I would ask you to do is keep abreast with the conversation and, essentially, think out loud. What comes to your mind when we speak about groups of people who are from other religions, or have another skin colour or who were born in other places? What are we talking about?

**Xavier:** About differences.

**Moderator:** But, what groups? What groups of people, religions, ethnicities? What comes to mind? Which groups would these be?

**Saúl:** Conflicts.

**Moderator:** I am not identifying ...

**Marco:** Muslims, Blacks,

**Moderator:** Ethnic groups … Muslims, Blacks …

**Xavier:** Asians, Buddhists. But I didn’t understand if the criterion is racial, or if it is religious, or if it is everything.

**Moderator:** Everything.

**Filipa:** Roma…

**Moderator:** Any others? When we think of differences, what groups can we identify through this logic?

**Saúl:** Money groups. Economic, social and cultural differences.

**Moderator:** OK. But, I would like to specify, i.e. when we speak of other religions, other skin tones, people who were born in other places…We have already mentioned Muslims, Blacks, Asians, Buddhists, Roma. Are there any others that come to mind that you would like to add to the list? We are just talking, getting an overview. Now, regarding your lives, I would like you to think a bit about your own personal stories. Have you come across or interacted with people of other ethnicities? For example, people belonging to these groups that we have just mentioned?

**Marco:** Every day.

**Moderator:** I would like you to give me some examples. Where do you interact with them?
Xavier: At a professional or private level?
Moderator: Personal, private, whatever comes to mind.
Xavier: It’s different, because I work in a multinational company and I am always interacting with people from everywhere. I have already been in countries like Mongolia, African countries, hence diverse groups.
Moderator: I would like us to focus on our day-to-day lives.
Xavier: In my everyday life, in practical terms, I interact very little with these groups, apart from some of my neighbours.
Saul: In my personal, everyday life I don’t have much contact either, apart from coming across a large variety of people, but contact...no. Only in services etc., especially in restaurants.
Moderator: How do they come into contact with us? In what situations? How do we interact with each other?
Saul: Possibly at a professional level, but not very often.
Moderator: Maria?
Maria: At a professional level, with one Black lady.
Raquel: At a professional level, yes. Because I have been involved in international projects, which involved people from all places, ethnicities, religions. So I am used to dealing with, i.e. working with such people. For me, difference is not different.
Filipa: For me too, at a professional level. The Institute where I work has people from Asia, Chinese. Before this I have also lived in other countries and the field of research was far more international than here in Portugal.
Moderator: Here it is not so international?
Filipa: No.
Moderator: Marco?
Marco: In my everyday life, virtually not at all, house/job, job/house. As for the rest, I have had experiences of being abroad, with people from all nationalities.
Moderator: Carla?
Carla: Very little.
Moderator: So let’s get into this subject a bit more. Basically I would like us to talk a bit about this. [a new participant enters and apologises for being late]
Moderator: What I would like to understand now, is with which of these groups, I am going to repeat what we have already mentioned – Muslims, Blacks, Asians, Buddhists, Roma, Indians, Chinese – would you like to add any others...? Thinking a bit about our national identity, about what we understand makes us Portuguese, and about these groups, which have their own characteristics, about which we will speak shortly, I would like to understand, at a personal level, with which of these groups would you relate more easily or less easily? With which groups would you feel more or less empathy?
Saul: Muslims, Blacks, which are the other groups?
Moderator: Muslims, Blacks, Asians, Buddhists, Roma, Indians, Chinese, these or other groups, I would like the conversation to drift to what is your idea. With which of the various groups, with whom we live presently, would you empathise more easily?
Maria: I think that it has nothing to do with the group, I would have no problem in getting along with all the people there [on the list], it depends...
Xavier: I think that it has nothing to do with the group, I would have no problem in getting along with all the people there [on the list], it depends...
Xavier: It has more to do with the distance that people maintain from our social manners, with how these people live in their social environment. There are some that clash more, others less. For example, I would find it very difficult to manage to adapt my life and my everyday existence and my way of being to someone who was a Buddhist, because I think it [Buddhism] is totally extremist with regard to my principles. It’s a way in which I live, how I deal with things.
Maria: But, if it was a flexible Buddhist, there are also Catholics who are completely...
Xavier: My problem was not to adapt myself to people, it was to adapt myself to their environment and the other person adapt to my environment to reach a middle ground, so that both of us can live in society. Because it is totally different.

Moderator: We are going to have various opinions here, because this is very personal. In your perspective, I have already understood that each group has its own social reality, we will get to that, but for now let’s stick to this … In some way, we interact in professional terms, but not so much at a personal level, what is happening here? Essentially, what I want to understand is with which of these groups do you empathise with most or with which do you not empathise very much? For the extremely varied reasons that you will later tell me. There is no moral aspect here. That is not the idea. The idea is to understand the positions we take. We have time to think about this here because we ourselves sometimes do not know very well where we stand with regard to this subject.

Saúl: I think there is more to the question, because I think that it has to do with values, with stances that each person has, irrespective of religion or ethnic origin. Thus, we can empathise, more or less, according to status, in the sense that: “what is the status of these people?”. Hence, I do not discard any of these possibilities at the outset. I also do not want to enter into the cliché of “Ah, he’s Black, he’s from Africa, he’s backward”. It doesn’t make sense in this world. We have N examples, and perhaps abroad, as various people have said, there are examples that are far more expressive in quantitative terms than here. But, I think that this empathy that is formed has to do with economic status, with social status, it has to do with education and is therefore transversal to everything.

Moderator: More opinions?

Xavier: When I was in Tibet, it was the place where I felt I would find it hardest to live. In every other place on the planet where I have been, I soon thought that I could quickly adapt to this, I felt that if I had to live there, I could. Tibet was the place where I felt most out of place in my whole life. I would never be able to go back there again.

Moderator: But I would like you to focus on your experiences here, on our lives here. Obviously, we go abroad, have work experiences abroad, but our identity, our roots are here. In our day-to-day lives here, where we live, where we go from one place to another, where we use the metro, where we work, where we interact with all these people.

Xavier: Here the opinion is totally opposite. Here, these people are here and adapt to our environment and therefore, for us, they are all the same. Perhaps I would find it most difficult to live with an extremist Muslim, who goes about all covered up or obliges his wife to do certain things that make no sense at all, stuff like that.

Moderator: OK. I would like to hear more opinions.

Raquel: I think that gender equality greatly characterises a definition of distance, doesn’t it? Talking of religions, we are open to diverse religions or cultural habits and thus, at least speaking for myself, gender equality, in my view, goes beyond that a bit, i.e. not having equality, to cite the question of Muslims. That’s my opinion.

Saúl: But, the question is that probably there will never be empathy between the people you are talking about to advance and have a relationship of friendship or empathy with them.

Raquel: Depends on their role.

Saúl: Yes, but we are here, aren’t we? And you fix meetings, “Let’s have a coffee”. Perhaps with people like extremist Muslims, or Buddhists or [Eastern] Orthodox [Christians], there will probably never be a bridge, a connection between us and these people, an affinity that would allow this connection.

Moderator: In other words, perhaps in human terms, yes, I understand that we are talking in human terms. But when we look for concrete instances in our lives perhaps we do not interact so much with these people because they have differences, with which we may empathise or not. And this is what I would like to understand. I am going to have to be more incisive, because this subject can give rise to many flights of fancy. Of these groups,
with which group would you find it easier or more difficult to interact? Just name one. Can all of you do that?

Paulo: The question is that it goes beyond that. I know a lot of people and I can more or less identify their ethnicity. I do not know the religion of any of them. It isn't something I ask.

Moderator: We have our own ideas with regard to all these groups. I would not like to personalise it, we are not speaking of individual people, we are speaking of an entire group.

Xavier: But I know a lot of Muslims who live in the building where I live, with whom I get along very well. Even though there is this opinion of extremist Muslims. But these people aren't like that.

Moderator: What's your name, so that we can include it on our list?

Paulo: I'm Paulo. I was taking a better look at the groups. In fact, I feel the need to understand why we have religions mixed with ethnicities and races.

Moderator: Because I asked for everything, everything that represented a group.

Paulo: OK, because Chinese and Asians is the same thing.

Moderator: I wrote everything that was said and essentially it is to understand a little bit about our positions here.

Marco: Also it isn't exactly the same thing. Chinese and Asians, for instance, 'Asians' is a much broader group.

Paulo: Yes, exactly.

Raquel: I would like to understand one thing. Was this question asked in the national context, we here in Portugal, geographically, or if we went out there, to different countries abroad.

Moderator: Here.

Paulo: Another question, if I may. Is this my reality, which I experience in my everyday life, or is it what I think should be my reality?

Moderator: It is your reality.

Paulo: Perhaps it would be best to clarify something, I also arrived late, I don't know if you have already clarified this. But I am married to a person of mixed race, of European and Asian descent. My father-in-law is Asian, he's Chinese. So this could perhaps place me in a slightly different situation, or it may not, I don't know.

Moderator: There are various different individuals here exactly for this reason, because it greatly enriches the session. Each of us has our own experiences and that is what interests me. Obviously, we are going to speak about all these things here and each of us has associations with these specific groups and that is a bit of what I would like to understand.

Paulo: But, I think that, with a family situation like mine, nowadays, if I look at my father-in-law and at the entire Asian side of the family, I mean, I don’t even understand if we are talking of another race, or another ethnicity, isn’t it?

Moderator: I understand what you are trying to say.

Saul: I think what you are trying to say and I think it is more or less clear, everybody more or less agrees, that, in fact, we get along with everyone according to interests, in short, how we identify with these people. And what you are trying to identify is whether, irrespective of this idea, there is a cliché, an image that we associate with these familiar categories, that’s it, isn’t it?

Moderator: In other words, I am trying to leave the question a bit open, because I think this is inherent when we speak of these groups, we have an image. Just like we have an image of a tree, everybody knows what a tree is, but everyone has their own idea and we are all here precisely because of this. Because the tree has that shape, but then everyone has their own idea. I would like to characterise each of these groups. Let's keep going, this was just to understand the functioning a bit and to identify some groups. If there are other groups that make sense to you, other religions, skin tones, people who are born in other countries...more or less from that perspective. Always focusing on here, the idea is not to focus on when we go abroad, it is to focus on our everyday lives here, where we move about and we all interact with each other.
Filipa: I think that it has a lot to do with personal experiences. In my particular experience, I have lived abroad for many years. I lived for many years in England and then in the United States. And thus, when I came to Portugal, I came back a different person. Perhaps now the views that I have with regard to these groups are completely different from those that I had before I left.

Moderator: But, what changed? What became different?

Filipa: Portugal. I came back in 2002. I think that we are all very small and very similar. So I think that I like variety more, I like to see people of all colours.

Moderator: But, what changed? What became different? What was your perspective, your openness and your view before your experience of living abroad and after your experience of seeing other realities and living with these realities, and what was it like after coming back?

Filipa: I always travelled a lot, even before moving to England. But in any case, it is one thing to go on holiday for two weeks and quite another to live abroad. When I went to live abroad, my impression was that people in Portugal are really very limited, I can’t explain it.

Moderator: What do you mean by that? How did you look at the Portuguese? How did you feel the Portuguese to be?

Filipa: I don’t exactly know, but with a lack of an overall vision. For example, if someone with orange hair gets on a bus, everybody stares. In England, orange hair is extremely normal.

Marco: I also travel a lot but I think that there [in England] it is a case of indifference. Because there nobody pays attention to anyone else. Here we pay attention to people.

Filipa: But I don’t think it has to do with paying attention, we look and we criticise “Ah, that person has orange hair”.

Raquel: It depends on the country, it has to do with the culture of that country. There is an enormous diversity in the United States.

Filipa: The USA is another planet.

Moderator: Let’s concentrate on Portugal, OK? I am focusing on you to open the group discussion but I would like to focus on Portugal. So, how are we, the Portuguese? How come we look at orange hair on a bus…?

Filipa: I personally find it very attractive, but perhaps most people would not. But in terms of religion, in the city where I lived I noticed who knows how many different churches, really different churches. It is difficult to understand how here in Portugal we are all Catholics and abroad there are a thousand different things. And there are even more in the United States. Any person can found a new church, based on anything. Hence, now here in Portugal I see very few communities, I think they are all similar, but I don’t know. In terms of thinking about these groups, I like variety, I like working in an environment with people of many nationalities, of different religions. Although of course I agree that it also depends very much on the individuals, but if one generalises and speaks of groups, there are some groups there with which I do not manage to work very well.

Moderator: Which groups?

Filipa: The Chinese.

[brief laughter]

Moderator: No, feel free. Don’t take it the wrong way, OK?

Marco: We are now having problems with the Chinese because…

Filipa: I work in research, in the area of Biology…

Xavier: Our biggest problem with the Chinese is communication.

Filipa: No, it isn’t communication, it is a different way of…at least in terms of those who come here to do research.

Moderator: But, could you explain a bit what you are talking about?
Filipa: This is in the context of Ph.D. applications. Very often, they come here after having already obtained a Ph.D. To start with, they work every day. We work 5 days a week and they work 7, and they aren't obliged to do so. Then, this is not just my opinion, because we have already spoken to other people, for example, they do things as they want. There is a protocol for doing something, but they do exactly what they feel like doing. They do not follow [protocol] and we: “Well, this was to be done this way”, and they: “yes, yes”. OK. And then they didn’t do it that way.

Xavier: The Chinese are very schematic. They tend to do things how they think it should be done and not as was stipulated in that particular case.

Saúl: But, do you think that this is an innate, transversal cultural characteristic of these people?

Moderator: It is an experience.

Saúl: Yes, I know that it is an experience, I know that any experience is an experience.

Xavier: But it is the evolution of society ...

Filipa: Even when I was working in the United States, there were several Chinese and they were all like this.

Moderator: OK, in a little while we will proceed to characterise each of these groups.

Filipa: There were certain things that stayed in my mind, as is still the case here in Portugal, with women who are working there. For example, I have been in situations where, I was exiting a door and a Chinese lady was about to pass through as well, with her hands full of boxes, and she insists I go through first. And I say: “No, you have your hands full of boxes, I’ll hold the door open for you”, but she doesn’t go through. So, these are what some cultural rules are like, a bit …

Moderator: Of these groups that we are talking about, can you tell us your opinion about which of them is making a place for themselves in Portugal, are becoming more recognised, which groups are doing better and which are doing worse?

Paulo: I wanted to say this earlier, there is one group missing here, which seems to me to be critical for the issue at hand, i.e. the Brazilians.

Moderator: Essentially, what I would like, is that you look here and tell me which groups are doing better and in what aspects and which groups are doing worse.

Marco: Next to the Brazilians there are the people from Eastern Europe.

Raquel: What do you mean by doing better?

Moderator: I am leaving this question open, to see how you interpret it. I do not have any fixed ideas, so I am leaving it open like this …

Saúl: Definitely those who are doing worse are the Roma.

Xavier: They are the ones who got along well and are now doing badly.

Moderator: But, worse in what aspect?

Saúl: Worse in all the aspects of social affirmation, integration and with the aggravating factor of being Portuguese, they have been here for hundreds of years. Hence, for reasons that aren’t worth discussing here…

Moderator: Yes it is worth discussing, that is why we are here.

Saúl: So, we have a range of Brazilians here, there are top-of-the-range Brazilians to the most unqualified and criminal Brazilians, it’s a tremendous range. Just like the Eastern Europeans who also try to and, in fact, do integrate and they manage to do so by themselves, arriving here without any cultural or linguistic affinities, etc. and they manage to integrate. We have examples of people who began as construction workers and have managed to do very well. While the Roma community that has lived here for hundreds of years is not integrated at all and, probably if you verified this, you would find that even at the level of academic qualifications, etc. this group is far behind all the others.

Moderator: Why is that?

Carla: Integration is not an objective, they do not want to integrate.
Saúl: Perhaps it is not even an objective, perhaps it is a perspective that has formed over the course of time…

Carla: They do not want to. That wasn’t quite the question …

Moderator: It is. There are no questions, it is completely open.

Saúl: What you are saying is the reason why they want or don’t want to [integrate]. I am not talking about motivations, I am talking about a fact.

Filipa: Integration does not mean having a higher education.

Moderator: But, I would like you to give me more opinions and that each of you tell me the opinions you have. Don’t focus so much on contesting what is being said, but instead contribute your opinion about the subject at hand.

Raquel: Well, since we are speaking of integration, it is Eastern Europe. I think the Eastern Europeans have integrated very well.

Marco: More than the Brazilians.

Raquel: Much more. And in fact they were people with technical qualifications, those who came here were the masses …

Xavier: The Roma live in far greater proximity to us, thus they are much less motivated to make an effort to integrate because they think that half the road has already been traversed, while the others don’t think like that. The others parachute down here and have to overcome the fall and millions of barriers to be able to be successful.

Moderator: With which of these groups do you feel a greater affinity? Perhaps I am focusing on these, but you can tell me others that come to mind, i.e. groups with whom you get along best? I am not going to state my opinion but obviously I empathise more with some than with others and that does not make me…. That is what I want from you.

Marco: I think the question of empathy is complicated. I for example, [think] difficulties in communication are not just limited to the language. It also has to do with customs. Customs are completely different. I have already worked with people in Indonesia, Japanese, Chinese…

Moderator: But, to [just] say ‘customs’ is very difficult to understand…

Marco: It is, essentially it ends up by causing miscommunications, it is not just oral, it is total.

Moderator: For example, there are those who empathise with America and others do not. Some empathise with Brazil, others do not.

Saúl: But there you have it. I empathise with Brazilians and I think that in a fleeting relationship Brazilians are very nice, I identify a lot with Brazilian culture, that Brazilian folklore, that energy and things like that.

Moderator: More opinions?

Paulo: I have some difficulty communicating with Africans. But it is hard to say this when there are Africans with whom I get along well, who I admire, I think they are fantastic, I like to work with them, etc. Then there are some with whom I find it very difficult to communicate. I can specify a little more, but it has a lot to do with personal experiences. Because perhaps this would also happen with another group with whom I do not interact so much.

Moderator: In your experience, and that is why you are here, so you can speak about this, what is this difficulty about?

Paulo: About a lack of education on the other side. About a lack of education.

Marco: I agree with him, but once again I would like to know what exactly we are talking about, it depends on the people themselves…

Paulo: It’s hard to specify this.

Marco: It is clear when we speak to African individuals and people from the African environment who work there and are there, the reality even at the level of work and dynamics is completely different. Time for them is a very fluid concept.
Xavier: That is very relative. In my building I have people who work in the embassy, with ambassadors, Blacks, who are of a completely different level.

Moderator: Your building is a micro-cosmos!

[laughter]

Xavier: They are completely different from the other kinds of Blacks that you see out on the street.

Moderator: I understand that to generalise we have to give a…but we have an idea…

Paulo: But, let me add one more thing, even at the level of senior CPLP [Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries] officials, we began to work with them and I saw that their rhythm is nothing like ours.

Xavier: That is another story.

Paulo: But this is cultural. It has to do with the management of time.

Xavier: But we are talking of the evolution of society over the course of time, which creates habits in people, they put down roots.

Moderator: Now this is the part in which I am going to be very direct. I would like to characterise these groups a bit. And we are not going to discuss it, what I want is for you to tell me what comes to your mind when we talk about each of them, OK? I would like to understand the differences between them. When we speak of Muslims, what comes to mind?

Paulo: They don’t eat pork.

Xavier: They only work part of the day, because of Ramzan.

Marco: Religion.

Moderator: How do they make you feel?

Marco: Are we talking about extremism again?

Moderator: For example. I don’t know, the characterisation interests me, but I am also interested in an emotional characterisation.

Paulo: Intolerance, not necessarily intolerance in the racial sense, but rigorous adherence to customs.

Filipa: Actually I don’t associate them with intolerance.

Paulo: You think so? Inflexibility. It’s a defence mechanism after all.

Moderator: This is why I don’t want you to question each other, these are individual opinions.

Marco: I do not wish to offend opinions, but I think we are greatly influenced by the media. Muslims are nothing like those who you see on television. In fact, we were the ones who went on the Crusades.

Paulo: Except a thousand years have passed since the Crusades, but they still continue within a crusader mindset.

Moderator: Well, Muslims, leave aside the Crusades for now, we can discuss that on another occasion.

Marco: No, sorry, but have you ever been to an Arab country?

Saúl: Me? No.

Marco: Exactly. Because go there and it is completely different. They are nice and that is it, I know Catholics in Portugal, who, God forbid…I have not yet met a Muslim like that.

Saúl: I joined this discussion saying, this is not possible because each case is a [different] case. I am trying to narrow this down and to do so by every means possible because it is obvious that it is not like this, each person is a case.

Moderator: But I don’t want you to argue here, nor to begin debates. What I want to do here is characterise and so each person tell me what comes to mind when we refer to Muslims. Keeping in mind that I also would like an emotional characterisation, what they make us feel. I don’t want you to think about Muslims in Arab countries, but about the Muslims who are here, OK? It could be slightly different, I don’t know.
Xavier: There is no problem in living together, but it could be problematic in terms of work. That is what I was saying. They have completely different habits. Irrespective of the job I have, for example, if I do what I do today, which is emergency support, I have to be 100% available throughout the day. So I cannot stop to go and pray.

Moderator: More things? Filipa, tolerance?

Filipa: Tolerance, but I was thinking more in terms of religion. I see this in a more comparative perspective in terms of other religions, but I think this religion is more interesting. I was raised as a Catholic, but I am not. I think they are more tolerant because they accepted the integration of others, despite taxing [jizya], but I like the spirit more.

Moderator: More? OK. Blacks? We have already said some things …

Saúl: Slow. I repeat, we are trying to attribute labels.

Moderator: I know it is difficult. We have an image, we manage to do that internally, but I am trying to make you do that with me too.

Xavier: But people have this image of people in Africa who move au ralenti. Society also classifies Blacks as a society au ralenti.

Raquel: They have rhythm in their bodies.

Xavier: Most of them do, perhaps they are slow.

Moderator: More characteristics?

Marco: Actually, I think they are honest. All the people I interact with, both here as well as in Angola, South Africa and everywhere else, I think they are honest.

Paulo: Joie de vivre, I think we also get a bit of that.

Moderator: I am going to eliminate Asians from the list, OK? We’ll just leave the Chinese. I would actually like to talk a lot more, I don’t have time.

Marco: But if you cut out the Asians you also have to eliminate the Chinese, they are included there.

Moderator: Yes, they are, but the category ‘Asians’ is vaster. And perhaps in our reality it seems to be more interesting to speak of Chinese. Now I am going to move on to the Roma. The Roma?

Saúl: Problematic.

Filipa: Violent.

Paulo: Fairs.

Carla: Music. Dishonest.

Saúl: A lack of submission, in the sense that they aren’t interested in, or at least they do not try to conform to, the standards of society.

Xavier: Amongst them there is a great deal of cohesion. If there is a Roma who lives in Porto and has a problem, another Roma, who lives in the Algarve will be there in a trice.

Saúl: Group spirit.

Paulo: The question of the family.

Xavier: Being Roma is family.

Saúl: Code of honour.

Maria: Clan.

Moderator: I get that idea, let’s move on. More things with regard to the Roma.

Marco: Festivity.

Saúl: Weddings always last 3 days.

Moderator: Indians?

Saúl: Information Technology.

Marco: Many languages.

Paulo: Mathematics.
Filipa: Colours.
Carla: Many religions.
Saúl: Curry.
Marco: Goa.
Marco: Tradition. History.
Moderator: Chinese?
Marco: Threat.
Paulo: Difficulty in communicating.
Saúl: Reserved, in the sense that as people they are not very open in what they say, or the body and facial language is often not adequate for what we are used to, the signals that we read in others.
Raquel: Body language.
Xavier: It’s a bit like slavery, for them to work 24 hours without a break, it’s normal. Persistence.
Carla: Competitiveness.
Marco: I was going to mention the patience of the Chinese.
Moderator: What did you mean by ‘threat’?
Marco: Because in personal terms in the companies, you will probably also feel the same thing, we feel a bit that the Japanese companies are already entering the field of high technology. Earlier, it was the copyrights they obtained owing to a lack of communication, i.e. the right to copy, but no, they are beginning and they have 50 year plans. They implement the plan, they have the money and the plan. For the European and Western economy in which we live it is a disaster, because we sometimes do not even make plans for the next 3 months. Hence, it is that Chinese patience I mentioned, it gradually conquers.
Xavier: Also. But we have already had exchanges with them for 500 years. These were contracts in which we earn 20, they earn 1. It is also not possible to do these plans for sensible planning.
Saúl: They are beginning to know how to go about organising themselves economically and socially and the policy will last 50 years.
Moderator: Brazilians?
Filipa: Tiring.
Marco: Billions.
Saúl: Indiscipline.
Paulo: Samba.
Filipa: You go to the beach and it is full of only Brazilians.
Saúl: Frivolous.
Marco: Cunning.
Xavier: Underhand.
Carla: Joy, vivacity.
Saúl: Resentment against us, as a colonising country. Just like adult children.
Moderator: Eastern Europeans?
Xavier: I have no experience with them so I therefore do not have any definite ideas. But the impression that I have is that they manage to integrate easily and achieve success, but it is by social communication, it is not personal.
Raquel: The culture is similar. The language.
Saúl: You think that their culture is similar? I, for one, have some doubts that our culture is similar.
Moderator: OK, now I am going to say something and I would like you to tell me one word. Muslims make me feel... finish my sentence.
Raquel: Worse than a dog.
Xavier: Nothing in particular, those I know don’t make me feel anything in particular.
Paulo: In terms of values, they make me value the evolution of Western society, with regard to the values of individuals, reason, freedom of expression. They make me value the positive course [the West has trod] and also a course of a certain schism between religion and social evolution. This schism that happened, isn’t it? Reason, valuing individuals as human beings, individual values, freedom. Democracy.
Marco: I feel sorry for them.
Moderator: Blacks make me feel …
Marco: White. It is different. We never use a colour for us.
Xavier: It confuses me when they mix with the White race. It doesn’t confuse them, but if I see a couple, a Black and a White, it confuses me. It confuses me.
Filipa: I think they are beautiful combinations.
Carla: Me too. I think it results in extremely beautiful kids.
Xavier: It confuses me.
Moderator: I get it. These are personal opinions, each of us have these things and have our own ideas. The Roma make me feel …
Paulo: Insecure.
Filipa: Insecure.
Moderator: The Roma make me feel more things, it seems, don’t they? We’ll talk about it later …
Xavier: Some. Because in terms of evolution, our country is more related to the Roma than to the others, if you go back in history. So they have a greater effect.
Moderator: Indians make me feel …
Saúl: Distant, in the sense of small. In the professional sense.
Moderator: Chinese make me feel?
Raquel: Invaded.
Saúl: I think…small.
Moderator: Brazilians make me feel …
Marco: Depends, sometimes, happy, when there’s a party, but if you talk about other things…
Paulo: I think we are very paternalistic with the Brazilians and they detest that.
Moderator: In the context of this characterisation, what are the Portuguese like? If we had to characterise, like this…in brief, the Portuguese, with some objectivity, what are the Portuguese like? In this characterisation, if we added the Portuguese to this list, compared to the others, what characterises them? What distinguishes the Portuguese?
Filipa: Racist, xenophobic.
Saúl: Misers.
Paulo: Traditional, not very open to change.
Carla: Complainers. Always complaining.
Raquel: Fado.
Filipa: Flexible.
Saúl: Hospitable, affable, with a great capacity for improvisation.
Saúl: A capacity to get things done. It’s true! We do things in a week, the Germans get here and they are amazed, “What an output, we’ve been at it 3 months and a lot of planning was necessary…”.
Moderator: OK. Now I would like to understand and open up the discussion, what do you feel are the positive and negative aspects of immigration? For us, in our own experience. I don’t want you to talk about the subject intellectually, I’m not interested in that. Regarding those who come here, who enter Portugal. Our personal
perspective of what we see and feel in our everyday lives regarding the advantages and disadvantages of this entry of various cultures.

Paulo: On various planes, isn’t it? Response to the needs of the market.

Moderator: Positive aspects, what are the advantages? What do we gain by this? And what do we lose with this?

Filipa: Positive aspects include cultural aspects. We learn many things with them.

Marco: The negative aspects are the ghettos. We do not like the ghettos that are formed, because there isn’t the aforesaid integration.

Paulo: I think that there is a positive aspect for the economy, which is not really developed by successive governments. By not legalising people, this means that the benefits they bring do not serve to benefit our country and other Portuguese. This snowballs and the situation becomes worse instead of better. It is possible to do this immigration in a legal manner, the birth rate in a country like Portugal can only grow in this manner and this is a positive effect. In terms of the negative aspects, we are not able to integrate the children that are born. There is also the positive aspect related to the work they develop when they arrive, at least in the first generation, it is mainly unskilled labour, [jobs] which we do not want to do and this could also have – but does not have – the positive effect of catapulting us to more qualified jobs.

Moderator: More? Positive and negative aspects? What do we think about all this? There have been many changes recently with regard to this aspect. There has been an impact on our everyday lives. One can note a great deal of difference from a few years ago. How have we dealt with this and where does this affect us?

Saúl: Some aspects related to insecurity and criminality. Possibly. It’s not so large in terms of quantity and is to the detriment of the 99% of the people who probably want to just earn a living. There are clearly more violent forms of criminality that these people bring to Portugal. They are people who come from societies where the levels of tolerance for criminality and ignorance have nothing to do with our standards. This is an important point, both criminality from Eastern Europe as well as from Brazil.

Moderator: More aspects?

Carla: Positive aspects, a multicultural society, gastronomy, new things that we come across every day. Niceness, being pleasant to the person next to you, because I think immigrants are careful and attentive to please others.

Moderator: On our part, are we open or not?

Carla: I think youngsters are. I think those who have had contact with areas outside Portugal tend to be. Now, people who have not had such contact and for whom Portugal is closed and all that, I think it is far more difficult. I see this in terms of past generations, as compared to mine...

Saúl: Sorry, I know this is not an exchange of opinions, but I do not agree at all. I think that Portugal is a tolerant society. I don’t think that there are phenomena of racism in Portugal. The fact that the most visible racist phenomenon is a single billboard at the Marques de Pombal rotunda says it all. I was in Vienna a few years ago, where there were systematic posters during the political campaigns saying, “Vienna is not Istanbul”. Thousands of them. There are violent attacks, movements are constituted in Europe against the Jews, against Africans, against who knows what. Portugal is obviously not the perfect society, obviously it marginalizes, discriminates, but in this aspect it is a tolerant and peaceful society.

Paulo: But there have been serious cases. Like that boy who was killed in the Bairro Alto because he was Black.

Saúl: I am not belittling that, but I think these are occasional cases, it’s nothing like what happens in other countries in Europe.

Moderator: Just so I can clarify this, who thinks we are open?

Maria: I think we are, yes.
Marco: I think we are.
Raquel: I think we are.
Marco: Immigration is always a problem.
Moderator: Someone sighed here, who was it?
Marco: I did. I think that in my parents’ generation, they are less tolerant but more indifferent. In other words, for them, being Black or Asian is all the same, it’s all the same category and that doesn’t affect us a lot. This is my interpretation, the younger generations, some of them and the vast majority and I agree, we are generally more tolerant. In fact we have younger generations with a far more tolerant stance, there are far more mixed marriages, there is more enjoyment, things are changing. The problem that I also see is that the cases of intolerance, in younger generations, are more serious and more extremist than in the older generations, who didn’t really want to have anything to do with this. I think I used the right word, which is indifference. I think that, perhaps, what I have seen in terms of intolerance are half a dozen youths from the younger generation. I think that is it, there is indifference with regard to the unknown on the part of older generations, there could possibly be racist kinds of manifestations, now…
Moderator: I would like to hear other opinions. Would you like to add anything?
Filipa: This is going to be written down later, isn’t it?
Moderator: It is all going to be written down but the participants are not going to be identified. The aspect of confidentiality is very important. It is going to be totally confidential.
Filipa: My mother is over 60. It became necessary to arrange some household help for her and I went to take care of it. And she said, “Make sure at the agency that they are not Brazilians, nor from Eastern Europe, nor from who knows where”. And my mother is a person who has a degree and so it must be because of her age, it’s the only explanation. But she wanted a White, Portuguese housemaid.
Maria: My mother is 80 and doesn’t think like that.
Moderator: We are talking about positive and negative aspects of immigration and we have already spoken about many perspectives. In other words, there are those positive aspects, which are, essentially, that immigrants end up doing the jobs we don’t want, but then we also have more cases because of this. Then, there’s the aspect that they could take our jobs away. There are various arguments here that are always coming to the surface. What I would like to understand is if, in your opinion, the relationship that the Portuguese have with immigrants is one of co-operation or competition?
Paulo: Competition, depends on what level you are talking, but it is competition.
Saúl: It has been changing.
Xavier: I think that in overall terms it is more competition than co-operation. Although co-operation is imposed because we are within the EC, but at the same time this also leads to rising competition.
Maria: But perhaps the competition has increased not just with regard to immigrants. We have become more competitive amongst ourselves, in our society, we have become more competitive amongst us.
Xavier: It’s a question of necessity, to prevent them from overtaking us.
Maria: It’s not them, it’s us. The man with his Portuguese colleague, who has always lived here, perhaps is more competitive.
Moderator: You are talking about competitiveness in general and not just in relation to these specific groups?
Maria: Exactly, competitiveness in general has increased.
Moderator: But is it more accentuated with these specific groups? Is it or isn’t it?
Saúl: Depends on the levels. In our professional circles, there is only a marginal participation by foreigners and thus does not constitute a threat. But if you look at jobs requiring unskilled labour, to an extent those who come from outside could be a threat for unskilled Portuguese.
Paulo: Threats or risks have begun to appear, challenges at the level of competition, at the more qualified level. Namely, in terms of the question of the Indians, which is my reality, where they are transferring the entire IAP and technology component to India. We are in a process of transition and this is happening in various companies, at least in Europe, I don’t know if it is in Portugal. They are not unskilled in any sense of the word, on the contrary, that is why this is happening. There is one thing that I do not know if you would like me to bring up, which is a serious issue of competition, but it is “interesting” to analyse. In terms of this question of competition, and I have begun to feel this even in the company where I currently work, we are affected by the new graduates who are arriving. Affected by the Portuguese, our children, cousins and nephews and nieces who are coming to companies, fresh graduates and those who have been waiting for a job for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 years. They have done everything that we didn’t, from Erasmus, to post-graduations, to Masters degrees, everything to gain an edge and manage to enter the labour market. So, they get to the companies and, at that point, the companies have the luxury of being able to pick the cream of the crop. Hence, they are kids who, in fact, get there with energy and a will to work, and that's it, that is what they want above all. However, these kids are in fact a threat, at this moment, aggravated by this situation of the crisis that we are experiencing.

Moderator: But I do not want you to shift the focus from immigration.

Paulo: This is just to say that the competition is enormous and is beginning to get even broader.

Saúl: Competition for jobs is one thing, competition by economic blocks, by countries, is another, which is something that is perhaps not directly related to immigration.

Moderator: In this question of immigration and coming back to reformulate the idea, i.e. the relationship that the Portuguese establish with immigrants, the subject of competition has already taken us to other areas, we ended up speaking of competition and not immigration. What I would like to know is if the relationship that the Portuguese have with immigrants is more of co-operation? And in what sense do we co-operate? Or is it competition? In what sense do we compete? Because both aspects will be present, but where do they exist? And how is this present in your everyday situations? You have specific situations, some have even spoken in professional terms, where do you feel this…?

Marco: In social terms, I think there is indifference. We are trying to reach an absolute generalisation. I think that, in general, Portuguese society is indifferent to immigration. It is not indifferent to immigration when it needs a housemaid or, “Ai! There was a Black here who robbed the neighbour’s house. Ai! Immigration has only brought us this”. But I think that the Portuguese generally do not think too much about immigration. I also don’t think they have a positive attitude, perhaps they do not have a negative one either, regarding integration, unlike other countries such as Canada, where the community has a very positive attitude with regard to integration. I do not think that civil society plays an active role in integration. I would say that there is an indifferent attitude. I also do not know if we are hosting those who we have the power to host or not.

Moderator: OK. More opinions? Are we welcoming or not? Do we co-operate or not? Which is it?

Filipa: In the case of one of my female colleagues, she lives in a place where there are various people from various different places, living in her building and in other buildings, Blacks, etc… In the beginning she was very happy. She thought, “This is what it should be like”, so that there aren’t those ghettos and what not. Now, a few years after living there, she says, “To hell with integration”...And she is completely fed up because, in practical terms, what is happening is that you have music blaring till the early hours of the morning, kizomba and I don’t know what else, she can’t sleep and there are a number of things like this which she keeps telling me. That is the negative side of integration.

Moderator: Not just in your own personal experience, but also in terms of the people you know, are there personal experiences of co-operation or competition? What is the relationship and how is this manifested, some practical examples from our everyday lives.
Saúl: In the case of a person I know, she had bought a house somewhere in Setúbal, this really doesn’t have anything to do with immigration, it has to do with social and economic status. The town hall decided to build a social housing project next to her house and they then discovered that the prices of the neighbouring buildings had halved. This is not so much a question of immigration, but I think that it is a question that is transversal to immigration, as an economist said... 
Moderator: Were you going to say something? 
Paulo: My parents live near Lisbon, in a more modest area, it is almost a rural area, with some history. It’s quite an old town, ... 
Moderator: We are all now curious to know where this place is... 
Paulo: It’s in the rural area near Sintra, Pampilheira [?]. This was just to say that it always had very few inhabitants and that the people are all from the same family, the usual story. Now, the first Eastern Europeans have begun to arrive there, the first Brazilians, who rented the houses that were empty and have integrated into the community, more or less well, doing some jobs that the locals wouldn’t do, they were in that area. When I go there, I hear some comments by my parents, about how when one of them had a problem ... There was a case of one person, I think she was Eastern European, who separated from her husband, the man went back to their country and she stayed on here with the kids, it was a complicated situation and people helped out, they co-operated. The locals, the community there, at various levels, social, monetary. I do not know if there was integration, also because it’s a smaller environment. I don’t know if they are integrated, I know that people co-operate, but I don’t know if they integrate them. 
Xavier: They do not destabilise the situation and they are accepted. 
Paulo: Exactly. And they are helped because they need help, i.e. it is charity. Moderator: I get it. It’s our spirit of solidarity. Your building is full of different communities, do they co-operate or not? 
Xavier: I have to say that despite having all these communities from Eastern Europe, they practically do not interact with each other. And when they do, it’s just to say and do stupid stuff. 
Paulo: It’s a normal building then. 
[laughter] 
Marco: An important question has been mentioned here, which is to speak about immigrants in Portugal and to then speak of living in the same building, where I don’t know what [happens] ... I don’t know if I could manage to live in a building like this, we are talking of a certain status, it has nothing to do with this, but I like to have my reserved space where I can feel, the word isn’t integrated, i.e. I also like to have my comfort zone. I have nothing against immigrants, nor against most races, but I also like to... It’s enough when I go to Angola, or when I go to Asia to be integrated into their societies. Here, I like to have people with whom I get along easily, I don’t have to be worried about anyone pushing their way through the door of my house, which has already happened. We speak about a religion, or a joke, and also these questions of integration in the same building ... 
Saúl: We once again come back to the initial question, which is the question of the customs and culture of each group, irrespective of the fact of being immigrants ... 
Moderator: Yes. This is always inherent. Is Portugal a country of gentle ways or not? They always say this with regard to Portugal. Is it a myth? Was it like this? History always talks a lot about a very peaceful Portugal, this was why this cultural exchange was possible, we have always been very mild and peaceful ... 
Paulo: Compared to what? To France? 
Saúl: We are a country of indifferent people, and we are also indifferent with regard to migration. 
Moderator: I didn’t quite want to go in that direction, but... 
Carla: I think that our geographical position has a bit of an impact, so... 
Paulo: In my view, we do not have revolutions like there are in France and other places. In other words, there are no explosions of violence. In the state in which this country is, any other country would have already...
Saúl: I think we are a country indifferent to what is happening…Simply because we had a bloodless Carnation revolution does not mean that everything in our history is bloodless.
Marco: We are more than orchestrated.
Moderator: What is left of these Portuguese now?
Saúl: Of which Portuguese?
Moderator: The Portuguese who were very brave …
Marco: They emigrated…
Paulo: The Portuguese with gentle ways? Those with gentle ways who in the past did the Inquisition, one of the most violent inquisitions in all of Europe? For such gentle ways we are a country with one of the highest rates of domestic violence, so I think they really sell us this idea of ‘gentle ways’. The gentle ways are what we have here, the ghettos we do not show. We have a city, nowadays, and I think it is a pity, that the city of Lisbon is increasingly divided into areas where nobody enters unless you are Roma, places where you only set foot if you are Chinese, etc. etc. Before the earthquake, I do not know if you have already read about this, this is what everybody says, is that Lisbon, before the earthquake, was a truly multicultural city, an unending festival. From the processions that used to be held, they would bring all that stuff from India, Africa and Brazil, and it really was a festival. After the earthquake it changed drastically for the worse, as we know. But I think that at that time there was, in fact, a multicultural atmosphere like now. Perhaps this can be seen in some cities in Europe and not here in Lisbon.
Moderator: Basically, the very direct question is: is there racism in Portugal or not? This is a topic that can be discussed at length, but what is your first gut reaction, yes or no?
Raquel: Yes.
Filipa: Yes.
Saúl: Yes.
Moderator: With regard to which groups specifically? Racism is a very vast thing, but which groups come immediately to mind? In other words, against which groups do we end up discriminating more, in some way? What do you think?
Carla: Blacks.
Saúl: Africans.
Xavier: Normally they are the ones who do the most known damage.
Saúl: The Blacks are the only immigration group we have had for the last 30 years. Immigration by other groups has only opened up in the last decade or so, isn’t it? So, this is changing, but it is still what stands out the most.
Moderator: But, do you agree that the Blacks are more discriminated against in some way?
Filipa: Yes.
Saúl: I agree, but I think that in some way the subject is way too serious to be speaking of a cliché. I would once again insist on [the aspect of] the status of each individual. If I see a White who is filthy, a beggar, perhaps I would feel threatened if he approached me on the street. But if it were a Black, normal, like us, this would not constitute any kind of threat.
Xavier: The reality, in my view, is that there are more cases with Blacks than with all the others.
Paulo: Because they are more numerous as well.
Saúl: Brazilians too.
Marco: But there is an enormous difference.
Saúl: I wanted to see how we would react …
Xavier: I live in an extremely calm area, where until recently there were no problems, and now the police constantly has problems with Blacks. Because they decided that that was a cool place to go steal stuff, then they cause problems with the kids at school, they cause problems on the street, they cause problems at night, a
climate of insecurity has been created, which is not controllable. And we are also not going to begin to kill the
Blacks who show up there, are we? Because that is also not the solution. But, I have lived there for 8 years and
4 years ago that was paradise. Currently, it’s a mess. And it’s not just there. I speak with colleagues of mine and
it’s quite a generalised phenomenon.

**Moderator:** OK. More ideas? How does this manifest itself in our daily lives? In what way? And which are the
groups that are most discriminated against? We have already spoken of the Blacks, you mentioned the
Brazilians as well, but you did not elaborate on that …

**Saúl:** I think that the Brazilians are in some way discriminated against in a more blinkered way.

**Xavier:** Despite the fact that they are a plague.

**Moderator:** But, all this in what sense?

**Saúl:** In general, the Brazilians, how should I put it… they have a posture that is not very Portuguese.

**Moderator:** But, how does a Portuguese react with a Brazilian? What does the Portuguese think deep down?
That they are a plague in the way in which Xavier just said? Are they a plague?

**Filipa:** In restaurants, the staff are all Brazilian and people say “only Brazilians”.

**Maria:** The Brazilians are everywhere.

**Paulo:** It is necessary to note one more thing about the Africans, I am more familiar with this reality, I do not
know what it is like in the rest of the country, but here in Lisbon, and in surrounding areas, I don’t know if you
know this, but there are schools where 90% or more of the students exclusively comprise Africans. Exclusively.
And there is nothing positive about that any way you look at it.

**Moderator:** But, why?

**Paulo:** Because they are in the neighbourhoods where they usually live. It’s the location. The question is that
this is not the case with any of the other groups that we are discussing here today. There are no schools only
with Eastern European children, schools only with Brazilian kids and with Africans it is very complicated. Then,
the other question that arises is that those who have kids who aren’t African do their best to avoid putting their
kids in those schools and hence there are increasingly fewer non-Africans and then teachers do not want to
teach there. Then, there are problems in the area, people who didn’t live in that area doesn’t move there.

**Saúl:** Then, they leave because they do not want to be subjected…

**Moderator:** What kind of arguments with racist content do you habitually hear often around you?

**Saúl:** Go back to your country.

**Paulo:** I mean, I hear stuff, but things should be taken with a pinch of salt…

**Moderator:** Yes, but what do you hear?

**Carla:** Nigger, go back to your country.

**Moderator:** Where do we find this, even on television, in newspapers, wherever, where do we find racist
discourses?

**Paulo:** In politics.

**Moderator:** Is that common?

**Paulo:** Yes. There is one party, which, whenever it can, does so.

**Saúl:** I think there is a certain dictatorship of the need to be politically correct, that is also a worrying aspect.

**Moderator:** Could you clarify that, I didn’t understand this…politically correct, how?

**Saúl:** For example, nowadays, if there is any differentiation that affects an immigrant, irrespective of whether
they are Black or whatever, this is avoided, it is eroded, eliminated from discourses. Returning to what I was
saying, it is absolutely heretical for someone to affirm that Western civilisation is superior to all others. That is
heretical.

**Raquel:** But, that depends a bit on the levels.

**Saúl:** But, try to see this in a context…
Raquel: If it was a bus or something like that...
Paulo: Sorry, I strongly disagree because apart from having many smaller parties, which, whenever they can, and it is not as infrequent as you might think, take an anti-immigrant stance, there is the most recent case, a few months ago, 2 or 3 months ago, of the leader of the largest opposition party having said that, I don't know what measure was going to solve the unemployment problems, only if it was Cape Verde's unemployment problem. Everybody jumped down his throat …
Saul: But, what is wrong with that?
[participants speaking together]
Moderator: We are not going to debate this, because these are personal opinions. We are not going to head in that direction.
Saul: This is a good example of being politically correct. I don't even know what the context was for this, after the repercussions, I heard the gnashing of teeth…
Moderator: Don't take me the wrong way but we only have 10 minutes left and I have to make the most of this time. We are not going to develop this question further.
Saul: It's like this, possibly, I don't know the context, let me just say this because it is important. Possibly, if we are speaking of household help, perhaps it only solves the problems of Cape Verde. Now, if this is stated in the press, by Manuela Ferreira Leite, or whoever, this is automatically the object of a fierce criticism with regard to being politically correct.
Moderator: Now, I want to know if you agree or not, I am going to say some sentences and I would like to know how you react to this. Some are harsh, others are not. Do you feel that the Roma in Portugal have the same opportunities as other people?
Xavier: No.
Marco: No.
Moderator: Why?
Xavier: Because they are Roma. The Roma are discriminated against because they don't have the same opportunities.
Carla: They are even scrutinised carefully.
Saul: And there are even Roma politicians, but they are not accepted.
Xavier: They create the situations, because it is now all the rage to buy a house with a cash down payment, ask to go live there, take the entire community along and to then oblige the owner to sell the house for half the price because the owner is so fed up of them and only wants to get out of there. With this they earn money to buy another house, and so it continues, like a game. And it's this and lots of other things.
Raquel: Both at the level of education, at the level of schooling, in the case of children I think they are carefully watched.
Saul: What you are saying is all true, now the question is, in practical terms, do they have the same opportunities as other people? I don't think so.
Carla: They don't.
Xavier: No they don't, but that is obvious.
Saul: Without prejudice to what you are saying, of there being specific plans, now for one reason or another, the truth is that the final results do not...
Xavier: Do not achieve anything, because society discriminates against them and everything starts from there.
Raquel: It is more a structural part of their culture. It has nothing to do with us.
Moderator: Do we accept them well?
Xavier: Society discriminates against them and they discriminate against society and there is a boundary there.
Moderator: Is immigration a threat for the cultural values of our country?
Maria: No.
Carla: No.
Filipa: No.
Marco: No.
Moderator: Why? It can be obvious, but it needs to be said.
Filipa: I think the opposite is true.
Saúl: Values are constantly changing …
Raquel: It contributes towards our cultural values, so it isn’t a threat.
Raquel: It depends on what you understand by cultural value, because this story of the use of ‘você’ [TN – predominantly Brazilian Portuguese informal form of address for ‘you’ singular], I don’t use ‘você’ to address an elderly or respected person, I use the formal tense. This is a cultural value, although ‘you’ is used for everyone. But here I treat people using the formal tense, not ‘você’. And what introduced the ‘você’ here in Portugal were the Brazilian soap operas of my generation.
Saúl: In that sense, it can be considered to be a threat but, the question is…
Carla: Today everybody uses ‘você’ while referring to each other.
Xavier: A threat is something that, when tolerated, is harmful. In this case these are things that are not so harmful, they simply change the habits and the characteristics of society, just that.
Carla: That is why I said it depends on what cultural values are.
Moderator: OK. I have more or less understood the position. Should there be quotas in the labour market for the Roma, so as to combat inequality in terms of access to the labour market?
Xavier: No.
Carla: No.
Raquel: I disagree.
Marco: So do I.
Xavier: Quotas are the worst thing you can do and it is a mechanism.
Marco: I disagree totally and I can tell you one of my experiences. I was in South Africa recently, I had been there two years before that and I was there recently, in the same area. It is now much wealthier, it is a country with people who have a lot of possessions, in which I saw Ferraris, Lamborghini, like I had never seen before and all with Blacks inside. I did not know exactly what was going on, but I later discovered that the story was very simple. I discovered that there are quotas for companies, so there had to be a certain number of Blacks in the administration and they are not there. They prefer that the Blacks do not work, they do the work themselves, but they have to pay them. So, they spend the whole day driving around in their cars and they earn good money. That is what quotas get you. Because I think that obligation doesn’t resolve problems, it simply hides them.
Moderator: More opinions with regard to quotas?
Maria: Quotas are discriminatory.
Carla: I don’t think so.
Moderator: The colour of a person’s skin is not important to me. Do you agree?
Maria: Yes.
Marco: I think that I can give you an example – which is going to confuse him [Xavier] – but my sister, for example, she is not married but she has a son, I don’t exactly know [where the father is from] but [I think] it’s São Tomé [and Príncipe]. She is there now, I know but… and I have various Black individuals in my team, here in Portugal, just recently there was a person from Angola.
Xavier: At the level of work it doesn’t confuse me.
Filipa: With regard to skin colour, no, it’s the standard of beauty.
Moderator: OK, let’s keep going. I am going to be more incisive. Would you mind if your daughter married a Black? Who would mind and who wouldn’t? Xavier: Yes.
Filipa: No.
Paulo: No.
Marco: Married or with a Black?
Moderator: Married, living together, whatever. In other words, this is a very personal thing. Some of us …
Xavier: I wouldn’t prevent it, but I would mind a great deal.
Moderator: No?
Paulo: Of course not.
Saúl: I don’t think that’s the point. I would mind if my daughter married, and pardon the expression, some great ‘lout’.
Moderator: I am talking about skin colour.
Saúl: No.
Maria: You can find White, Black, Yellow ‘louts’.
Moderator: I am not talking about ‘louts’, I am talking about skin colour.
Raquel: Let me just ask a question, this was the question that was asked regarding racism during our parents’ generation.
Saúl: It’s all invented.
[laughter]
Xavier: I don’t consider this kind of thing to be racism. The fact that I think races should not mix at a physical level. I do not consider this to be racism. I get along very well with Blacks and I have absolutely no problem. Now, at a human level, living together, creating something that is a mixture of two races, now that confuses me.
Paulo: At a biological level?
Xavier: At a biological level.
Saúl: But it is enriching.
Filipa: It’s the best …
Moderator: There are things that are personal opinions, we have to respect how we are, OK?
Xavier: If my son or daughter decided to live with a person of another colour I would not oppose it. But it would be something that I would find very difficult to get used to in my life, something serious. But I wouldn’t oppose it.
[brief juxtaposed conversations]
Moderator: In generic terms I know what we are talking about, but it isn’t generic.
Moderator: [The participants on] this side?
Raquel: I wouldn’t have any problem at all.
Filipa: Neither would I.
Moderator: Are Muslims fundamentalists?
Maria: Not all of them.
Marco: No.
Moderator: If we would like to generalise.
Xavier: No.
Filipa: No.
Saúl: I think they are orthodox, in general and with regard to my parameters. It’s just that nowadays fundamentalism is also an expression that has entered the politically correct [lexicon] in the sense of their being terrorists, of being who knows what. That’s not what I want to say.
Moderator: Are they or aren’t they?
Xavier: No.
Filipa: No.
Marco: There are Muslims throughout the world. The president of PT Telecom is Muslim.
Saúl: But if we don’t generalise we won’t get anywhere.
Moderator: Let me proceed. If you were an atheist, would you have any problem if your daughter converted to Judaism or Islam?
Saúl: Why if I were an atheist?
Paulo: Why only Judaism and Islam?
Moderator: Any one. Essentially, even if you weren’t an atheist, if you were Catholic, or anything else. The idea is religion. Sometimes, the colour of a person’s skin can have more of an impact than religion, or not, that is what I want to understand. Does religion have an impact on you? If your daughter married into or converted to another religion?
Raquel: No.
Saúl: This is where I say that it depends. If you understand religion to be a completely radical sect and …
Moderator: We are talking of Judaism and Islam.
Xavier: If we are talking of the Islamism of a person from Pakistan, who has a terrorist mentality, perhaps…
Saúl: No, that’s it. It’s that [Islam] doesn’t respect freedom for women.
Xavier: If we were talking of a person from Tibet, or something totally different, perhaps, perhaps I wouldn’t.
Saúl: If she converted to Islam and accepted to be a wife with all the man’s other wives, perhaps that would be quite shocking, with our values, wouldn’t it?
Xavier: For example.
Moderator: Are there some groups which do not make a sufficient effort to not be victims of discrimination and racism?
Marco: The Roma.
Saúl: There are. The Brazilians. Let me explain this. The Brazilians are the first group to say that they are heavily discriminated against and what have you, but here is an example from our everyday lives: we had that girl called Alexandra here and there was a reaction and outpouring from the [Portuguese] community. I never saw any reaction from the Brazilian community, which has a very large and broad presence here, affirming itself with regard to anything at all that happens. Including very bad things that happen to the Brazilian community. I think that in this sense, as a community, the Brazilians do not make the effort to say, “Hold it right there, we are here, we are a serious community”.
Raquel: In terms of their standards, i.e. their way of thinking, that is just how it is. It is not because they are not organised, there you have it, the values are different. They kill as easily as they would drink a glass of water, and that is just their nature…
Saúl: But, the Brazilian community contests that it is discriminated against and all Portuguese think that Brazilian women are women of easy virtue, this is something you hear a lot. But I have never seen the community take a stance, be it by responsible people, by politicians or even other prominent figures, in the sense of positively affirming their attitude.
Raquel: That would not be politically correct.
Moderator: In Portugal, there tends to be more discrimination against the Roma than homosexuals?
Saúl: Yes.
Marco: If the individual is a homosexual Roma, then all is lost.
[laughter]
Paulo: It would be complicated. Whoever answers this question is affirming that homosexuals are discriminated against.
Maria: But I think that nowadays, homosexuals are no longer discriminated against in Portugal.
Xavier: There was a gay rally …

Moderator: The question of homosexuality is not being discussed here, but do you understand what this sentence is trying to say? Do you think that the Roma are discriminated against more than homosexuals?

Marco: I do. It is a different relationship. Homosexuals are not a physical threat to people, it is a different kind of threat.

Raquel: A homosexual can go unnoticed in society, the Roma cannot. You can see their physical traits immediately…

Marco: It’s like religion and skin colour.

Xavier: A person doesn’t feel threatened by homosexuals, while they could feel threatened by the Roma.

Raquel: Let me just refer to this gentleman here. He thinks it would be strange if his daughter were involved with a Black, that’s the same thing as…isn’t it?

Paulo: It would be easier to ask if our children were to have a homosexual relationship …

Raquel: That’s what’s coming next.

Paulo: It would be easier to answer than to compare one ethnicity with a sexual orientation.

Raquel: Yes it would.

Moderator: But we are talking in terms of discrimination, things can happen at the same level. This was a result that appeared, i.e. the Portuguese tend to discriminate more against Chinese than against homosexuals. When we talk of discrimination, no distinction is made.

Raquel: It is natural because it is visible, there you have it.

Paulo: Because homosexuals are increasingly less discriminated against. Even though there is still discrimination.

Marco: Exactly. Also because any of us can have homosexual colleagues, friends, relatives and the Roma are always on the outside.

Moderator: In Portugal, being poor is worse than belonging to an ethnic minority?

Saúl: It is, and was.

Raquel: No it isn’t.

Paulo: It is.

Marco: It is.

Moderator: Where are you? Last question.

Saúl: Being poor in Portugal is a problem that is transversal to any ethnic minority.

Marco: That too even with the government’s help.

Moderator: What do you think? Do you agree with this or not?

Saúl: And I think that discrimination, and discrimination in Portugal is more subtle … I thought it funny a while ago when I was saying that we are a nation of indifferent people. A nation that has a high level of domestic violence, but perhaps a country in which the neighbours will hear everything and remain totally silent. Nobody says anything, nobody reacts.

Carla: You are talking of monetary poverty.

Saúl: Economic poverty.

Carla: It’s just that you also have poverty of spirit.

Moderator: No, that is not what is being referred to here.

Saúl: Poverty is transversal and is the greatest source of discrimination.

Moderator: More opinions?

Paulo: I think that this has changed, likewise in the context of this crisis and my own reality. Two or three years ago, I would hear people at work commenting that, “I stopped going to the gym, because of this, because of
that, because I don’t have any time.” And people would think, “Hum, I doubt it is because of a lack of time”. Or “I’m not going on vacation to wherever it is because, um, we have other plans, an invitation to wherever it is”. Never before, until last year, did people ever say, “I stopped doing this because I can’t afford it”. That was good. The crisis also has positive aspects. Such as, “I stopped going to the gym because at the end of the month I have no money left to go to the gym, it’s wildly expensive”, “Oh, this year I’m not going to Brazil because I can’t afford to go”, “the kids aren’t going to do who knows what activity, because I can’t afford it.” This was something you would never hear people say, “I’m not doing whatever it is because I can’t afford it.” So, why did this change? Because we all acknowledged that we have less money and that is recognised by society. A year ago, before this crisis, you would never say something like that.

Moderator: Well, do you have anything else you would like to add? I think we’ll wrap it up here.

6.3 Transcript of focus group with middle-middle status subjects

Moderator: I would like you to introduce yourselves and tell us your name, age, where you live, what you do. I haven’t introduced myself yet. My name is Susana. I liked this house, I have all the necessary materials here and there is nothing like improvising. Ready? Let’s begin.

Albertina: My name is Albertina. I am 48 years old. I live in Vale Mourão and I work in a bank.

Adelaide: I am Adelaide, I am 55. I live in Santo António dos Cavaleiros and I am a housewife.

Moderator: Sorry to interrupt you, but why are all the women sitting on one side and the men on the other? Look, let’s arrange ourselves like this, there you are. I normally ask what you like to do, but we went straight to the introductions and we forget about our free time, what do you like to do?

Albertina: I don’t like to do anything.

Moderator: Which is also fine.

Josefa: My name is Josefa, I am 40 years old and I live here in the Madre de Deus neighbourhood, relatively close by. I am an office clerk, I work in the Lisbon zoological gardens and I really like what I do. I like to play with my kids in my spare time.

Andreia: I am Andreia, I am 46. I work as a cook, because I haven’t been able to find any other job. I did a course in accounting, it was one of the professions I would like to practice, but I did the course late in life and I never managed to work in that area. I was also working as a cook, I had a lot of work and was earning well. Now things have subsided a bit. I like to walk and I often go walking. I live in Sacavém. In my spare time I work as a freelancer, I cook for individuals.

Roberto: I am Roberto, I am 48. I work as a salesman in the field of tractors and industrial machinery, in ‘Mopote’ (?), it is nearby. I live in Prior Velho. I do a bit of camping, a bit of fishing, nothing specific.

Carlos: My name is Carlos, I am 47 years old. I live in Terrugem and I am an IT technician. I like to travel around the country and to go for walks with my dog.

José Maria: My name is José Maria, I am 41 years old. I live in Corroios, I am slightly further away. I like to swim. Now I spend most of my time with my son, who is still very young, I spend time with him.

Artur: My name is Artur, I am 42 years old. I work with leathers, I am a saddle maker by profession. I live in Amora.

Moderator: Before we continue, does anyone have any questions? We are going to be chatting here but you could have some pertinent questions. Well then, let us begin with our subject today. What I would like to understand at the beginning of this conversation is, when you think about your everyday lives, from the time you
wake up in the morning, use public transport, go to the supermarket, a normal day in your life, when do you come across people of other ethnicities? People with other skin colours, from other countries, who are of other religions? Where do you come across such people in your lives? Where do you have relationships or interact with them? Where do you find them?

**Artur:** On means of public transport.

**Roberto:** Every day.

**José Maria:** In my case, in my house, in my building.

**Josefa:** In my workplace.

**Moderator:** Can you be more specific...

**Josefa:** I work in the area of human resources, interviews with potential employees, screening applications for jobs, there is no discrimination and so we speak to everybody.

**Moderator:** In your building...

**José Maria:** I have Brazilian neighbours in my building. A Brazilian community.

**Moderator:** You mentioned public transport. Who came to mind when you thought of means of public transport?

**Artur:** On public transport? Roma, Blacks, Indians, Brazilians, Ukrainians, a bit of everything.

**Carlos:** In my workplace and on the weekends when I walk, especially Brazilians.

**Roberto:** In my neighbourhood, in Prior Velho, when I use the train, on the Sintra Line.

**Moderator:** Always?

**Roberto:** They are mostly Blacks.

**Andreia:** I also see more Blacks, on the Sintra train line, in Massamá. And I have Brazilian friends.

**Moderator:** I would like to understand this a bit. You have a personal relationship with someone from another ethnicity?

**Andreia:** I do, with Brazilians.

**Josefa:** A Black woman.

**Carlos:** My relationship is with Brazilians.

**Josefa:** I work with a Black lady, an African, she has Black kids. She is from Cape Verde.

**Moderator:** OK. I would like to organise this information. We are talking about a lot of things. I would like to make a list of what we are talking about. Tell me, essentially, what groups are you talking about?

**Albertina:** Blacks.

**José Maria:** Brazilians.

**Moderator:** Any others?

**Roberto:** Indians.

**Carlos:** Roma.

**Andreia:** Chinese.

**Josefa:** Ukrainians.

**Moderator:** So, we have Brazilians, Blacks, Indians, Roma, Chinese, Ukrainians...

**Carlos:** Eastern European countries.

**Moderator:** I am writing in large letters so that it is easier for you to read. They can be from other countries, but I would also like to talk about other religions, other countries, other skin colours.

**José Maria:** Romanians.

**José Maria:** Russians. They are White too.

**Josefa:** It all ends up being the same thing.

**Moderator:** OK. Any more?
Adelaide: Mulattos. I, by chance, actually it’s not by chance, but I have siblings who are Mulattos. I have a relationship with them, my mother raised them from a young age and hence I thought I should mention them.

Moderator: I am going to include Muslims. Well, I would like you to take a good look at these groups. We are going to talk a lot about this because I want to understand where it is that we, the Portuguese, have an identity that is ours and what is the identity of each one of these groups. In other words, we have very different opinions about this and what I am interested in here is not so much what is real or what is true, I would like to create, in a way, a definition for all these groups. You find that there are people who get along well with the Roma and then there are people who can’t stand the Roma and we are going to talk a bit about that here. So, please feel free to express yourselves, do not give me socially correct answers, because we know what we are talking about. We are here in a group, behind closed doors, we can discuss what is happening, how we feel about all this, the good and the bad. Looking at these groups, with which groups do you get along better and which groups do you like less?

José Maria: I get along more with the Brazilians.

Artur: So do I.

Adelaide: I get along more with the Blacks, because of our closer relations.

Moderator: OK. On this side? Which are the two groups with which you get along best and the two with whom you do not get along?

Carlos: Brazilians and Blacks, some of them.

Roberto: That’s right. Brazilians and Blacks, some of them. Not all of them are the same.

[parallel conversations]

Moderator: Another thing, I am going to request you that when a person is speaking and giving their opinion, we need to let him or her finish talking. Perhaps we will have different ideas, but I want the person to be allowed to express his or her opinion. So, continuing, which groups do you get along with better and which groups less so? You have already said a lot of things but I still haven’t understood anything. Help me out.

Adelaide: I don’t have anything against anyone. I would say that sometimes, as I don’t like conflicts, I have some doubts at the level of the Roma, although I have nothing…

Moderator: I understand your opinion, but this is to create a situation where everybody feels comfortable expressing themselves. In principle we get along with everybody, we think that people are trustworthy, that there are no problems, we cannot generalise. I understand this discourse, I also have my own opinion with regard to that, but, at heart, we all like some people more or like some people less. We are more suspicious with some of these groups or not, we get along better with others. This is what I would like to understand.

Roberto: I have lived in Prior Velho for 48 years. There was the first group of Roma, only Roma used to live in Prior Velho. Perhaps there used to be 2000 or 3000 Roma, today there are 1 or 2. They used to create problems for us in the cafés, when they got drunk or something…They didn’t assault people because they were settled Roma, they lived there, studied there, they would go to school. Now, they got rid of the Roma at the time of the Expo, they did housing projects, they gave them houses in other places, it was a relief at that time. In the meanwhile, the Black race came into Prior Velho, which, in my opinion, is twice as bad. Until now they have not caused me any problems personally but they have caused serious problems within the neighbourhood. Attacks are commonplace, there is disorder every day, there is no chance. Zero employment, constant assaults. We have already met with the Loures town hall, we have already met with the home ministry, God knows what we have tried. It is becoming extremely difficult to live in that neighbourhood. It is not the older generation, they don’t create problems, it’s the younger generation, the youth. It is a group that has no respect for anybody, even for people of their own race. They also met with us a few days ago, in the pavilion, the mayor of Loures was also present and even the mayor himself felt that people from their own race were no longer accepting the behaviour of those youths.
Moderator: OK. More opinions?
Albertina: With regard to the Blacks, I live and work very close to the old Quinta do Mouro neighbourhood. They were creating a lot of problems there. Speaking personally, I cannot accuse anyone because they never harmed me directly. I was once assaulted, in my own home, at 5 in the morning, they came in through my window, but I never saw who it was. It was thought that it was the Blacks, I cannot say who it was, if it was a White or a Black. I saw a shadowy figure inside the house who fled, but it was impossible to tell who it was. Currently, they are still there very close to us. The small kids at school, from primary and preparatory school, they cross a garden with two rows of buildings. In the first row of buildings, unfortunately, people simply don’t open their shutters, they break all their windows. Small kids, 5, 6, 7 and 9 years old.
Moderator: But are they Black kids?
Albertina: Yes, they are Black kids. They come in groups from the school, they cross through there and then they go to their neighbourhood. That’s where they pass through, in their former neighbourhood, slightly further back. When they cross through that area in the middle of the afternoon, and I have seen this with my own eyes, I can hear the lady living next door call them all sorts of names. I went to the window and a kid had immediately broken a window-pane that had only just been replaced.
Moderator: Anything else? Don’t take it the wrong way, when I have already understood the point you are making I try to speed up the discussion. You might feel I am pressuring you, it’s because I have to hear other opinions. Don’t be offended. I just have to manage the time we have.
Andreia: I get along best with the Brazilians, because I think they are a very happy and fun-loving people. There must be good Brazilians and bad, like everything, but they seem to be a joyful bunch of people. I get along less with the Blacks, because they have already mugged my son several times, he has been attacked. So I keep a bit of distance from them.
Josefa: On the contrary, I think that the Brazilians do not like to work. I don’t know if that’s the case individually, but I think that when the Brazilians are in a group they behave differently than when they are separate. If we get to know a couple, we can get along with them perfectly well, irrespective of whether they are Brazilians, Blacks or from any other race, but when they are in a group they are different people.
Moderator: But whom are you talking about? A group of...
Josefa: Brazilians. I have that impression.
Adelaide: I agree that they are false.
Josefa: I have that impression. They pretend to be something and then...
Moderator: OK. Let me hear this side now.
Artur: I don’t like the Blacks very much. My son was also mugged in Campo Pequeno, the only saving grace was that it was not a mob. He wasn’t able to identify them because there were two of them. He was talking on his mobile phone, they came with a bat, shook him down and he was mugged. From that moment...
José Maria: The ones I like the most are the Chinese. They don’t create any problems. They just work and work and don’t cause problems for anyone. For me the Roma are the worst race of all. They are parasites on society, they don’t do anything. 90% of them receive those subsidies they give nowadays and many of them have a lot of money and they could work. I have never seen a Roma working on a construction site, or in the fields, they don’t do anything. They are always running away from the police with bags of clothes to sell clothes at 5 euros, and who knows where those clothes came from. I don’t like the Roma very much.
Carlos: I get along well with Brazilians, some Brazilians, and their behaviour is completely different. There are others that even when I simply hear them speak, my hair stands on end, just by listening to them. I also know some Blacks, they work with me and they always behave well. But there are other Blacks I can’t stand. As for the Roma, I don’t think we are the ones who exclude them, but they are the ones who exclude us. They
practically cannot maintain a dialogue with us or when they have anything to do with us, it’s always to ask for something. The Muslims as well.

**Moderator:** Why? How do they make you feel?

**Carlos:** I have never interacted socially with any Muslim, but the way in which they react is very different. It is not possible to…

**Moderator:** What do you feel with regard to the Muslims?

**Carlos:** Perhaps, indifference.

**Albertina:** Most of them are always in the mosques.

**Moderator:** But what do you feel when you see a Muslim? What are Muslims like?

**Albertina:** I don’t know.

**Roberto:** Like Bin Laden, all the terrorists.

**Carlos:** Don’t say that.

**Moderator:** But what do you feel with regard to the Muslims?

**Albertina:** I work right next to the mosque.

**Moderator:** And what do you feel?

**Albertina:** I think they are flashy, with their turbans and what have you.

**Moderator:** But, do you like them or not?

**Albertina:** They are indifferent, I have never been curious enough to enter the mosque, to see it. They have their Gods, I have never felt like going in there…

**Carlos:** It’s also because of their religion, isn’t it? I think it was the bishop of Lisbon who said something about their society and he should know something about it to have said what he said.

**Moderator:** What did he say?

**Carlos:** He said it was complicated in their society when a Portuguese woman married a Muslim. I agree completely that they are strange, they have a strange society and hence my indifference with regard to them.

**Artur:** There must be a barrier for me and for them. I only see the news, I don’t have any dialogue with them.

**Moderator:** Of all these groups, in your opinion, which groups are faring better in Portugal, are making progress, are carving a place for themselves? And which groups aren’t managing to do that?

**Josefa:** The Chinese.

**Adelaide:** Chinese.

**Albertina:** Brazilians. With regard to mortgages, buying houses.

**Roberto:** It depends.

**Moderator:** But why?

**Albertina:** I don’t know, they have our purchasing power, it’s easier for them, I have no idea.

**Adelaide:** There was a time when it was said that when they wanted to rent houses, nobody would rent them a house.

**Albertina:** When I sold my house, of the many people who went there to view it, the house ended up with Angolans. There were Angolans living next door, the building is almost entirely inhabited by Blacks.

**Moderator:** OK. You said the Chinese…

**Adelaide:** The Chinese at the level of getting ahead in life. They are very hard workers, I think they really have houses, more and more houses, because, really, they can work on the weekend. They work on weekends, holidays…

**Carlos:** I agree. I don’t have a lot of information about this, but from what I have heard, the Chinese receive subsidies from their government in order to establish businesses in our country. But when we talk of the Chinese, it’s the Chinese stores, we aren’t seeing if it is António or Manuel. So, we know that the Chinese are doing well in terms of business, but we don’t know if it is António, Manuel or Joaquim.
Moderator: But here I am interested in general ideas, it is not possible to talk of individuals. There are always exceptions. I would like to understand a bit more about the general panorama of our perception. Who is forging ahead, who is better integrated? Who is not so integrated?

Adelaide: In my neighbourhood, the houses are rented almost solely by people from Eastern Europe and by Blacks.

Moderator: What do you think of that?

Albertina: It's because they have purchasing power, in addition to having incomes. If we find it difficult to move house or buy a house, they buy houses with ease, I don't know...

José Maria: When you bought a house, you bought a better house. You always change to a better house.

Albertina: It was not a better house, it was a calmer neighbourhood. It's only 4 rooms, it was not because of a question of...

José Maria: They go for the cheaper houses and you go for the more expensive one.

Albertina: But, the house was already used, it was not …

Moderator: I don't want an exchange of opinions. Who is faring better in Portugal?

Artur: I think it's the Ukrainians, shall we say that. The Blacks were already here, the Ukrainians come from outside and they manage to speak Portuguese far better than the Blacks, who were already here. They manage to speak better, we can understand them fine. With some Blacks you can't understand what they are saying. [simultaneous conversations]

Artur: They also have a more open mentality with regard to that.

Moderator: Who is not doing so well? Who is staying a bit on the sidelines? Who doesn't integrate or is not integrating?

Albertina: Those Muslims, they are the ones I feel are more distant.

José Maria: The Romanians.

Carlos: I think it's the Roma. They are the ones who have been the longest in our country and they have never integrated.

Adelaide: Yes, it is the Roma.

Moderator: Who is faring worse?

Roberto: I think it's the Blacks.

Moderator: Why?

Roberto: Because when the Blacks come here, they already have a cousin or a relative over here and they live 5 or 6 in one room. With the shortage of jobs they have to either get jobs in the construction sector or they lose their visas. It is also difficult, perhaps they have no money at the end of the month. They are not integrated, they can't manage to arrange a house, they are not able to do anything. That is why I think, that at this point in time, they are the worst off.

Albertina: But there, in my neighbourhood, they all have cars. I don't know how, but they all have cars, they are always driving around there with music blaring. After 7 p.m. you don't see Whites on the Sintra Line, not even on the trains. It's generalised. Then, there are the muggings...

Moderator: Anything else you would like to add about this subject? The groups that are faring better and worse? There are people who have not yet commented on this...

Josefa: They are the ones who don't want to work.

Moderator: Of these groups, who doesn't want to work?

Albertina: In my opinion, the Brazilians and the Roma.

Josefa: The Roma work in commerce.

Albertina: What commerce?
Josefa: They work in fairs, but they work. They don't make social security contributions, they don't work for our society, but they do work. It's not that they don't work.
Artur: Yes, that's right…
Josefa: They work in the fairs.
Artur: I only go to the fairs once in a while and of course I can see them…
Moderator: Let her finish …
Josefa: I go to the fair and I think they make an effort, they should make more of an effort to contribute towards society. I think they should make social security contributions, pay taxes, because everything that is paid in the fairs is always paid in cash. For example, I think Brazilian women don't make an effort, I don't get along with Brazilian women…
Moderator: We will get to that. What I want to understand now is what comes to mind with regard to each one of these groups, but I would like to start with the Portuguese. What are the Portuguese like? What are we like? What comes immediately to mind, what defines us?
Albertina: Poor things.
Artur: Crooks.
Adelaide: Astute.
Andreia: Some of us are.
Adelaide: In politics there are a lot of them.
Moderator: But I would like to know about the Portuguese people. What characterises the Portuguese? If we had to describe ourselves to someone who doesn't know us, what are we like – qualities and flaws – what would we say?
José Maria: We are hospitable, resourceful.
Roberto: We earn very little.
Andreia: When we go abroad to work, we work really long hours, we work a lot. Here, we earn very little. There you earn well, but you work 12, 16 hours.
Moderator: More? What comes to mind? What are we like? Think out loud.
Carlos: We used to be happier.
Artur: Pessimists.
Adelaide: We could be richer.
Josefa: We used to have a better quality of life.
Moderator: Qualities? You haven't mentioned many so far?
Albertina: It's because of the crisis.
Adelaide: Hospitable.
Moderator: Just hospitable?
[ simultaneous conversations ]
Moderator: You are going to have to speak one at a time, sorry, but I am going to have to listen to the recording and it will be impossible.
Roberto: The common man, the people, is honest, from there on…
Adelaide: The people are honest, the ones who are in power are not.
Moderator: OK. The Brazilians, what are they like? We have already said some things but I would now like to explore this group.
Andreia: Parties.
Moderator: Yes, tell me words.
Andreia: Dance, music.
Roberto: Drunkenness, beer.
Moderator: One at a time please.
Carlos: Of the ones we have here, I would say that they are all trash. Very poor.
Moderator: What else? What are they like?
Adelaide: They socialise with each other a lot, something is on and the entire family goes. It's a lot like the Blacks.
Moderator: Anything else? You have already said that they were slightly false, isn’t it?
José Maria: I think they do not manage to integrate very well into society. I have already been in that situation, there in the building. First one came along, then 2 and 3, 4,5,6 and they don’t respect anyone. It’s just blaring music throughout the night and I think they do not integrate well into society, they have no respect.
Josefa: Yes, I think that too.
Carlos: They are not used to our rules.
Moderator: And they don’t respect them, is that it?
Josefa: No. It’s music until dawn.
Moderator: Do they work? Do they like to work? What’s your impression?
José Maria: It depends.
Adelaide: A little bit.
Roberto: They work a lot in the commercial area, nothing heavy. They don’t like heavy work.
Moderator: The Blacks, what are they like?
José Maria: Some are good, others are bad.
Moderator: Yes, but let us try and talk about them in general.
Roberto: In my opinion, the Blacks who are 40 or 50 years old or thereabouts are very different from the youths of today, who are 20 years old. These youngsters are a complete disgrace, they behave badly, they don’t study. So, it is going to be very difficult. They have changed a lot in the past 20 years...
Andreia: They themselves are racist with regard to the Whites. We can be racist, but they are too.
Carlos: They are more racist than we are.
Albertina: They are more racist than we are.
Andreia: They are very suspicious.
Moderator: What more? What do we associate the Blacks with? We have already spoken about the question of public transport...
José Maria: Mugging. Injuries. Rapes.
Moderator: When we speak of these assaults, be it on public transport, at home, the idea that is transmitted is that we are speaking of Blacks?
José Maria: We are.
Roberto: We are.
Moderator: The things you have spoken about, of them having mugged your children etc. it was all about Blacks, is that right?
Andreia: The assault was in 2006, the trial was last month. He says he didn’t but he saw the mugging. But in court he said they all looked alike and that he only saw their silhouette. He was scared, because even at the age of 16 they have already committed a lot of crimes.
Moderator: When we speak of the criminality of these groups, which groups do you associate more easily with criminality?
Artur: Brazilians and Blacks.
Andreia: More Blacks.
Carlos: Brazilians and Blacks.
Josefa: The Roma are involved in counterfeiting.
Moderator: OK. The Indians?
Roberto: Suspicious.
Moderator: Suspicious about what?
Adelaide: If one doesn't buy something, they start talking in that language of theirs…
Roberto: Speaking badly of us in their language.
Artur: They are a people who do not create problems. They live there in the Portela neighbourhood of Sacavém, they are quite a majority. I have never heard of anyone saying that they mug people or do this or that. They isolate themselves.
Moderator: But do they interact or don’t they?
Artur: No, they have their community and they are very closed.
Roberto: In the mall in Santo António, the entire first floor is theirs. They have shops, DVDs, trinkets, mobile phones, household goods.
Moderator: The Chinese? What are they like? What do we think?
José Maria: Hard workers.
Andreia: They are very smart, they know the prices of everything they have in their shop.
José Maria: Not very sociable.
Carlos: They like the casino a lot.
Adelaide: They are very wary.
Josefa: They are wary.
Moderator: Anything else? Do they create problems? I mean, you don’t really hear…
Carlos: No.
Moderator: They don’t mix with us very much, is that it?
Roberto: That’s right.
Artur: I pass by them on the street, but…
Albertina: On the street, it’s more tourists.
Adelaide: It’s rare to see them on the streets.
Moderator: Do the Chinese manage to integrate into society?
Artur: Only their society.
Carlos: Only in their society.
Andreia: I see them in restaurants, I see them in clothes shops and that’s it.
Roberto: I work with them, you need to go through 50 departments, to be able to get anywhere.
[Simultaneous opinions, agreeing]
Moderator: The Roma? We have already spoken about some things, but what comes immediately to mind? Roma, what is the first word that you think of?
Roberto: They don’t pay for public transport. In Santo António dos Cavaleiros, none of them pay for public transport. They know the driver, they go to the hypermarket or they go here and there and they don’t pay for tickets.
Moderator: OK. What else?
Adelaide: They are grumblers.
Andreia: There are many factors, they occupy houses.
Carlos: They are suitable candidates for the social insertion subsidy. They sell drugs.
Josefa: Drugs and they buy nice Mercedes cars.
Roberto: And good suits.
José Maria: They have big houses with Cable TV.
Roberto: There is also an area (?), Roma live there and there is no problem at all with them. There is no problem at all. They talk to you, they socialise with us.

Adelaide: That’s true, there really are some there, and I have also seen that there are no problems.

Roberto: There is no problem at all. But in that area, slightly further North, near the parish council…

Andreaia: There in Sacavém there is also a couple who live right in the heart of Sacavém and they live fine in the neighbourhood…

Artur: We have to keep in mind that they are isolated. There is no problem when they are separate, it’s when they are in a group that they are terrible. I am talking about Macedo dos Cavaleiros, I am talking about Sacavém, who knows, in many other places, when they built those houses there, people had to leave that area of the neighbourhood. They are all over the place there. They themselves would hound out the people who lived there. They themselves did not want them there. They had to leave the area and they themselves hounded them out of those places, because they are disorderly, they themselves create conflicts. When it was in Macedo dos Cavaleiros, they themselves said that they did not know where they were going.

Moderator: OK. Ukrainians. What impression do we have of them?

Josefa: Hard working.

Moderator: Where are they employed?

Roberto: Construction workers.

Andreaia: I am talking about this because in Sacavém there are a lot of Ukrainians working in the construction sector.

Josefa: The Ukrainians I know really make an effort in terms of the language, it ends up by being very difficult, some of them have a slightly higher cultural level. The ones I had working there were all graduates.

Moderator: Are they people who are easy to get along with?

Carlos: Yes they are.

Josefa: They are easy to get along with. The only problem is that at the end of the day, with their alcohol problems, they drink vodkas and Red Bulls and who knows what to warm up, but apart from that, they are calm.

Moderator: More opinions about the Ukrainians.

Albertina: I don’t know any Ukrainians, what I know is what I hear people say about them. I have heard that they are, in fact, very hardworking. They come here and accept any job.

Moderator: Do you all agree with this opinion?

Andreaia: And they work for far lower wages than the Whites. In Sacavém, to build the walls of the parish council they would accept 3 euros per hour or something like that, the Portuguese wanted 6.

Carlos: But we also have to keep one thing in mind, that many of them do not pay taxes. The Portuguese pay taxes.

Roberto: At the end of 5 years they change their name and they don’t pay taxes for 5 years. At the end of 5 years, they would go to the partners and it was “now you are going to have to have one more name”. They add a name every 5 years. As they aren’t here, they don’t pay taxes for 5 years. In other words they only stay here for 5 years with the same name.

Carlos: But they never stay here for a long time, because they never learnt Portuguese.

Roberto: They can speak Portuguese.

Andreaia: There are some who speak Portuguese, now whether it is correct or not…but they do speak.

Moderator: The Romanians?

Roberto: Traitors. Great traitors.

Andreaia: The women who are at the traffic lights, with their children on their hips, washing the windows, begging and we have to have money, otherwise…
José Maria: But there is the other side, the Romanian Roma. I know a Romanian, actually he did the construction work on my house, he is a building contractor and he is totally different with me. But the others have given a bad image to the Romanian community.

Moderator: But Romanians is general. The Romanian people. There are always exceptions, like in every group, but what is the idea we have about the Romanians we come across, sometimes, on the road or those who we know personally?

Andrea: Beggars.

Moderator: What do you feel with regard to them?

Adelaide: I feel pity.

Andrea: I also feel sorry for them.

Carlos: I think they are descendants of the Roma. They are a branch of the Roma.

Moderator: A branch of the Roma? Which is worse?

Carlos: Well, I think that the Roma are worse than the Romanians. Looking at the Roma race, I feel it is worse than the Romanian race. But the Romanians are practically a branch of the Roma.

Albertina: I think they are related.

Andrea: A short while ago, I had an experience with a Romanian who was selling a Borda d’Água almanac. He said: “Do you want a Borda d’Água”, I said: “No, I don’t, thank you”. He: “Ah, well then give me something to eat”. I felt sorry for him and I said: “Go on, choose something”, he chose a sandwich. He said: Look, I’m full, can I get something to drink?”, I said: “All right”. He asked for a Coca-Cola. I: “OK”. He: “Bye, Bye, thank you”. When I went to pay, I found I had to pay for a Borda d’Água as well, which cost 2 euros. They are just like the Roma in these situations. It irritates me. I didn’t want the Borda d’Água, but I bought it all the same. I shouldn’t have paid for anything for him to eat, I should just have asked them to give him a glass of water.

Carlos: He would have asked for another glass.

Andrea: They are beggars.

Adelaide: This ends up being true with the Roma. It has also happened to me, a Roma also asked me to get him something to eat and immediately after he finished eating, asked me for a juice.

Moderator: OK, we have to keep moving forward. They are beggars, is that it?

Adelaide: Yes, that’s it. But, that person ended up by drinking a juice, which costs money, as is natural. My daughter had to pay from her own pocket, then, it was clearly marked €1.50, he asked her for 2 euros. When we went to look, that’s what we found. It would be better to just ask for an amount of money and if we want to give something, we give it.

Moderator: OK. The Muslims? Apart from what we have already said here, do you have anything to add?

Albertina: I don’t agree with their ideals. They are very fanatic.

Josefa: I don’t have any relations with them, I have no idea. When I think about them, a bad image comes to mind.

Moderator: You are not saying anything…

Roberto: They are not beggars, which is the case with the Romanians. All races can come here, they come to work, follow the normal rules of the country, let them be accepted well, but then they also have to behave in a proper fashion. They all come here to be in those places, sleeping, living in cars, causing problems, full of lice, look at how you can see them enter the trains, completely…

Moderator: Who are you talking about?

Roberto: The Romanians. They go around in packed cars because they sleep there in the open lots, in the Areeiro neighbourhood. That place is terrible. Why does this race come here? Why travel all those thousands of kilometres and come to this country? To create more misery.
Moderator: Of all these groups, there are some that don’t really interact much with us, but there are some that interact more with us. Which of these groups interacts more with us?
Artur: The Blacks.
Josefa: And the Brazilians.
Andréia: Africans.
[brief pause in the meeting to find napkins]
Moderator: I have already understood this point of view a bit. We are speaking of people who came here, of immigration, of people from outside who come here. We have already touched upon this point a few times, but what I would like to understand is: what are the advantages and disadvantages of immigration? Essentially, what are the positive and negative aspects?
Josefa: It’s a dream. Some come here to try and have a better life.

Artur: Earlier immigration was worth it, there were many public works projects being done, the majority of people who immigrated worked in the construction sector. Now, since there are no jobs, all the people who come here, it’s more likely they’ve come to steal.

Adelaide: But, you can see a lot of Blacks in the construction sector. When I use public transport, I see them returning from work, all dirty.

Josefa: It’s terrible.

Andréia: They want to change nationality, they want to get a husband. It’s complicated.

Artur: They come here and they immediately have support, help with everything, Social Security, everything. But if we need something, we wait months at a stretch waiting for an answer.

Moderator: ‘They’ who? Are you talking about any specific group?

Artur: Those who come here. They find a way to manage everything. They are assisted in terms of emergencies, but in terms of referrals and accompaniment...
[undecipherable parallel conversations]
Moderator: Any other ideas? Essentially, what impact has immigration had?
Andreia: I think that we already have so much misery, why did they let people come here who did not have adequate conditions, education, who did not have the capacity to develop here, which is the case with the Romanians for example? But why do they let in people who are already in a bad state and have no capacity to develop in the future? We should only let in people who we really need or who have the capacity to develop in some way.
Moderator: But how does Portugal deal with all these people?
Artur: It doesn't. They join the unemployment queues.
José Maria: I don't know if you have also noticed this, for example, with regard to the Ukrainians, I am speaking of people from Eastern Europe, hence, Eastern Europeans, there used to be far more of them than there are today. I used to go by Campo Grande, a place where many of them used to catch means of public transport to go to work, nowadays you don't see those people there. Those hordes...
Carlos: They call those people beforehand to go work.
Artur: But the Ukrainians used to come to work.
José Maria: What is employment like in their homelands? They come to work. I have 2 Ukrainian friends who live and work in Alcântara, who told me, “In a few days I am leaving because the money I earn here is almost the same as what I earn in my country. It’s no longer worth it being here”. They have no other objective in being here.
Carlos: Perhaps they moved to a country close by and they are working there.
Moderator: Anything else? We are talking about the negative aspects, but what are the positive aspects of immigration, in terms of the country?
Roberto: The development in certain areas of construction, we were capable of not having developed so much. The low cost of labour has ensured that many contractors built things that, perhaps, they would not have done at that time because prices were very high. I think it is good in that aspect.
Adelaide: The Blacks are a strong people, they have a lot of resistance, their physical build, I think they are very tough. I think the majority of construction is all done by Blacks.
Moderator: There are various opinions here and that is what I want to understand. There are those who say that we only have houses because there are people, like the Blacks, working in construction projects and therefore they bring us benefits in this way. There are other opinions like this question of the Brazilians doing the work that Portuguese do not want to do, or they work in the construction sector. Do you have that impression or don’t you?
Josefa: A while ago that idea did exist, presently, I don’t think so. I think that perhaps they don’t come here for that. They come here because they have a work visa, for example, if the Brazilians manage to arrange a job, they get one, if they can't get a job, they manage to stay on their feet. The Blacks of our generation still continue to work, the youngsters who come here no longer come with that idea. At least that is my impression.
Moderator: Presently, on our part, as a people, is there openness or not?
José Maria: I think that openness is closing.
Andreia: If there was, it is closing again.
Moderator: The relationship that the Portuguese currently have with immigrants, is it a relationship that is more of co-operation or of competition?
Adelaide: More like competition.
Josefa: More like competition.
Andreia: Exactly.
Albertina: A few days ago, we heard that a factory shut down, then another factory closed, it is already difficult for us to keep our jobs. I personally think so, now they come here and they take the little there is.
Moderator: More opinions? Do you agree with the idea that Portugal is a nation of gentle ways? Is Portugal a nation of gentle ways? Or is it not really like that any more?
José Maria: It is.
Josefa: It's not really like that any more.
Carlos: I think that the Portuguese continue to be a nation of gentle ways. If it doesn't have them, then it is others who are practising those gentle ways.
José Maria: Even the laws for immigrants represent gentle ways. When immigrants engage in any serious crime, they are notified to go to their country, they are notified, but they don't even bother to show up. They move house, they go somewhere else, they continue to commit the same crimes and we don't send them away. Portugal continues to be a nation of gentle ways.
Moderator: But that is passiveness, it does not represent gentle ways. Essentially, gentle ways was that idea of us going around conquering lands and when we got there we were considered to be a benevolent and peaceful people. Are we still like that?
Roberto: Many of us, yes.
Andreia: Yes we are.
Artur: We are peacable.
Moderator: We have spoken of various characteristics of the Portuguese people and of these groups. Now, of all the characteristics that we have associated with these groups what are the characteristics that we value the most in a people? Irrespective of being Portuguese or being from any other race. What do we value in a people? What are the most important characteristics?
Carlos: Being honest, hardworking.
Artur: Being honest.
Albertina: Sincerity.
Josefa: Loyalty.
Adelaide: Respecting the identity of the country.
Artur: Managing to integrate, respecting your neighbour.
Moderator: We are all here to discuss a subject that has to do with racism and discrimination. Is there racism and discrimination in Portugal?
Roberto: Yes there is.
Andreia: Yes there is.
Artur: Yes there is.
Moderator: Mainly with regard to which groups? Which are the groups that are most subjected to this kind of discrimination?
José Maria: In my opinion, the Blacks.
Adelaide: Blacks.
Andreia: The Brazilians.
Roberto: The Roma.
Artur: Not the Brazilians, because the Brazilians are also White. The Blacks are the ones who are...
[simultaneous conversations]
Artur: We are the ones who are racist towards them.
Carlos: But their attitude is not the same as ours.
Artur: Well you’re right, it isn’t.
Moderator: Which groups are most discriminated against? Blacks, Brazilians, Roma, and on this side?
Adelaide: Perhaps the Roma.
Moderator: If we had to identify them, which groups are discriminated against the most?
Artur: Blacks.
Moderator: And after them?
Artur: The Roma.
Carlos: The Roma.
José Maria: The Roma and then the Brazilians. Perhaps because the Roma deserve it.
Moderator: If we had to identify them, which groups are discriminated against the most?
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Moderator: Which groups are most discriminated against? Blacks, Brazilians, Roma, and on this side?
Adelaide: Perhaps the Roma.
Moderator: If we had to identify them, which groups are discriminated against the most?
boy complaining to my mother, “She called me Black”. And my mother: “Don’t call the Black boy Black, poor thing”. Ever since I was a kid I didn’t have…

Moderator: OK. Anything else?
Roberto: It would make no difference to me. Also because one of my close friends is Black, she is married to a White guy and it makes no difference to me.

Moderator: Of these groups, which would you not like them to marry?
Roberto: Neither Roma nor Muslims.
Carlos: I agree with him, not Roma or Muslims. Blacks…hmmm.

Moderator: Do you have children?
José Maria: Yes I do.
Carlos: I said a little while back that I would not mind having Black children. But I must confess there are other groups I detest.

Artur: I would not approve. I used to interact more than I interact today. When I was in high school I hung out with Black boys, mainly with two of them, I even went to African music parties in Cascais. I was always welcomed, but this was 30 years ago. Today I have become more racist. There are problems happening around us and I cannot be indifferent to them.

Carlos: The problem is that very often we associate the worst things that happen to us with race. Robberies and things like that, but not everything is the same.

Moderator: It’s true that not everything is the same. But there are things we like and others we don’t.
Carlos: Exactly.
Roberto: I can say that I have never been mugged but I have already had to solve problems with people who were being mugged. I don’t like walking around and being caught off guard alone.

Moderator: These muggings, are you talking about Blacks?
Roberto: Blacks.
Adelaide: Whenever I have been mugged, it has always been by Whites.

Moderator: And what do you think about that?
Adelaide: I have never really thought about it very much.

Moderator: But you have time to think about it here.
Adelaide: I have never really thought about it. I never really liked the Roma. Nowadays I see White women accompanied by Blacks, which is a common sight today, earlier it was the other way around. Actually, I have two brothers, I mentioned them a while ago, because they were very young when they lost their mother and my mother raised them. So, I really have… I am slightly scared of Blacks when I see them in a group because I see a lot of things on TV. But if I had some misfortune I would also deal with Blacks. In Angola everyone lived their own lives and I have nothing against anyone, but I am scared.

Moderator: Do you consider yourselves to be racist?
Adelaide: I don’t.
Artur: I think I am slightly racist.

Moderator: Is there anyone here who can affirm, ‘no, I am not at all racist’?
Adelaide: I am not.
Artur: I am.

Albertina: I think that, at heart, we are all slightly racist.
Josefa: If we think about certain things, I think so.

Moderator: What kind of discourses do you hear? Like the one you mentioned “go back to your country”, what other expressions do we hear with regard to these groups?
Artur: Go and work, you lazy bum.
Roberto: Son of a bitch.
Albertina: They come here to steal.
Moderator: When we say these things it is more in relationship to which group?
Adelaide: I personally do not say anything like that.
Moderator: The Portuguese complain most about which group?
José Maria: The Roma.
Andreia: The Blacks.
Artur: I think the Blacks.
Moderator: Do you all agree?
Roberto: The Roma.
Carlos: The Blacks too.
Carlos: People talk badly about the Chinese, you talk about the Chinese race, but when it concerns the Blacks, they are Blacks and that is it. And the comparison is very unequal.
Moderator: Now I am going to read some sentences out aloud. I would like to talk a bit about them and I would like to know whether you agree or not. Do you believe that the Roma have the same opportunities as other people in Portugal?
Josefa: No.
Albertina: I don’t think they do.
Roberto: But do they want the opportunities?
Carlos: Sometimes they are given opportunities and they don’t make use of them.
Moderator: What is your impression? They don’t have the same opportunities because they don’t have these opportunities? Or they don’t have them because they don’t want them?
Carlos: Their laws really are like that.
Roberto: That’s the way they are.
Carlos: Their laws don’t allow them to work for anybody. You can give them a building in which to live and they will set up tents and makeshift structures. They are only able to live in makeshift structures.
Roberto: And they raise chickens and rabbits in the bathtub.
Artur: In the Sapadores area, the shacks that used to exist there, not all of them belong to Roma but some did. Even if it wasn’t Roma, some of them even used to keep donkeys inside their houses.
Andreia: My husband used to be a builder and some houses were allocated to a group of Roma. At a certain point they went to see the houses and the Roma were raising rabbits below the bathtub. They had put in a wire mesh and they had rabbits there.
Carlos: They ruin everything that belongs to the town hall.
Moderator: Do you feel that immigration, in the sense of people coming to Portugal, is a threat to our cultural values?
Artur: It is.
Roberto: It is. For our culture, it is.
Moderator: What are we losing with this reality?
Andreia: Bad habits.
Adelaide: We want to be able to go out at night…
Andreia: You can’t walk around, take a stroll.
Moderator: Where does immigration threaten and affect the Portuguese identity?
Josefa: In families. I am thinking of Brazilian men and women.
Moderator: Anything more?
Carlos: Talking about Brazilian women…
[laughter and everybody starts talking at the same time]

**Moderator:** Please speak one at a time. Should there be quotas in the labour market or reserved jobs for Roma as a way of combating inequality? To combat inequality in terms of access to work?

**Carlos:** No.
**Adelaide:** No.
**Artur:** They don't like to work.
**Carlos:** I think that would be a quota or job that would never be filled.
**Artur:** They don't like going to school, this immediately reflects their attitude.

**Moderator:** The impression you have is that the Roma are in the situation in which they are because that is the situation in which they want to be?

**Carlos:** Exactly.
**Moderator:** You think that there is no discrimination against them?
**Adelaide:** It's their culture.

**Carlos:** They themselves keep away from our culture. If they keep away from our culture they are not capable of having the same habits we do. So hence, and based on their practices, they are not even capable of being rejected. Now this idea of having reserved job quotas for the Roma, I think the quota would never be filled.
**Adelaide:** They work for themselves, with themselves, by themselves, it is all theirs, everything is for themselves. You don't see Roma working in a shop or in a restaurant that is not theirs. That is their culture. It is really like that.

**Moderator:** We have already spoken a bit about this but in any case I am going to put this up for discussion. Is the colour of a person's skin important?
**Adelaide:** I don't think it is.

**Albertina:** No.

**Adelaide:** That's not it. It's not the colour of a person's skin.

**Moderator:** We always say that but then sometimes it is not like that. There are people for whom it is important and for others it isn't important. I want to understand this.

**José Maria:** It is not important for me.
**Adelaide:** I don't think it is important.
**Andreia:** There is always that question.
**Artur:** But if my son wanted a Black girl, I would mind about the skin colour. Perhaps I would try to prevent the marriage.
**Carlos:** I am sure that you would not like to see your son with a Black girl.
**Artur:** Perhaps I wouldn't like it because of their kids.
**Carlos:** No. Exactly.

[laughter]

**Moderator:** OK. We have a lot of opinions here.

[Simultaneous conversations]
**Artur:** They have a bath in the morning, but then they sweat and they really smell bad…
**Carlos:** Exactly.
**Artur:** Hence, this is associated with the colour of a person's skin...

**Moderator:** What are Black women like? Let's talk about Black women here, what are they like?

**Carlos:** I have never mixed with a Black woman.

**Moderator:** But how do you view them?

**Carlos:** Now there are some Black women, just like in everything else, there are also White women who smell bad.
Moderator: They smell bad?
Andreia: That is also true.
Carlos: And there are Black women who pass by me, and...there you have it...
Andreia: Now that's when you get a whiff of the race, yes there is a smell!
Carlos: There is.
Moderator: OK. Muslims are fundamentalists? Do you all agree?
Alberitina: I agree.
José Maria: Yes.
Moderator: You all agree with this idea?
[sounds of consent]
Moderator: Would you have a problem if your daughter or son converted to Judaism or Islam?
Albertina: I would.
Adelaide: Yes.
Albertina: It would be the worst possible thing.
Carlos: I would lose a son.
Moderator: Why?
Artur: Suicide bombings. Bombers. They would take my son there to one of those bomb places... No.
Albertina: There must be a lot of good people, there must be a bit of everything, except that it's different.
Moderator: What kind of difference? If a child of yours converted to Judaism or Islam? On this side. You are thinking about it, perhaps you have never thought of this before. You have already said that you would lose a child.
Carlos: Because if one of my sons, after the education he has received converts to one of these religions it would be a question of principles. I think that it is very difficult for a person to convert. I have always given him the environment, I am not a practising [Christian], but...
Roberto: Do you know that area in Alvalade? The area near the Pingo Doce supermarket, behind the fire station? Do you know about all the churches that are there? Those people weren't raised in those religions that exist there, they changed their religion. So don't say that your son cannot change.
Moderator: But what religions are you talking about?
Roberto: There are many religions there. That's where there are more people from Eastern Europe.
José Maria: They are also from a Christian background.
Roberto: No, they come from various regions.
Moderator: But would it make a difference or not?
Roberto: I think it would, they are very fanatical. It is a very fanatical religion.
Moderator: OK. Another sentence. Do you agree that there are some groups that do not make enough of an effort to not be victims of discrimination? In other words, they do not make an effort and that is why they are victims of discrimination, do you agree? What groups would you associate with this?
Roberto: There are. The Roma.
Artur: The Blacks.
Josefa: Yes, the Blacks.
Moderator: The Blacks do not make an effort and that is why they are victims of discrimination? I have already understood this with regard to the Roma.
Albertina: They marginalize themselves. For instance, in school, my son has always studied with coloured people, since primary school. He used to tell me: “Mom, they don’t mix. They are there but they don’t stand with the others”. But he has always got along with them since he was a child. On one birthday he asked me if he could invite them over and I told him, “Bring all the kids home”. Actually they were very well mannered children,
I thought it cute, there was a little boy, one of them, who asked me, “Ma’am, sorry, but can I please take some sweets?”

Adelaide: There are many of them who are very well mannered and wonderful.

Andrea: There is one who is very nice in my building.

Moderator: I know that these questions are a bit controversial, but let’s continue. In Portugal is it worse to be poor than to belong to an ethnic minority? What would you prefer?

Artur: To be poor.

Roberto: Being poor is an ethnic minority.

Moderator: In Portugal, what is worse, to be poor or to belong to an ethnic minority? Which is the worse reality?

Josefa: If an ethnic minority had a lot of money. If they have money, it’s all right.

Moderator: In this context that we are talking about.

Artur: I would prefer to be poor.

Moderator: In other words, you think it is worse to belong to an ethnic minority?

José Maria: I think it is the other way around. Nobody defends the poor, minorities are being protected all the time. Nobody defends the poor.

Moderator: In our heart of hearts, would the worse option be to belong to an ethnic minority?

José Maria: Not for me.

Moderator: What about the others?

Artur: You would have to walk about with a rifle. They hunt each other, hence it would be murder too.

José Maria: We are justifying what they do.

Artur: It is their fault.

Adelaide: Minorities end up by having privileges.

Moderator: From what I have understood of our conversation, even having privileges, we would not like to be in their shoes. That is what I have understood from what you are telling me, is that correct?

Andrea: If I were Ukrainian, I would prefer to be Ukrainian than poor, but I wouldn’t like to be any of the others.

Moderator: Which others?

Andrea: Roma, perhaps.

Carlos: The worst is that both things exist. There are those who are poor and also belong to an ethnic minority.

Moderator: Let us go on to the last question, also quite controversial. In Portugal the Roma tend to be discriminated against more than homosexuals? Who is discriminated against more in Portugal? The Roma or homosexuals?

José Maria: Homosexuals.

Artur: That was in the past, it is no longer like that nowadays.

Moderator: In Portugal, who is more discriminated against?

Artur: I would discriminate more against a Roma than against a homosexual. If they want to marry amongst themselves, it makes no difference to me, as long as they don’t enter my world. If that is what they want to do, let them.

Carlos: I am not capable of discriminating against a homosexual.

[everybody starts talking at the same time]

Josefa: You can look at a man or a woman and you can’t tell. But when you look at a Roma you know they are Roma.

Moderator: So, what is our conclusion?

Artur: In other words, you can’t tell if a person is homosexual.

Roberto: There are some people whom you can clearly tell.

Adelaide: There are many who hide it well.
[general laughter]

Moderator: We are laughing here and we are not discussing homosexuality. When we talk of discrimination, what is of interest to me here is to ascertain who is discriminated against more in Portugal?

Carlos: The Roma.
Adelaide: The Roma.
Artur: The Roma.
Josefa: Yes.

Carlos: Then there is another thing, a person can identify a Roma more easily than a homosexual.
Artur: That is exactly what I was saying.

Moderator: A little while ago we were talking about the positive and negative aspects of immigration and we have spoken a lot about criminality. Do you in any way associate the increase in crime with the fact that we have more immigration, that there are more people in Portugal?

[everybody says yes]

Moderator: When you think of crime and immigration, we have already spoken about this a bit, but I would like to clarify ideas here, which groups do you feel are contributing more towards this more violent criminality?

José Maria: Brazilians.
Roberto: Brazilians.

Artur: Blacks.

José Maria: Romanians. Eastern Europeans.
Adelaide: You really hear a lot about Romanians.

José Maria: They don’t have work, they steal. Many of them come here with this intention. They are already criminals in their own country. Portugal is a nation of gentle ways and that is why they come here already prepared to rob.

Moderator: OK. Thank you very much. We have finished.

6.4 Transcript of focus group with lower-middle status subjects

Moderator: Two participants have still not arrived but let us proceed because it’s already the scheduled time. I am going to request you to introduce yourselves so we can get to know each other a little better. I would just like to clarify that there are no correct or wrong answers here. We are basically just going to be chatting, it could be here, or any other place. It is just to know your opinions, your experiences. I would only request you to please be honest, basically, whoever wishes to speak, speak, if you don’t wish to speak you don’t have to. Obviously, I would like everybody to participate. Another thing, this discussion is going to be recorded because in a while I am going to be in another meeting, I have just finished yet another session so I would prefer to pay attention to our conversation and not have to be taking notes. Hence, please speak one at a time, otherwise when we hear the recording it is utter confusion. It will happen, when we get enthusiastic we all begin to talk together, all at once, OK? I will interrupt you but please don’t interpret that the wrong way. Sometimes I will interrupt you, but don’t be offended, it is because I have already understood the point you wish to make and we will proceed. I have a schedule to stick to and we should all leave on time, OK? I have a lot of questions I would like to ask you. My name is Susana, I studied here, I am a psychologist. I do other things, I speak to people, I advise
clients, that’s my life. I am 35 years old. I would now like to know a little bit about you, I would like you to introduce yourselves. You can say anything you wish, but I would like to know your name, age, where you live, what you do, what you like to do, more or less at that level.

**Xana:** My name is Xana, I am 42. I live in Vialonga. I have been a housewife for quite some time, I have two young children and I have been caring for them. I decided to be a stay at home mom because I think they need me. That’s it basically.

**Cristiano:** I’m Cristiano. I’m 35 years old. I am a state employee, I work as a draftsman. I live in Barreja.

**Tiago:** Tiago. I am 35, I live in Porto. I am a baker and confectioner. I have 3 children, I am divorced.

**Moderator:** It’s funny, I also asked you all what you like to do and nobody has yet said anything about that. Apart from your work, what do you like to do? In your spare time…

**Tiago:** I like to play football.

**Sara:** I am Sara.

**Moderator:** What do they call you?

**Sara:** My name is Sara.

**Moderator:** What should I call you?

**Sara:** You can call me Sara. I am 46 years old. I am married and I have one son. I am presently unemployed. I worked in a company for 25 years. They had mass layoffs and I also lost my job. I was a saleslady and I really liked my job. I was in the ‘New Opportunities’ programme for a year and I am seeing if I can do a course as a teacher’s assistant, because I like children a lot. We’ll see, because currently the employment situation is quite grim.

**Carla:** My name is Carla, I am 43 years old. I live in Olivais. I have a ten year old daughter …

[two new participants enter the room]

**Moderator:** We’ve only just started the introductions, so you haven’t really missed much.

**Carla:** I have been unemployed for quite some time, not out of choice, but because I was obliged to. I was a professional cook. Now I dedicate my time to my family and I cook at home.

**Jaime:** Jaime, 55 years old. I live in (?). I like to do mountain biking and athletics. I am an office clerk.

**Moderator:** I would like you to tell me your names, what you do, how old you are, where you live, OK?

**Cláudia:** I am Cláudia, I am 44 years old. I am also unemployed. I live in Coxôa. I have 3 children.

**Bruno:** I am Bruno, 41 years. I am a Public Security Police (PSP) agent. I have two children. I live in Almada.

**Moderator:** Well, let’s begin. For those of you who arrived just now, this is being recorded, because I have to do other meetings and I thus don’t have to take notes, it’s easier to later listen to the recording. I would like everybody to participate, please avoid speaking all at once. I would request you to be sincere. I am very often going to ask you your personal opinion. Sometimes, it is more complicated giving your opinion about some things in a group, but we are all going to respect [each other] and this stays between us, OK? Well, I would like to talk a bit about your daily lives, your routines, your everyday practices, from using the bus to going to the supermarket. In your everyday lives, when do you come across people of other ethnicities, people from other religions, people with another skin colour, people from other ethnicities?

**Jaime:** On buses, in the metro. Public transport.

**Cristiano:** Where do we come across them?

**Moderator:** Come across them, interact with them…In your lives, where do you come across or interact with them? You could work with someone, you could have neighbours, personal friends from other ethnicities…

**Sara:** I have my husband, who is a mulatto.

**Tiago:** I see a lot of coloured people.

**Xana:** There are a lot of them where I live too.

**Bruno:** There is no shortage of them on the other side of the [Tagus] river.
Xana: There are really a lot of them on means of public transport.

Moderator: What are we talking about? Could you specify? I have already understood that you are talking of coloured people…

Sara: Roma women as well. In the building where I live, some Roma live there too.

Cláudia: Chinese.

Carla: I was born amongst them, so…

Moderator: Amongst whom?

Carla: Amongst the Roma people. Thank God I have no reason to complain about them.

Bruno: In my professional life I interact with all kinds of ethnicities. Where I work, it is an asset.

Moderator: Well, personal relations that you might have with people of other ethnicities?

Sara: I am married to a mulatto.

Moderator: Anyone else? Does anyone here have personal relations?

Cristiano: I dated a Roma girl.

Sara: I have some female cousins who are also mulatto.

Moderator: What groups can we identify? We are talking about other ethnicities, irrespective of what kind, we have already identified some here, I would like you to expand the range a bit. You have already spoken of Roma, Africans, Ukrainians, are there any others?

Sara: Chinese.

Xana: And lots of them

Tiago: Brazilians.

Bruno: Romanians.

Jaime: Moldavians.

Tiago: I once had a Moldavian work with me. He was a wonderful person.

Cláudia: Indians.

Bruno: Africans. From all the PALOP nations. Angolans.

Moderator: When we speak of Africans, we can speak of them as a whole. Can you think of any others? I am going to add Muslims here, OK? I would now like to talk a bit about this. I would like to understand how we, the Portuguese, in our identity, what are we like, what are these people whom we see constantly in our daily lives like? What I would like to understand is if within these groups, and this is where the personal opinion comes in, and I therefore want you to be sincere and honest, because we have affinities with some of these groups, we get along better with some and perhaps there are others with whom perhaps we do not get along so well. I would like to know your personal opinions, of each one of you, regarding this. Of all these groups that we have identified here, I would like to know which groups you like better and with which groups you do not get along so well. And the reason why. We are not going to have false morality here, politically correct answers, somebody giving an answer and the others saying “oh, no, no.” We all have concrete ideas, they can be true or not, but they create more comfortable or less comfortable feelings in us, OK? Of the groups we have mentioned, which are the 2 groups which you like best and which 2 do you not get along with so well. If the question makes sense, it may not.

Tiago: I don’t know what to say. For me, anyone, as long as they respect me, I get along with all of them. I like to make friends, I like to talk to everybody. The only thing is that they should not disrespect me, if they disrespect me…
**Moderator:** But perhaps, in our minds, very often we think that some of these groups will disrespect us more than others. Do you understand what I am trying to say? That’s what I want to know. Our perceptions, it doesn’t mean that it is really so, but what we feel and what we feel is the truth for us. That’s what we are here to talk about, OK?

**Cláudia:** Perhaps we get along better with them because they are not going to disrespect us.

**Tiago:** Exactly.

**Moderator:** I know it is difficult to be specific, but we are generalising here. When we speak of the Portuguese, we can perhaps manage to say that the Portuguese are “blablabla”, what I would like to understand a bit are the overall characteristics, it doesn’t mean that they are all like this. I would like to know the image each of you has.

**Cristiano:** I get along very well with Africans and I get along very badly, so to speak, with the Roma.

**Moderator:** OK. Why?

**Cristiano:** Because the Roma are very false.

**Moderator:** OK. Why?

**Cláudia:** I think that, for me, the Indians are people with whom I would not be able to even have [a coffee/a drink]... I have nothing against them, but they are just so different. I could get along well with Ukrainians, with Blacks as well, with the Brazilians, even with the Roma. But it is much easier for me to talk with a Roma man or woman, not everybody [could], isn't it?

**Moderator:** But why is this so? Why do you have this idea about Indians?

**Cláudia:** I don’t know. It’s something inside me.

**Jaime:** There are Africans who are scary.

**Cláudia:** I don’t know whether it is because of their religion that they are different from us, it is possible.

**Carla:** I was virtually born and grew up amongst the Roma. I have 4 children, who are already married. I am respected, they are never disrespectful to me, thank God. Here in Northern Portugal, whenever I go to visit my parents, they [the Roma] come from Espinho, or from wherever they live, to see me.

**Moderator:** And within these groups, which group do you not get along with so well?

**Carla:** To be sincere, I do not like those Muslims much. I really like the Indians, I adore the Indians.

**Moderator:** And why don’t you like the Muslims so much?

**Carla:** I don’t like them, I don’t know. Their religion, that thing with the twin towers. They’re bombers, I associate them with terrorism, I don’t like them.

**Moderator:** Anyone else?

**Cláudia:** You see, I really like the culture, actually, it’s not so much the culture, I really like... 

**Moderator:** Who are you talking about?

**Cláudia:** The Indians. But I don’t like all their things, you see? Personally, there are programmes that I really like to see. I don’t have anything against them, I even had an Indian lady as a colleague, we even exchanged families just to try it out and I even liked it. It’s nothing like us. Her family. I liked her family.

**Moderator:** More experiences, more opinions ...

**Bruno:** I do not like the Roma nor the Romanians. Because Romanians have a bit of Roma in them and the Roma have a bit of Romanian in them. For me it’s all the same thing. The Romanians or the Roma...

**Moderator:** How are they? What comes immediately to mind?

**Bruno:** Their nature, their way of being.

**Moderator:** But what nature is that?

**Bruno:** Their nature of not working, to live at the cost of the rest of society, cheating people.

**Xana:** Blacks.

**Moderator:** Why?
Xana: The notion of Africans. There are people with whom I get along extremely well but on the other hand I think they are a little arrogant, I think that is the term for it. In the place where I live, for example, they are on the sidewalk, we have to try and get to work and we have to wait for them to pass through, they stare at us and it seems that they are thinking: “Well now, you’ll just have to wait! I’ll do as I please”. This kind of superiority, of arrogance, is a characteristic of the Africans. They are not all like that, but I feel this a lot. With the Roma, I am always slightly hesitant, because they are very mysterious, troublesome people. There is also the other side, there are those who are accessible, nice and easy to deal with. But I think they also have that side. With regard to the Brazilians, I also think there is a little bit of this attitude of superiority, of arriving and... It is a feeling of superiority. The Chinese, they are a very closed people, there is really not much to say because, after all, apart from going to the shops...But I neither get along with them nor do I not get along with them, because they are very closed. They are always in their world, in their language. Their life is to work and they are really very closed. That, I feel. In terms of the Romanians, I also feel distant from them.

Moderator: Let’s hear the participants on this side.

Jaime: With regard to the Africans, I don’t like them very much, but I can’t generalise, because some of them are good. With regard to the Roma, I think they are a community that can be very good when they are alone, but when they are in a group they become bad. Alone they wouldn’t even hurt a fly, when they get together in a group they are the worst of all. Perhaps that is what they are, in fact, really like. I also do not like the Moldavians very much, some are good others aren’t, like with all races, I think there is a bit of everything, there is a mixture of good and bad.

Moderator: Sara?

Sara: In that aspect I do not have an image, as long as ... Of course you can note a difference, even in my husband’s race. I note that there is a small difference there but I get along well with the family, with friends and I know a lot of people. Even because, there you have it, I have already worked with Roma colleagues in a shop, many years ago, I was just a girl, in my first job.

Moderator: And in your personal experience?

Sara: I always got along well with them. I once even had a problem, in the company where I worked, with Roma. At that time, I called them in Carcavelos and asked them to come and help me because I was being completely threatened. They came to talk with these Roma and to date I have never had problems. As for Brazilians, I have also had Brazilian colleagues working with me, I have never had problems, I have even helped them. It varies, just like there are Brazilians, there are Portuguese, there is good and bad. There are all sorts.

Moderator: Yes, it’s like I explained. Logically, there are all sorts, but focus on an image...

Sara: The Chinese... There is something in them that doesn’t attract me. I don’t know why, perhaps because they are also not people who speak, who get along well with other people, or who try to talk, there is always something that is a barrier. As for the rest, nothing.

Moderator: Of these groups, in your opinion, which groups do you think are doing best in Portugal and which groups are not faring so well?

Jaime: The Chinese are the ones who are doing the best. The ones doing worst are the Roma, who have been here for a long time...

Bruno: The Romanians.

Sara: The Romanians.

Bruno: I don’t think the Romanians have any interest in doing well.

Carla: Very sincerely, I do not like beating about the bush, I like to be very sincere. And if possible, somebody should really tell our prime minister that our borders have been opened way too much for all these people. They are suffocating our country, Portugal is very small.
Moderator: You think the fact that these people come…
Carla: They suffocate us. We were enough as it is. What we had here was enough.
Cristiano: I don’t agree. The Portuguese also wanted to go abroad.
Moderator: Why? Tell me about it.
Cristiano: The Portuguese needed to earn money and they went abroad, they [immigrants] want to earn money
and they come here. It’s the State that does not support those who are here…
Moderator: We have very different opinions. I don’t want you to start talking to each other. There have already
been a series of things here about which some people have agreed, others have not, but all points of view are
of interest. More ideas? Who else has this idea? That opening the borders ended up suffocating our country a
bit, as Carla said. There are too many people…
Carla: I think so.
Bruno: The people coming in here into Portugal need to be controlled.
Sara: They have a way of life that is different from ours. Because they are willing to accept low wages, that is
why we are substituted by them. They are willing to accept wages of 200 or 300 euros, but 10 families live in a
house. And they divide the expenses between all of them and it is easy for them. So for them 200 euros is good
money…
Cristiano: The Portuguese don’t want to work for that kind of money.
Sara: Because the money is not sufficient.
Bruno: If they come from abroad, they come to earn money, they have to put up with some things. The
Portuguese don’t want to. When the Portuguese went abroad…
[Everybody speaking at the same time]
Moderator: I would like to hear everyone, but please talk only to me because otherwise it gets really confused.
Cristiano: When Portuguese go abroad, they accept work that they don’t want to do here.
Jaime: The Portuguese go to other countries from here and 3 or 4 families live in a house, it’s the same thing
that happens with the immigrants here.
Cristiano: Exactly.
Carla: May I speak? Now I have an experience here, this is something personal. I have a son who began to
work at a very young age. All my children, thank God, studied as far as I was able to provide for them but I then
stopped [working] and they had to go out and work. Well, my son went to England. He is doing 3 jobs there. He
leaves one and goes straight to another and after that he goes to yet another job, in England. It doesn’t mean
that he is earning a ton of money. He went there because there was no work here. He was working in a turkey
factory.
Moderator: I have already understood the two points of view. Yes, tell me.
Sara: With our jobs, we don’t have the schedules to be able to do that. If I want to do 2 jobs, I can’t, so they
have to be 2 part-time jobs.
Moderator: I have understood that issue, but you still haven’t answered my question. Which of these groups
are faring better or worse?
Cláudia: Better, the Chinese.
Moderator: Does everyone agree?
Xana: Yes.
Bruno: The Chinese and the Brazilians.
Jaime: The Brazilians in restaurants, because they work very hard.
Moderator: Who is not faring so well? You have already spoken of the Romanians, but is there anyone else?
There are many groups here. Which ones aren’t faring so well? And why?
Jaime: The Roma are doing well.
Cristiano: They have always done well...

Xana: I think the Eastern Europeans aren't faring well.

Tiago: Coloured people.

Moderator: [Coloured people] aren't doing well?

Tiago: No. I know people who are looking for work and they say, “I won’t give him the job, because he’s Black”. I think that’s wrong.

Sara: I think that nowadays, at least the idea I have, is that it is no longer like that.

Carla: It’s no longer so prevalent. It used to be worse.

Tiago: But it also does still exist.

Cristiano: Perhaps, in the construction sector...

Tiago: But, it's not just in the construction sector, it can be anything else, they don't give work to Blacks.

Xana: They are capable of substituting the Blacks with Moldavians, but the Moldavians don't want to work hard, or they work to make some money and then perhaps they go back. Perhaps they tend to go back to their own country, because they don't stay here very long.

Tiago: They use whoever is willing to earn less. They use the cheapest labour.

Moderator: Which is the cheapest labour?

Tiago: The Africans are the cheapest labour.

Carla: The Ukrainians earn less.

Tiago: The Moldavians are very cheap.

Moderator: I would like you to tell me everything that comes to your mind about each of these groups. But, before that, let’s talk about the Portuguese. What are the Portuguese like? What does it mean to be Portuguese?


Sara: Human.

Carla: A friend of your friend.

Moderator: What is the first word that comes to mind?

Cláudia: It was the first word that came to my mind, but I’m too embarrassed...

Moderator: Tell us. There is no being judgmental here...

Cláudia: Charlatans. Here I am talking about politicians, they are also Portuguese.

Bruno: Corrupt.

Moderator: But are we talking about politicians or about the Portuguese?

Bruno: The Portuguese. Politicians are Portuguese.

Moderator: OK, but politicians are a small separate group. I want to know about us, as a people. That was more my idea.

Bruno: That small group is not so small.

Carla: Talking about that...

Moderator: About what?

Carla: Our colleague was talking about politicians...

Moderator: I don’t want to head in that direction. We need to manage the time we have, let’s move on. Nothing more about politicians, if we start on that we will not talk about anything else. How are we? We have already mentioned many qualities, can you think of any more? And some defects?

Jaime: Depends where we live. If we live in a large urban area, we are very closed people, we don’t talk to our neighbours. If we live in a rural context, everybody knows each other, everybody talks to each other.

Cláudia: I, for example, think there is a big difference. I used to work as a saleslady and I travelled almost the entire country. For example, the people from Porto or from Lisbon are different...
Tiago: The people from Porto are much more friendly, far more.
Jaime: I had a different impression.
Moderator: I would like to understand all of this. Whatever happens in cities, in rural areas, in Porto or in Lisbon. The Portuguese.
Tiago: Doesn’t think of others. Selfish.
Sara: Perhaps we are beginning to become more selfish now.
Tiago: Yes, more now, with all this thing about employment, more now.
Moderator: But what do you mean by selfish? Imagine a typical Portuguese, if Portuguese traits could be represented by a person, how would that person be? You have already said some things, nice, welcoming, and also slightly selfish. What more? How else would this person be?
Carla: Perhaps we will remember a lot of things at home …
Moderator: Yes, but later on at home it isn’t going to matter for this project. Well. All right, so let’s think of the Ukrainians now. What are the Ukrainians like?
Tiago: Hard workers.
Cláudia: I don’t like them.
Moderator: Why?
Cláudia: They are cold. They have no feelings, not even expressions. Of course they might have one or two, but…
Moderator: More? Ukrainians… OK. Africans? There are many kinds of Africans but within this group we are talking essentially about Blacks. There are Africans who aren’t Black but perhaps when we are talking about Africans here we are talking of Blacks, right?
Jaime: They are very racist. They are very racist amongst themselves and with regard to us. They are more racist with us than we are with them.
Cláudia: They are also very closed in their own group. Although they get along with us, in any case one can note that there is something there that we cannot trust. I think that we are much more open and pure with regard to them.
Moderator: They are always very mistrustful with regard to us …
Cláudia: That’s a characteristic of the Portuguese.
Carla: In my opinion, I think they would like more to be White than to be Black. That’s the impression I have.
Tiago: And some Whites would like to be Black.
Carla: We go around curling our hair. Especially younger girls.
Moderator: More? Africans or Blacks?
Cristiano: They don’t like to work. I’m speaking in general.
Sara: They like to be flashy. They always use branded products. They always have to have good stuff. I don’t have enough money to be able to afford Nike shoes, but they always do.
Cristiano: That’s all very well with regard to African men, but as for the women, they are sloppier than Portuguese women.
Sara: But they are vain.
Moderator: He is speaking …
Sara: African women are vainer than African men.
Jaime: Ukrainian women take care of themselves. Except it’s only on the outside, not on the inside.
Cristiano: Exactly.
Moderator: More? The Roma? What comes to mind?
Tiago: False.
Xana: We have to always be careful with them.
Jaime: They like to live at other people’s expense.
Sara: The Roma? Actually I don’t have that impression …
Cristiano: Liars.
Sara: They care a great deal for the ties between people.
Carla: They are traders, more than all the others.
Moderator: The Chinese? What words come to mind?
Bruno: They are a closed people. A closed community.
Jaime: A complicated language.
Cláudia: Mistrustful. Boy, they are really mistrustful.
Bruno: Hard workers. They only think about work.
Jaime: They work 24x7.
Tiago: Artistic decorations.
Jaime: Educated.
Cristiano: They are while working.
Xana: There is something there. It also depends, because their shops don’t close. They have a lot of things. They even live inside the shops. They reside there …
[everybody starts talking together]
Cristiano: With regard to work…
Xana: Hum…
Moderator: The Brazilians?
Cristiano: Fertile.
Tiago: False.
Jaime: Traitors.
Carla: Liars.
Xana: As for Brazilian women, be careful with your husbands. It’s true.
Tiago: Seductive.
Moderator: Why did you say, “Be careful with your husbands”…?
Xana: Be careful with your husbands and everything else. Wherever Brazilian women see money, they pounce.
Cristiano: That is why even priests are drawn to them.
Carla: They [the men] are done for.
Xana: Whoever has a husband, watch out.
Jaime: The Brazilian women in Portugal aren’t so much like that.
[laughter]
Moderator: They are seductresses, is that it?
Tiago: Where they are, whoever goes there already knows what they are going to find. You see a Brazilian woman and they turn out to be men.
Sara: Whoever goes there, goes of their own free will. But on the street too and in shops.
Moderator: I have understood this. I have already understood the point of view about Brazilian women. Anything else you would like to add about the Brazilians?
Tiago: They are bloodsuckers, they only want to take things from other people.
Sara: But, at heart, they also always appear to be happy.
Jaime: They are a very joyful people.
Bruno: Parties are really parties. Wherever there is a party.
Moderator: The Moldavians?
Tiago: I would say hardworking and sincere.
Moderator: Is that your experience?
Tiago: Exactly.
Bruno: It's almost like the relationship with the Ukrainians.
Moderator: It's like the Ukrainians?
Bruno: I think so.
Moderator: Anything that is …
Xana: Anything that has to do with Eastern Europe, I think they are all very alike, but with regard to the Romanians, I also think you are right. The Romanians are very much like the Roma. The Moldavians, I would let them continue to enter, but with certain precautions.
Tiago: The Romanians are like the Roma.
Bruno: The Moldavians are nicer than the Ukrainians.
Moderator: OK. The Romanians?
Tiago: They are like the Roma.
Xana: They can be even worse than the Roma.
Bruno: Parasites on society.
Moderator: In what sense are they parasites on society?
Bruno: Because they live at the expense of society. Assaulting, stealing, cheating. They don't do anything.
Cláudia: Everything that comes from that area…because they are capable of even conning compatriots in order to get some money.
Tiago: The Romanians are just like the Roma. Their physiognomy. It's just that the Roma language is different.
Sara: The Romanian language is worse.
Moderator: The Indians?
Jaime: A very closed country. They are a very closed race.
Cláudia: The Blacks at least speak Portuguese, don't they? Now the Indians…You can enter a mobile phone shop, they are always on the phone and for all I know they could be planning a murder, because I don't understand a word. In fact, I think it is a lack of respect. They have come here, they have to speak our language.
Moderator: They do not make an effort to integrate?
Cláudia: No.
Moderator: More?
Cláudia: That is why I can't fathom that race...
Moderator: Are the Roma worse than the Indians, or not?
Tiago: They don't blend into our community.
Moderator: Muslims?
Sara: Closed.
Xana: Just recently, about a week ago, one of my neighbours told me, “I am Muslim”. And I was amazed because I had been talking to him for ages, but there you have it, I didn’t even know. He told me a story because his family is also Muslim, which he said they hid. And I was so surprised I just said, “But you’re a Muslim?”
Jaime: There are many Mozambicans who are Muslims.
Xana: But they do not show that they are.
Moderator: We have been talking here about these people who come here and we have already focused on some points of view. Now, I would like to understand this a bit more. What are the positive and negative aspects of immigration? Not immigration in the sense of us Portuguese going abroad but of foreigners coming here.
What are the positive aspects of this and what are the negative aspects? We are going to have different opinions, as we have already seen, but I would like to talk about them all. Positive aspects?

Jaime: More labour.

Bruno: If these people come here, in principle they should come to work. But very often that is not what happens.

Tiago: By working they are taking jobs from the Portuguese.

Xana: The exchange of cultures is important. We are very closed here in Portugal. Also, so many people come to work, I do not know why our country is in this state. There is no place for us, we have to leave, they are occupying everything and they work so hard, this should be a marvellous country.

Carla: There is no work for the Portuguese.

Xana: Yes, wages are extremely low, with this labour, I don’t know why the country is not doing well…

Tiago: The large contingents of foreign labour that come to Portugal have lowered the wages of the Portuguese.

Carla: What can the Portuguese do with 200/300 euros per month?

Cristiano: It’s in the hands of the State to allow employers to accept these workers.

Moderator: The State does that?

Cristiano: The employers don’t issue receipts, the labour is cheaper and they use them. That’s the stumbling block, it’s the State.

Xana: But the State gives them social security benefits and everything. I have already been in a situation where I did not have money to pay the rent, I went to the Social Security office and they told me to go to the town halls, that perhaps I would be able to get some state housing. I did not want an unemployment benefit, I wanted a cheaper house. I did not manage to arrange a house to rent, there were none. Everything had “for sale” signs. I wanted a smaller house, even if it was outside the area in which I was used to living, I didn’t mind at all, but there was nothing available. I wanted a smaller house, but one that had enough space for my kids inside it. So, I went to the town hall in Oeiras. I went there and the lady said, “At this moment we are only giving help in terms of these houses to the people coming from Africa”. In other words, she said, “There aren’t any houses at this moment and I don’t know”. They didn’t redirect me anywhere else, not even here, nor did they say, “Look, there is one in another parish…”.

Moderator: How did you deal with that?

Xana: Badly. I really think that we are the ones who are from here, we really live here and we do not have any benefits. The people who come from outside have everything.

Carla: That is revolting.

Xana: They are the ones who are in the cheapest houses. They have ‘Agros’ milk, they have support, they have everything. The people who are from here should be ahead of those that come from outside. Even if people do not wish to feel like this, they end up by feeling discriminated against and they end up by discriminating as well. We have ended up by being discriminated against, racists. First the people who are from here should be looked after. Because I have heard of cases of families who were going through difficulties, but they gave them things to eat and [a place to] sleep, there were meals for them. They helped take care of the children. I think this is to help people...

Cláudia: For those who come from outside, they have everything.

Sara: I would also like to arrive in a country that welcomed me like this. A person arrives there, with a child, they need a job.

Xana: I think it is good that there is justice for all. For those who are here and for those who come. That’s all.

Jaime: In the meanwhile, they pay low rents in a social housing project and we are obliged to pay normal rents.

Xana: Exactly, it is precisely this kind of unequal treatment that allows people to...
Jaime: But there you have it, it’s the State that allows this to happen.
Sara: I live in a social housing neighbourhood and my rent… I live in a building that has 3 floors and each level has 3 tenants. I was paying a rent that was higher than many of the other people living there, without their being Roma, without their being anything like that, it was graduates who have cars and I don’t know what else, they are paying 5 euros. And they are graduates, even the wife has a degree.
Jaime: They are Roma.
Sara: No, they are not Roma. He is a policeman and the wife is a nurse.
Carla: Because I live in a social housing neighbourhood…
Jaime: They arrive after a year …
Sara: But, the town hall never goes there to see who is who. In order to make everything legitimate, when I went there, I went to the town hall, I gave them my name, the name of my son and my income. My neighbours have never given them any such information. So, they already lived there with their parents or grandparents and they continued to stay on. They never changed anything. They pay extremely low rents.
Jaime: And whose fault is it?
Moderator: I have already understood this point regarding housing.
Sara: In terms of housing, it has already happened on more than one occasion that they enter and occupy a property. The police come and take them away and what have you. But, if it is a Roma and if they are going to threaten them, it has already happened that the cops don’t get involved and they keep the house.
Carla: That is true.
Tiago: It also depends on the rent of the property.
Sara: No, but I mean, this does happen.
Jaime: But the police have to remove those people from there, or the town hall has to resolve that.
Moderator: Well, I have already understood that point of view. But…
Carla: We are discriminated against. We, the Portuguese are discriminated against.
Jaime: But by the State.
Carla: But by the State.
Moderator: But, from another perspective, all this is going to have an impact on the relationship between the Portuguese and immigrants. Is our relationship with immigrants one of co-operation or competition?
Carla: It ends up being competition.
Xana: Competition.
Cláudia: Perhaps it used to be one of co-operation, but now it is competition.
Bruno: Competition, at the level of jobs, at the level of benefits.
Xana: It is competition at every level.
Moderator: But, in general, if we look at the Portuguese and Portugal, is there an openness towards receiving these people?
Tiago: There used to be more. Now with this question of unemployment…
Sara: I think there is.
Cláudia: Essentially, there is openness. Because we are a hospitable people. We even like this country. People know, when these people come here, we open our doors to them, we give them all possible help and they steal from us and take our jobs, houses and everything. We open our doors to them and now they rob us.
Moderator: How do we currently feel with regard to the Roma? What is our relationship with them like? Is it getting better or worse?
Xana: I think it is getting worse.
Bruno: I think they are more closed.
Sara: We are revolted, because they come and they manage, and we are here and we don't manage, I am speaking for myself.
Jaime: They take everything from us.
Sara: If I want a job in a shop, they ask me to move heaven and earth. If a Roma comes along...
Moderator: We have been speaking about them, they are many, as we can see here. Which are the groups with which we compete the most?
Bruno: The Africans and the Brazilians.
Cristiano: Africans.
Cláudia: Chinese.
Sara: Chinese.
Carla: Chinese.
Cláudia: Chinese. I don't like them at all.
Sara: That's because you worked in a shop, isn't it?
Cláudia: Yes I did.
Sara: She had more to do with the Chinese, because there are many Chinese shops. That was more her world.
Carla: I worked in the kitchen. There are a lot of Brazilians in kitchens.
Cláudia: They also dominated and are dominating production and who knows what else...
Xana: They are dominating.
Moderator: With which of these groups do we co-operate more?
Cláudia: I think with the Brazilians.
Sara: Africans.
Tiago: Co-operate or get along with better?
Moderator: Co-operate, not compete so much. A more supportive relationship.
Cristiano: More with the Africans.
Jaime: They were the first to arrive.
Sara: Even because we have relations with Africa, don't we?
Moderator: Which of these groups are more integrated into our society?
Tiago: The Africans.
Moderator: Africans?
Unidentifiable: Yes.
[sounds of agreement]
Moderator: That thing that everyone says that Portugal is a country of gentle ways. Is that true? Is it still valid even today? Are we still like that? Because our history says that we welcome people and we mixed with them and that we were very gentle. We were known historically for being a people of gentle ways. Are we still like that?
Bruno: Yes we are still like that because the Portuguese talk a lot but do nothing.
Moderator: Not gentle ways in that sense, passive. Gentle ways in the sense that do we still have this trait of being welcoming, let's say of being laid back.
Sara: I think so.
Xana: We are like those dogs that bark a lot but don't bite. Then they pat our head and we just remain there...
Cláudia: I think we are still like that, although we get upset about some things, isn't it? We have an opinion, but it is better to leave things as they are.
Xana: We cannot …
Moderator: How about creating a distinct group, an ideal group? Of all the characteristics that we have spoken about up to now, of all these groups, if we were to now create an ideal group, what characteristics should this
group have? Let us create a new ethnicity, what are the characteristics that we like in a person? How should this group be?
Bruno: Everybody has their own way of being.
Moderator: But what would be the ideal person? All the characteristics that you have said, some said good humoured, others said solidarity, others were selfish...If we now created a group, of all these characteristics, which ones do we like best? Which characteristics would we attribute to an ideal person? Are you getting what I am trying to say?
Tiago: Welcoming.
Cristiano: Hardworking.
Bruno: Honest.
Cristiano: Thinking about the next person.
Bruno: Solidarity.
Moderator: Well. We have been talking here a lot about racism and discrimination. What I would like to understand, since we are talking about the subject, is this: does racism exist in Portugal or not?
Sara: It does.
Carla: It does.
Bruno: Yes.
Sara: Yes it does and there is a lot of it.
Moderator: So what is it? Is there racism or isn’t there? More with regard to what? What is this like? Is it really with regard to us? Where are we racist? Where are we victims of racism? Where do we feel like this? Where do we see examples of clearly racist discourses? Where is there discrimination?
Cláudia: It’s not really us who are racist, I think they are racist with regard to us. We are victims of racism.
Jaime: Recently, there is a lot of racism in Portugal.
Carla: Just yesterday I told the lady who spoke to me, in my family, ever since I was little and I was able to understand people, my father is racist and he says he is. He will say it both to a White as well as to a Black. He says it immediately and that’s it. If you are Black or a Roma, for him it’s over. Although we live in their midst he doesn’t like them and that is it.
Moderator: Anything else?
Cláudia: For example, we see these incidents on the trains, we’re not the ones who are attacking the Blacks. It’s everything, it’s Blacks and it is also the Brazilians, there are also coloured Brazilians.
Jaime: There is vandalism. But there are also more Africans born here.
Bruno: They are already Portuguese.
Cristiano: But, the part regarding vandalism, they are all from outside.
Carla: Just very recently, I was assaulted by a White and by a Black. However, on that day, I thought, “If I could, what I would do to you….”. To steal what from me? The money that was in my wallet, they took my handbag, they took the money, my mobile phone and my documents. I went to complain to the police and the police also ignored me, “Look, if you see them, call us, and we will go get them.” I was even more furious with the cops than with the thieves.
[Voices speaking all at once]
Cláudia: At that moment, that is what I felt like doing…
Moderator: Of course. Is there racism or not? Where are we racist?
Sara: We are talking of racism here, but we can be racist in some things and not in others.
Xana: It’s true.
Cláudia: For example, with regard to the Indians, I think I am. Because they are a race that I really do not like, I don’t know why, but I do not like them.
Carla: A race that I do not like are the Muslims. I don’t know why, I think that they…
Cristiano: The ones I don’t like are the Roma. Because they are a community that does not work and they just live off others. They don’t know how to do anything and they receive money. When our colleague here needed an income, nobody gave it to her and the Roma women are the first to receive money. Nowadays, you can see Roma with houses, which they have deprived many others of.
Moderator: Which are the groups that are discriminated against more? Of all the groups we have spoken about?
Cristiano: The Africans.
Xana: And us. We are also discriminated against.
Moderator: Let’s forget about the Portuguese. Of these groups, which are the groups that are discriminated against the most?
Carla: The Roma.
Jaime: Brazilians.
Cláudia: This question of the incident on the trains, it is not even racism. It can’t be racism because they attack and that is it. Blacks against Blacks.
Cristiano: He killed because he didn’t want to die.
Moderator: Imagine your children, would you mind if your son or daughter married someone from these groups?
Sara: My husband is a mulatto, so…
Xana: Once, my son had a Black girlfriend. I didn’t allow it and I told him, “What’s the matter? Do you want to have mulatto children and I don’t know what else…” It was stupid, wasn’t it? If it were me, it would hurt me if people didn’t accept me. And she was a wonderful girl, but that’s just the way it is.
Moderator: But you reacted like that …
Xana: I was scared, I didn’t want…
Moderator: But would you mind? This is the question regarding which we find it difficult to admit our feelings. It is a difficult question and that is why I have to ask it. It is a way in which we can understand whether the answer is ‘yes’ or ‘no’. Because sometimes we are not…
Carla: It’s to see whether there is really racism inside us.
Xana: My daughter is 16, she only hangs out with Blacks. On the other hand she says that the Blacks are just like her, and that says it all, she doesn’t see any difference. It could perhaps be a passing phase.
Moderator: But do you hope it is a passing phase?
[laughter]
Xana: I was in Mozambique. My children were born here, actually my daughter was born there, but both of them are Portuguese and they love the African culture.
[undecipherable parallel conversations]
Moderator: More opinions?
Xana: There is a reason for this. I am not a psychologist but I think there is a reason for this. Because it is not us, it is them who create these situations. I sometimes think about it. They are the ones who create this. Perhaps if I got to know them I might even say they are wonderful.
Moderator: Anyone else? Would you mind or not?
Cláudia: I wouldn’t mind.
Sara: It’s like this, I think that nobody even notices that my son is mulatto. But if he came home with a mulatto girl it would perhaps be a bit of a shock. And I am married to a mulatto, aren’t I? But I think that if it were someone really Black, someone really ‘lazy’, the people from Guinea-Bissau are really lazy, well, I would react
“but…” but I would later also think, “how stupid”. But perhaps I would even react like that. Because we say that we aren’t racist, but then it hits a nerve inside us.

**Moderator:** Perhaps your first instinct was to react like that...

**Sara:** I spent two years without talking to my father …

**Tiago:** Perhaps, the first impact was a bit…

**Moderator:** But when I say if your children married someone from any of these groups you immediately think of Blacks.

**Bruno:** It’s because of their colour.

**Moderator:** With whom would you really mind?

**Jaime:** The Roma.

**Cristiano:** The Roma.

**Cláudia:** The Roma.

**Sara:** The Roma race is changing…

[laughter and undecipherable conversations]

**Sara:** The Roma race, note that earlier a Roma man or woman would run away to marry and would stay with whoever it was. That is not the case nowadays. They already accept this. They themselves say this, the Roma lady who lives in my building says, “Oh my, where are you a Roma?” The Roma race…

**Carla:** That doesn’t mean that the Roma race will come to an end.

**Xana:** One good thing is their unity.

**Moderator:** Have you worked with the Roma?

**Xana:** My sister worked with the Roma.

**Jaime:** I think that I would perhaps not like my kids to marry a Muslim.

**Sara:** I think I wouldn’t like my kids to marry a Chinese.

**Cristiano:** But, there you have it, I am talking of the Roma, within the Roma neighbourhood nobody knows. They don’t leave the neighbourhood and they spend their whole day there without doing anything.

**Sara:** That is the older generation.

**Jaime:** It’s all the same. The youngsters are just like that too.

**Sara:** Because they are young. I mean, they are 46, but at the age of 20 they no longer just stay there, they are already beginning to…

**Bruno:** They have their own environment. Their mentality is “I am who I am”.

**Moderator:** Are the majority of Portuguese racist? Is racism increasing or reducing? Is there openness or isn’t there openness? What are we like? What do you think about all this?

**Bruno:** I think we will tend to be more racist.

**Jaime:** I don’t agree. Nowadays there is no racism. Those who are racists are like that because their parents were racist.

**Moderator:** Why did you say ‘more racist’?

**Bruno:** Because they are an increasingly larger group. The more ethnicities there are, the more peoples you have here, the more racism you will have.

**Cláudia:** I don’t think so.

**Bruno:** I think so. More competition.

**Jaime:** There is a race with whom I speak every day, which is the Black race, Black race, Black race. You reach a point where you no longer want to see them.

**Cláudia:** I think that there is a different kind of racism than there used to be earlier. Earlier, they really used to attack. It was impossible. They would separate everything as much as possible. Now we have a different type of
racism, a more discreet kind of racism. In truth, yes, we do have racism, but nobody goes around getting along badly with people yelling from the rooftops that we are Portuguese.

**Moderator:** Do we habitually hear racist discourses? On television? Do we habitually hear people, it could be in our families, or on television, who speak with more racist overtones?

**Carla:** No.

**Bruno:** Not on television.

**Sara:** It's hard to do that on television.

**Moderator:** A little while back you mentioned politicians. Are our politicians racist?

**Jaime:** If they are, they don't show it.

**Carla:** They can't show it.

**Sara:** They can't be racist.

**Cristiano:** They are racist with regard to the Portuguese. They [other races] get every possible benefit and there is nothing for the others.

**Moderator:** OK. Do the Roma in Portugal have the same opportunities as other people?

**Sara:** They have more opportunities.

**Carla:** They have more opportunities.

**Cristiano:** It's more complicated with jobs.

**Sara:** They have more opportunities. They have housing, jobs.

**Jaime:** They don't like working.

**Bruno:** They don't want to work.

**Moderator:** It's not just about work. But do they have the same opportunities?

**Bruno:** They have the same opportunities and more benefits than we do.

**Jaime:** Benefits in terms of housing, subsidies, healthcare.

**Carla:** They have more benefits.

**Moderator:** I am going to say some sentences and I want to know if you agree with them or not and then we will talk about them a bit, all right? Do you believe that immigration is a threat to the cultural values of our country? For our culture?

**Tiago:** I think so, because...

**Moderator:** Let me just explain the question better. All these people coming to Portugal, does it threaten the identity and the values of the Portuguese? Our culture?

**Bruno:** I don't think so.

**Sara:** No.

**Bruno:** In my view we are evolving.

**Cláudia:** It is more to the detriment of the other people, we will continue...

**Bruno:** We combine what they bring with what we already have here.

**Tiago:** It could affect us, because there are going to be connections between the Portuguese and those cultures, with marriages. There are going to be mixtures.

**Moderator:** Are mixtures beneficial or prejudicial, in your opinion?

**Sara:** I think it is beneficial.

**Xana:** I think it is harmful because it destroys everything that we had. Even in terms of our food...

**Carla:** The Portuguese will no longer be so Portuguese.

**Xana:** They come here, the Africans have their own way of cooking, the Brazilians eat in a different manner, as do the Indians and the Chinese, as for the Muslims, I don’t know what they eat.

**Tiago:** Cultures are going to mingle together.
Sara: I don't think that is a bad thing.
Xana: With regard to the question as to whether it will threaten our culture or not, I think it will. This is a threat.
Tiago: There is going to be a mixture of cultures.
Jaime: When the Portuguese were in the erstwhile colonies, we also threatened their culture.
Carla: But they were our colonies.
Jaime: They were ours, but they had their own culture.
Carla: So they did. Now, what are they called...the Muslims, the Ukrainians, that stuff...
Tiago: The Mozambican Portuguese, they represented a lot of cultures.
Xana: Now there are more cultures here.
Tiago: That's the difference.
Moderator: Should there be quotas, i.e. jobs in the labour market reserved exclusively for the Roma, to combat inequality?
Xana: But the Roma wouldn't want to go there.
Moderator: The question is...
Bruno: The Roma having the same opportunities as we do.
Moderator: But do you agree with this or not? In other words, in the labour market, should there be specific quotas for the Roma to combat inequality?
Bruno: I think so.
Jaime: This happened recently in England. Where the Portuguese were taking jobs from the English. I think that they should do this here too, so that the Portuguese have jobs there.
Cristiano: But they ended up by sending them away.
Jaime: We ended up by leaving.
Carla: There you had the European Union.
Tiago: But here we are talking about Portuguese.
Moderator: Now we are talking about the Roma, we are no longer talking about the Portuguese. With regard to the Roma, should there be reserved quotas in the labour market for the Roma, so that they have the same conditions?
Tiago: That would raise a problem.
[Everybody speaks at the same time]
Moderator: Essentially, what you are saying is that they would not be interested in that.
Jaime: They don’t want to. They wouldn’t go. They are at home, they get subsidies. They have housing and subsidies, why would they want to work? Wreck their bodies? They stay at home with their subsidies.
Bruno: They don’t like to work for other people, they like to work for themselves.
Moderator: I have already understood that, but I am going to raise the question again. Is the colour of a person’s skin important?
Sara: Like this, initially, we immediately say no.
Jaime: It used to be more important.
Xana: But it is still important.
Tiago: It is still important.
Carla: Some want to be darker, others fairer.
Moderator: But in your opinion, in our heart of hearts, is a person’s colour important or not?
Xana: I think it is.
Cláudia: I think it is.
Carla: I think it is.
Jaime: A little bit, yes it is important.
Moderator: Do you think Muslims are fundamentalists? Do you agree or not?
Carla: I think so.
Moderator: Right now, what would you say?
Bruno: It depends a great deal. There are some who are and others who aren't.
Moderator: In general?
Bruno: The majority isn't.
Moderator: You have not denied it. Nobody here has denied this completely.
Cláudia: I don’t know them very well.
Moderator: We don’t have a very good idea about them. OK.
Carla: I don’t know them well either, but I don’t like them very much.
Moderator: Would it be a problem if your daughter or son converted to Islam or Judaism?
Carla: It would. I would smack her.

[laughter]

Tiago: You have to give your daughter freedom of choice.
Carla: Not in this case. I would not give her freedom of choice.
Tiago: If you don’t give her freedom of choice...
Moderator: Would it be a problem for you?
Carla: I would have a problem, I wouldn’t like it. But I would also not forbid it.
Moderator: Who here would not have any problem at all? To whom it would make absolutely no difference?
Jaime: I can’t say, I don’t have daughters.
Moderator: A son or a daughter. Imagine...
Jaime: I would not mind a lot, as long as she was happy.
Tiago: I would not mind a lot, as long as she was clearly aware of what she was doing.
Moderator: So let’s see, truthfully, if your daughter converted, you wouldn’t mind? Would you mind? If your daughter converted...
Tiago: If they liked it, I wouldn’t mind.
Moderator: He was more convincing ...

[laughter]

Cristiano: At heart, I would mind.
Moderator: Are there any groups that do not make enough of an effort to not be victims of discrimination and racism? In other words, are there groups that do not make an effort and that is why they are more often victims of discrimination and racism?
Jaime: The Roma.
Moderator: The Roma.
Cláudia: Indians. The Indians don’t do anything.
Jaime: The Roma don’t care at all about anybody else.
Cláudia: It’s not the same thing with the Roma. I know that they are...
Sara: Chinese.
Moderator: So, which are the groups that do not make an effort and that is why they experience greater discrimination and racism?
Xana: The Roma, Muslims, Russians.
Cláudia: Blacks.
Moderator: The Blacks don’t make an effort either?
Cláudia: I think they make an effort but they end up being victims nonetheless.
Carla: For example, the Muslims …
Moderator: We'll just talk about that, but do you all agree with Cláudia's idea?
Bruno: The Blacks make an effort …
Moderator: But they end up being equally victims of …
Tiago: Some of them make an effort.
Bruno: There are Blacks who do exactly the opposite, but they make an effort and they are the ones who are racist. The racism always starts from their side because they are Black and they are doing this because they are Black. They discriminate immediately. And they immediately set themselves apart because of their colour.
Cristiano: Apart from that there is a great deal of solidarity. Nobody has any idea of what the Moldavians and Ukrainians do, nor do we know what they are like. If necessary, they steal from one another, they lie to each other.
Moderator: However, essentially, these are the communities we come across and interact with…OK. In Portugal being poor is worse than belonging to an ethnic minority? These minorities which we are discussing here today.
Tiago: They are the ones who do it. Sorry, but it’s true.
Moderator: Is it worse to be poor in Portugal? We will understand each other by discussing this. Is it worse to be poor or to belong to an ethnic minority?
Tiago: To be poor.
Xana: I have already been really poor.
Sara: It is preferable to be poor.
Moderator: Is being poor worse than belonging to an ethnic minority? Or is it much worse to belong to an ethnic minority?
Xana: I think it is much worse to belong to an ethnic minority.
Carla: It is more discriminatory to belong to an ethnic minority, now if you are not…
Xana: It should be.
Bruno: There are many ethnic minorities that have more benefits than a poor person. The Roma are a minority, aren't they? They have more benefits than poor people. At the level of subsidies, housing.
Moderator: Are the Roma the community you associate with the most benefits?
Cláudia: Yes.
Jaime: The Roma and the Africans.
Xana: Yes.
Cláudia: I think that the Roma continue to have more benefits than the Africans. Because if you go to the Social Security office, perhaps it also depends on the place…
Tiago: Because the Roma women are all single.
[laughter]
Cláudia: Because the Blacks even have work.
Tiago: Go to social security and you will understand why all the Roma women are single. They have more advantages that way.
Cláudia: Especially at this time.
Tiago: Yes they do, it's obvious. I know that for sure.
Xana: So we should become Roma too.
Tiago: Yes, maybe it is preferable.
Cláudia: So as not to be poor.
Moderator: OK. In Portugal, the Roma tend to be discriminated against more than homosexuals? I know these two groups have nothing to do with each other but I would like to understand this a bit. Who is discriminated against more in Portugal? Homosexuals or the Roma?
Tiago: Homosexuals.
Bruno: The Roma.
Carla: I did not want to say something like this, but homosexuals wander around freely…
Jaime: They do everything openly.
Sara: But they are still discriminated against a great deal.
Cláudia: There is still a lot of discrimination. We have more freedom, perhaps, with regard to inter-personal relationships. Perhaps they are not discriminated against like the Roma but for example in terms of work…
Jaime: When perhaps they even are.
Cláudia: Well, I am speaking for myself.
Jaime: On the contrary, they are discriminated against.
Cláudia: More the men.
Cristiano: Women less.
Cláudia: Yes.
Carla: I am sincere. I get along well with those kinds of people. I get along well with lesbian women and they are even more human sometimes than the relationship between a husband and wife couple.
Sara: But I think that homosexuals are still discriminated against.
Cláudia: Yes, there is discrimination, but it also used to be worse.
Sara: There is, but it's a different kind of discrimination.
Sara: If they asked you whether you would be more accepting of your daughter with a Roma man or with a woman? What would your answer be?
[laughter]
Moderator: We began to talk about it but I didn’t develop the issue when you mentioned the incidents on the trains. Let us talk a bit about this question of violence and criminality. Do you associate immigration with the increase in violence and criminality in Portugal?
Cristiano: Yes.
Jaime: Very much.
Carla: Very much.
Tiago: Quite a lot.
Bruno: I think it is related.
Moderator: And which groups promote that kind of attitude?
Bruno: Groups? The Africans.
Moderator: When you think of violence and criminality, also on the trains, is that what you think of?
Jaime: Brazilians too.
Cláudia: The Blacks are on the trains and the Ukrainians steal.
Cristiano: The Brazilians are more violent and more brutal.
[Agitation]
Moderator: One at a time…
Cristiano: There has begun to be a great deal of violence ever since a lot of Brazilians started coming here. Because with the Brazilians who were here earlier, there wasn’t this kind of violence.
Cláudia: They also have other kinds of techniques.
Moderator: In other words, we have more Africans in trains? On means of transport? Is that it? Our impression?
Cristiano: ATM machines.
Bruno: ATM machines.
Moderator: So, when we talk of criminality and greater violence, we are talking of Africans, Ukrainians and Brazilians. Which group is at the head of the list? The group we associate instantly with criminality? Which is the first group?
Jaime: Africans.
Cristiano: Africans.
Moderator: After them?
Cristiano: Brazilians.
Bruno: Eastern Europeans.
Moderator: Brazilians and Ukrainians, is that it? OK, now would anyone like to add anything to any of the subjects we have spoken about today? In your view has anything been left unsaid?
Xana: I was thinking, with regard to the question about homosexuals and the Roma, what would I prefer my daughter to choose, a Roma man or another woman…
Moderator: Well? What was the answer?
Xana: I don’t know. To live with?
Sara: To live with or marry, it’s the same thing…
Xana: I don’t know.
Moderator: Thank you very much for your presence here today.
Endnotes

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i The report was penned by a team of external experts affiliated with Númena – Research Centre on Social Sciences and Humanities (www.numena.org.pt), which was appointed by ACIDI, I.P. to assist with the scientific development of some aspects of the Living Together project.

ii Between 1960 and 1982, the number of immigrants in Portugal increased in 313%. Its total weight in the resident population passed from 0.33% in 1960 to 1.24% in 1981 (Esteves, 1991, p. 21). In the nineties the growing incoming tendency was kept and in ten years the number of foreigners with legal residence has practically duplicated, from 107.776 individuals in 1990 to 207.587 in 2000 (Rosário, di Sciullo, Abranches & Tiago Santos, 2008).

iii Differentialist racism occurs when the racialized group is understood as an exogenous threat that is urgent to move away, and no place is assigned to that group in the social system. This form of racism manifests itself in a will to reject, to exclude, to distance and, in extreme situations, to expel and destroy. It is a form of racism that, more than highlighting the cultural differences, defends their irreducibility (Marques, 2004, p. 81)

iv In Portugal, the less value laden term is negro. This was the term spontaneously used by the participants in this meeting. We opted to translate negro by Black because it seems to carry better this relative neutrality into the English language.

v The Portuguese word used was cigano. This is an extremely laden word but for which there is no current politically correct variant in Portuguese everyday use.

vi In 2007, the Ukrainians were the third group of immigrants most representative, with 39 480 legal residents. The Moldavians were 14 053 and the Russians 5 114. Foreigners and Border Service (2007) Activities Report 2007. Accessible in: http://www.sef.pt/documentos/56/RA%202007_.pdf#1.

vii In 2007, the Cape Verdeans were the second most representative group of immigrants with 63 925 legal residents. The Angolans were 32 728 and the Guineans 23 733. Foreigners and Border Service (2007) Activities Report 2007. Accessible in: http://www.sef.pt/documentos/56/RA%202007_.pdf#1.


ix In March of 2007, the National Renewal Party (Partido Nacional Renovador or PNR is a populist far-right political party in Portugal, without parliamentary representation) put an outdoor with an anti-immigration tone in the principal square of Lisbon. «Immigration is enough - Nationalism is the solution » it is the message of the poster, and yet «good travel » in the return home, close to a
photography of an airplane in flight. In October of 2008, another outdoor with the same tone was put in other central square. This poster had a white sheep and several black sheep – identified with labels like “unemployment”, “low salaries”, “multiculturalism”, “open frontiers” “criminality”– and the message was «Immigration? We say not!». Both outdoors were very controversial and a huge debate was launched on the unconstitutionality of this kind of propaganda.

Alcino Monteiro was a young boy murdered in 1995, in Bairro Alto (Bairro Alto is the heart of Lisbon’s youth culture and nightlife). He was Black, Portuguese, and his murder led to the condemnation of 15 "skinheads".

The flip chart is an essential tool to dynamise the focus group. Apart from recording the opinions of the participants, it ensures that they feel their views are valid opinions and encourages them to present their contributions. It thus serves as a means of support while conducting the meeting.