

**MASTER**  
DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL  
COOPERATION

**MASTER'S FINAL WORK**  
DISSERTATION

RESILIENCE AND VULNERABILITY: AN OVERVIEW OF  
BRAZILIAN AND CABO VERDEAN MIGRANT  
COMMUNITIES IN PORTUGAL DURING THE COVID-19  
PANDEMIC

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“STOP CALLING ME RESILIENT  
BECAUSE EVERY TIME YOU SAY,  
‘OH, THEY’RE RESILIENT,’  
THAT MEANS YOU CAN  
DO SOMETHING ELSE TO ME.  
I AM NOT RESILIENT”.

TRACIE WASHINGTON – LOUISIANA JUSTICE INSTITUTE

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## ABSTRACT

Resilience is the ability of an individual, a community, a society or a system to recover from an adverse situation. Vulnerability is the sensitivity or susceptibility to risk and damage. Based on these concepts, we studied the Brazilian and Cabo Verdean migrant populations that are residing in Portugal and how they were impacted by the COVID-19 outbreak. The hypothesis of this study is that migrants are part of the social group that is most vulnerable to the loss of economic opportunities, eviction, homelessness and, consequently, to the stigmatization and exclusion from essential public services. Therefore, this research aims to identify, in the light of resilience and vulnerability's literature, how immigrants living in Portugal, particularly the Brazilian and Cabo Verdean communities, experienced the crisis associated with the COVID-19 pandemic and the lockdown. With regards to research methods, the quantitative approach is predominant, but some qualitative techniques are also used. It is concluded that the vulnerability factors overlap the resilience factors in the set of the two population samples studied, corroborating what the academic literature and international organizations have emphasized regarding the vulnerability of migrants in multiple domains.

Keywords: resilience, vulnerability, pandemic, COVID-19, international migration, Brazilians, Cabo Verdeans, Portugal.

## RESUMO

Resiliência é a capacidade de um indivíduo, uma comunidade, uma sociedade ou um sistema de recuperar-se de uma situação adversa. Vulnerabilidade é sensibilidade ou suscetibilidade a riscos e danos. Com base nesses conceitos, estudou-se as populações migrantes brasileiras e cabo-verdianas que estão a residir em Portugal e como elas foram impactadas pela crise pandêmica do COVID-19. Partindo da hipótese que os migrantes estão entre os grupos sociais mais vulneráveis à perda de oportunidades econômicas, despejo e falta de moradia, além da estigmatização e exclusão de serviços essenciais, o presente trabalho procura averiguar, à luz dos estudos de resiliência e vulnerabilidade, como é que os imigrantes que residem em Portugal, particularmente as comunidades brasileira e cabo-verdiana, vivenciaram a crise associada à epidemia de COVID-19 e ao confinamento. Nesta pesquisa, a abordagem quantitativa é predominante, mas são igualmente utilizadas algumas técnicas qualitativas. Conclui-se que os fatores de vulnerabilidade se sobrepõem aos fatores de resiliência no conjunto das duas amostras populacionais estudadas, corroborando o que a literatura acadêmica e os organismos internacionais têm ressaltado no que tange à vulnerabilidade dos migrantes em múltiplos domínios.

Palavras-chave: resiliência, vulnerabilidade, pandemia, COVID-19, migração internacional, brasileiros, cabo-verdianos, Portugal.

## GLOSSARY

ACM – High Commission for Migration
CNAI – National Immigrant Support Centre
GEE – The Office for Strategy and Studies
IEFP – Institute for Employment and Vocational Training
ILO – International Labour Organization
INE – Statistics Portugal
IOM – International Organization for Migration
IPCC – Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
PALOP – Portuguese-speaking African countries
UNDP – United Nations Development Programme
SEF – Immigration and Borders Service
UN – United Nations
WHO – World Health Organization

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

A global public health crisis with extended and profound social implications has emerged in 2020. In late 2019, in China, a previously unrecognized coronavirus was found to be the cause of a severe and contagious disease that rapidly spread across the world. The World Health Organization named it COVID-19 - coronavirus disease 2019. The responsible for the occurrence of this disease is a new class of corona virus, later called SARS-CoV-2 (severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2) (Chakraborty and Maity, 2020).

Furthermore, it is important to highlight that, as emphasized by Sansonetti (2020), the coronavirus is a large family of viruses. The COVID-19 crisis constitutes the third global epidemic associated with the coronavirus class in less than 20 years, the first one was the SARS in 2003 and the second was the MERS in 2012 (Id, Ibid). It is already well established that COVID-19 is the greatest health issue of the century and the biggest challenge for humanity since the Second World War (Chakraborty and Maity, 2020).

Different policy responses to the coronavirus pandemic have been adopted by local governments, some of them quickly responding with appropriate actions, while others were slow and ineffective. Many measures were common to a large number of countries such as quarantine, lockdown, social distancing rules, restrictions on travel or mobility and closure of borders to reduce the chance of cross-contamination. These measures have affected tens of thousands of lives, including individuals who are migrants.

IOM affirms that “migrants will remain among the most vulnerable to the loss of economic opportunities, eviction and homelessness, as well as stigmatization and exclusion from essential services” (UN, 2020). The World Bank (2020) identifies the susceptibility of migrants to coronavirus infection, taking into account their tendency of concentration in urban economic centres. Additionally, there will be a shortage of remittance flows, due to unemployment, resulting in poverty in the population and reduction of households’ access to health services when they are highly needed during this crisis.

In this context and in view of the problems emerged, this study is carried out on the basis of the concepts of resilience and vulnerability and the related literature, specificities of migrants during the COVID-19 outbreak and secondary data relative to migrant communities living in Portugal. From this perspective, this study raises the following question: what were the main factors of resilience and vulnerability, individual-wise and communitarian-wise, experienced/mobilized by Brazilian and Cabo Verdean migrants living in Portugal, during the period of lockdown?

Thus, the primary goal of the present research is to gather, in the light of the literature about resilience and vulnerability, more specific information on how immigrants living in Portugal have experienced the peak of the COVID-19 crisis. In particular, the study aims to evaluate the impact of restrictions on free circulation imposed by Portuguese authorities as a preventive measure in order to control the transmission of infection. The research focuses on revealing how migrants

experienced the lockdown time, from the beginning of the state of emergency, on 18th March 2020, when only essential services were running, until the easing of restrictions rules, in the middle of May 2020. Therefore, most of the questions of the survey questionnaire, the primary source of this research, were related to the period starting from March to July 2020.

In this survey, the target populations were immigrants from Brazil and Cabo Verde that live in Portugal. These two populations were selected because both represent the largest migrant communities in Portugal.

This work is divided into seven sections. The first one is an introduction to the subject. The second presents the theoretical foundations with reflections about resilience and vulnerability. The third is a brief discussion about the way the COVID-19 crisis has been handled by the recent literature. The fourth section provides an overview of social economic status of the two migrant populations in Portugal. The methodological options are addressed in section five. The sixth section presents the survey results. Finally, in section seven, the conclusions from this work are provided.

## 2. RESILIENCE AND VULNERABILITY

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical framework based on and development of the present research. The topics of resilience and vulnerability are examined in the light of the pertinent academic literature, in the aim of providing conceptual support to the survey.

### 2.1 ON RESILIENCE

The review of the pertinent literature reveals a broad range of approaches, covering very different fields, such as individual, communitarian and social systems topics. Lexico dictionary (2020:1) defines resilience as “the capacity to recover quickly from difficulties; toughness”. Ojeda and Márquez (2007) relate the origins of the term resilience to individual contest in observations involving medical and psychological conditions of individuals. The term has also been used in the contest of ecology discussions and studies (Akter and Mallick, 2013).

According to Brown (2016), the notion of sustainability is being replaced by the concept of resilience as a political slogan or motto in order to promote environmental policies. Referring to the views of this author, the research on resilience is quickly gaining ground both as an important tool for sociological analysis and independent concept. Silveira and Mahfoud (2008) believe that resilience has become a methodological lens, a heuristic key to understanding the human experience, particularly that marked by suffering.

These authors point out that early studies on resilience have been carried out for the first time in the northern hemisphere, remarking that the behavioural approach, focused on the individual, was prevalent in England and the United States, while as the psychoanalytic one was prevalent in Europe. From the beginning, in Latin America, the resilience studies was focused on community

level due to the extension of social issues in the subcontinent (Id, Ibid), such as social inequalities and frequency of natural calamities (Ojeda and Márquez, 2007).

Under the perspective of suffering, Silveira and Mahfoud (2008) present several testimonials of communities and individuals who have overcome difficult situations and obstacles, to fulfill something with creativity and hope. Besides, these authors highlight the fact that the academic literature does not characterize resilience as a fixed attribute or one personality trait, but as a construct developed like a tissue in the space between the individual and the society.

The approaches of the field of psychology emphasize the individual dimension of resilience. Guzzo (2006) conceives resilience as a model designed to comprehend the human development, which adjusts to different adverse conditions present in our society, such as abuse, exploitation, negligence, and domination. The author brings, as a way of conceptual comparison, the concept of resilience in Physics, which refers to the degree of resistance of a body to shocks. Thus, the author argues that resilience consists of the capacity one has to set well defined goals and act after damage as well as the strategies to fulfill this goal in the face of risky situations, in order to recover and maintain an adapted behavior. According to Brené (2013), resilience is the capacity of speedy recovery or adaption to change.

Under the perspective of resilience in its social context, Brown (2016) highlights that fact that, in order to fathom the processes of resilience in the ambit of socio-ecological systems, some academics based on concepts defined in researches on resilience in ecosystems. In accord with Holling (1993), resilience determines the persistence of relationships with a system and is a way of measuring the capacity of these systems to absorb condition changes and keep on. This author considers resilience to be a property of systems, whose result may be the maintenance or the probability of extinction.

Also, under a systemic perspective, Akter and Mallick (2013) define resilience as the capacity of one eco-system to absorb the occurrence of a hazardous event and recover. In turn IPCC (2012, p. 5) defines it as “the ability of a system and its component parts to anticipate, absorb, accommodate, or recover from the effects of a hazardous event in a timely and efficient manner, including through ensuring the preservation, restoration, or improvement of its essential basic structures and functions”.

Béné et al. (2012) argue that ‘recovery capacity’ and ‘degree of preparation’ are usually part of the technical definition of ‘resilience’ and assert that a significant part of academics defines resilience as an ability, more specifically the ability to handle changes and traumatic situations. These authors also argue that the concept has dynamic nature (it changes, it adapts, it evolves); for them, this is a progress when compared to the previous conceptions based on the assumption of balance and immobility. Similarly, Norris et al. (2008) argue that resilience is a process which generates adaption, not a result or a stability.

By only addressing resilience in the context of communities, Chaskin (2008) argues that a resilient community is the one acting in response to adversities to protect themselves and ensure their well-being. “Community resilience is a process linking a network of adaptive capacities (resources with dynamic attributes) to adaptation after a disturbance or adversity (NORRIS et al., 2008, p. 127)”. In this context, Chaskin (2008) further argues that investments aimed at developing resilience in disadvantaged communities mean focusing on reducing the existence and impact of negative risk factors, as well as improving resilience mechanisms by strengthening adaptive systems of regulatory processes that work well in the community.

In this line, Ojeda and Márquez (2007) make use of a definition of community corresponding to an ensemble of human beings united by a social tie entailing shared culture in their identity group. According to the examples given by the authors, regarding immigrants, these ties would be territoriality, religion, and other cultural elements, such as spoken language, culinary and songs. These authors too consider the community sphere to be essential for surviving to globalization: the only way to overcome the structural “non-communication” inherent to the neo-liberal model is by means of social networks and the communitarian sense they yield.

Norris et al. (2008) argue that community is usually an entity having geographic boundaries and one shared destiny. On the other hand, they point out that it is not always the case. In accord with these authors, “communities are composed of built, natural, social, and economic environments that influence one another in complex ways” (Norris et al., 2008, p. 128).

Ojeda and Márquez (2007) postulate that the permanent dynamic is a current characteristic of communities, since new and distinct solidary relations and social ties are constantly created and re-created. For social interventions such as resilience, the authors point out that is necessary to maintain and strengthen the community sense in order to enhance the effectiveness of actions (Ojeda and Márquez, 2007, p. 36).

Marzana et al. (2013) highlight the psychological perspective on the concept of resilience, with studies focusing on models that consider the relational component to be the most important, in such a way that the context and the relationship network act like protection factors. Under this view, the approach is from the individual towards the environment. Furthermore, these authors argue that communitarian psychology aims to understand and help the individual in adverse situations as well as emphasizes the need to create a resilient environment.

Regarding the research perspectives on communitarian resilience, Oliveira and Morais (2018) point out that literature addresses the two main theoretical traditions: the former is Latin-American, represented by the argentine researcher Élbio Néstor Suárez Ojeda, and the latter is North-American, whose conceptual milestone is ascribed to Fran Norris.

In accordance with Ojeda and Márquez (2007), the Latin-American conception of resilience lies in the observation of every disaster suffered by a community, which brings about pain, loss of life and resource, hence entailing a mobilizing effect of solitary capacities to repair damage and

move on. The authors emphasize the fact that every calamity suffered by a community entails damage in terms of resource and life. From these tragic events, the community can mobilize its capacity for solidarity and undertake processes of renewal that modernize the physical structure and the social fabric (Id, Ibid).

A significant part of research on resilience in Latin America is focused on populations affected by poverty and discrimination, with a predominance of social-oriented interventions. The author considers the Latin-American contribution for the concept of resilience to be larger when it comes to the collective, when compared to the individuals. Thus, for these authors, considering Latin America as the focus of their studies, the five pillars of community resilience are solidarity, honesty, cultural identity, social humour and collective self-esteem.

“Solidarity is seen by means of the adhesion to the group cause, to overcome adversities and conquer common benefits for everyone. State honesty is seen through the trust of the members of the community the governors administrate. (...) Cultural identity concerns the acknowledgment and valorization of what is particular to one culture, which includes habits, values, dances songs and idiomatic expressions, entailing a sense of belonging amongst the members.

Social humour is viewed as the capacity of some peoples to find comedy in their own tragedies, which contributes to their accepting of the common disgrace and, as a consequence, promotes detachment from the problem and facilitates its resolution.

Collective self-esteem refers to the attitude and sense of pride one has towards the place where he or she lives. This includes love for his or her homeland, conscience of its natural beauties, sense of identification with specific habits and meaningful human productions” (Oliveira and Morais, 2018, p. 1734).

Conversely, the North American approach by Norris et al. (2008) is based on different disciplines to present a theory of resilience, which addresses contemporary views of stress, adaption, well-being and dynamic of resources. In this model, community adaption is understood in terms of well-being of the population, defined as high levels of mental and behavioral health, functioning and quality of life (Norris et al., 2008). For these authors, community resilience is generated by a set of four main adaptive resources, which together provide a strategy for preparedness in the face of adversity. These resources are economic development, social capital, information and communication, and community skills (Norris et al., 2008).

In this line of thinking, communities with limited resources run the risk of late recovery or prolonged disorder, which entails bigger possibility of physical/mental health problems amongst the individuals from the community.

## 2.2 ON VULNERABILITY

Similar to the various notions of resilience, there are different perspectives concerning the concept of vulnerability in the academic literature. The concept of vulnerability found in the dictionary Lexico (2020:2) is as follows: “the quality or state of being exposed to the possibility of being attacked or harmed, either physically or emotionally”. In the same dictionary, the word ‘vulnerable’ has two meanings related to this work: (i) “exposed to the possibility of being attacked or harmed, either physically or emotionally” and (ii) “in need of special care, support, or protection because of age, disability, or risk of abuse or neglect”.

Under the individual perspective, Cassol and De Antoni (2006) argue that the term ‘vulnerability’ is commonly used to denote individual predispositions to have psychopathologies or non-expected behaviors in specific environments. Likewise, Cassol and De Antoni (Ibid) argue that vulnerabilities are more related to the individual and his or her susceptibilities to responses or negative consequences.

Koller (1999), in turn, points out that people exposed to risks are taken to be more vulnerable when they do not develop resilience, although it is possible that the person may be vulnerable at times and resilient at others in one same situation/event. Besides, Euzébios Filho and Guzzo (2006) identify a set of risk factors, such as low self-esteem, inability to express feelings, lack of familial cohesion, financial instability, worn out relationships and lack of belonging in a group.

As for the level of systems, according to Agder (2006, p. 268), “vulnerability is the state of susceptibility to harm from exposure to stresses associated with environmental and social change and from the absence of capacity to adapt”.

Moreover, taking into consideration that vulnerability is normally addressed in negative terms, Adger (Ibid, p. 268) argues that “the concept of vulnerability has been a powerful analytical tool for describing states of susceptibility to harm, powerlessness, and marginality of both physical and social systems, and for guiding normative analysis of actions to enhance well-being through reduction of risk”.

The author synthesizes the theoretical overview on vulnerability, as shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1 – Antecedent and successor traditions in vulnerability research

Vulnerability approach	Objectives	Sources
<i>Antecedents</i>		
Vulnerability to famine and food insecurity	Developed to explain vulnerability to famine in the absence of shortages of food or production failures. Described vulnerability as a failure of entitlements and shortage of capabilities.	Sen (1981); Swift (1989); Watts and Bohle (1993)
Vulnerability to hazards	Identification and prediction of vulnerable groups, critical regions through likelihood and consequence of hazard. Applications in climate change impacts.	Burton et al. (1978, 1993); Smith (1996); Anderson and Woodrow (1998); Parry and Carter (1994)
Human ecology	Structural analysis of underlying causes of vulnerability to natural hazards.	Hewitt (1983); O'Keefe et al. (1976); Mustafa (1998)
Pressure and Release	Further developed human ecology model to link discrete risks with political economy of resources and normative disaster management and intervention.	Blaikie et al. (1994); Winchester (1992); Pelling (2003)
<i>Successors</i>		
Vulnerability to climate change and variability	Explaining present social, physical or ecological system vulnerability to (primarily) future risks, using wide range of methods and research traditions.	Klein and Nicholls (1999); Smit and Pilifosova (2001); Smith et al. (2001); Ford and Smit (2004); O'Brien et al. (2004)
Sustainable livelihoods and vulnerability to poverty	Explains why populations become or stay poor based on analysis of economic factors and social relations.	Morduch (1994); Bebbington (1999); Ellis (2000); Dercon (2004); Ligon and Schechter (2003); Dercon and Krishnan (2000)
Vulnerability of social-ecological systems	Explaining the vulnerability of coupled human-environment systems.	Turner et al. (2003a, b); Luers et al. (2003); Luers (2005); O'Brien et al. (2004)

Source: Adger (2006), p. 275.

In the context of the society, Cutter and Finch (2007) argue that social vulnerability is identified in sensitive populations that may be less likely to respond to, cope with, and recover from a natural disaster. In addition, the authors state that social vulnerability is complex and dynamic, as well as changes in space and throughout time. According to De Antoni et al. (2006), poverty, difficulty in access to work as well as conditions of insalubrious residence and precarious feeding are determinant factors for social vulnerability.

Cutter and Finch (2007) too consider vulnerability to be a measure of sensibility of one population regarding natural risks and their capacity to react to damage and recover. Akter and Mallick (2013) relate sensibility – which is commonly discussed in the literature concerning risks and disasters – to the definition of vulnerability focused on susceptibility. Cutter et al. (2003), in turn, summarize vulnerability to environmental risks as the potential for loss. However, according to Cassol and De Antoni (2006), vulnerability increases the chances of a negative result in the presence of a risk.

Béné et al. (2012) clear up the concept of vulnerability and state that it provides better understanding of how people get exposed to a long-term risk and how it differs amongst groups, which is why many interventions of development previously realize analyses of vulnerability. For Politics and the practice of development, it is important and wishful to maintain the perspective of 'vulnerability to resilience', which helps to figure out what ought to be done and how. (Id, Ibid). At last, as for the issue regarding climate change, IPCC (2012, p. 5) defines vulnerability as "the propensity or predisposition to be adversely affected".

The experienced vulnerability may be directly measured by the perception of those who are vulnerable (Adger, 2006). On the other hand, this author argues that measuring vulnerability inevitably requires judgments and external interpretations about acceptable risk boundary.

To check or measure vulnerability Gerlitz et al. (2017) argue that three dimensions must be taken into consideration: exposition, sensitivity and adaptive capacitive. In turn, IPCC (2014) define five criteria to measure vulnerability in the context of climate change: (1) exposition of a society, community or socio-ecological system to climate stressors; (2) importance of vulnerable system; (3) non-limited capacity of societies, communities or social-ecological systems to create adaptive capacities so as to reduce or restrict the adverse consequences of the risk related to climate; (4) persistence of vulnerable conditions and degree of irreversibility of the consequences; and (5) presence of conditions which make societies highly susceptible to cumulative stressors in complex and multiple interactive systems.

According to Leach (2008), although there are trade-offs between vulnerability and resilience approaches, the treatment of the two terms as antonyms is incorrect. The author considers that the term vulnerability is explicitly normative, since it refers to the susceptibility to damage, measured in terms of distance from a limit considered undesirable. The approach to vulnerability starts from the perspective that some risks are unacceptable and should be avoided at all costs.

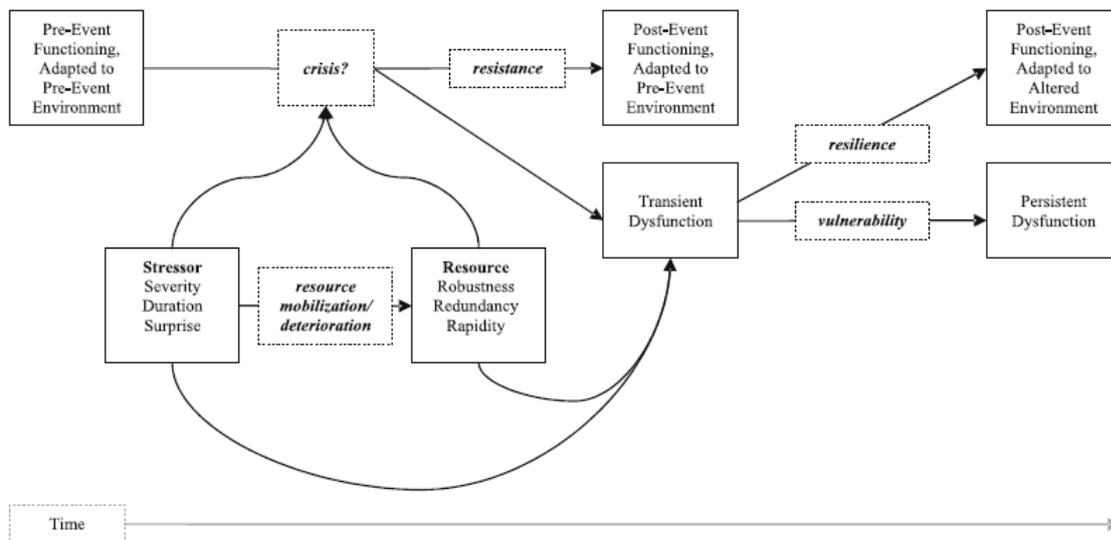
In addition, Adger (2003) discusses an aggravating fact: the main vulnerable groups are usually excluded from the decision-making concerning the public management which impacts them. Poor families living in hazardous structural areas, where there may be flooding, can be considered an example.

Ojeda and Márquez (2007), under their Latin-American theoretical perspective, consider some vulnerability factors to be “negative or ‘anti-pillar’ factors of communitarian resilience”. These factors are corruption, authoritarianism, impunity, and collaborationism with foreign forces. In addition, these authors are categorical when arguing that these four elements are observed in Latin America and emerge together in such a way that perpetuates social injustice and general backwardness.

However, in accord with Arciniega (2013), the ‘anti-pillar’ of social or communitarian resilience are poverty (which may be cultural, moral or political poverty), economic dependence, social isolation – which may be emotional isolation – and stigmatization of victims.

Under the theoretical model by Norris et al. (2008), whenever the capacities are not robust, redundant, or fast enough to create resistance or resilience, the outcome is vulnerability and persistent dysfunction. These authors point out that, the more severe, enduring, and surprising the stressor factor, the stronger the resources must be to create resistance or resilience. This model by Norris et al. (Ibid) can thus be summarized as shown in the figure below:

Figura 2 – Flow of resilience and vulnerability according to Norris et al. (2008)



Source: Norris 2008, p. 130.

Finally, according to Bijker (2009), who studies technological cultures, vulnerability is not a negative characteristic. The author argues that vulnerability may be viewed in three ways: something real, a concept or a strategy. Under the author's perspective, vulnerability is a characteristic of systems, whether they are technological, ecological, or social, and vulnerable systems are susceptible to damage.

For this same author, technological development strengthens the structures of society, but also makes them vulnerable. Vulnerability is therefore an inherent characteristic of today's technological cultures; even large technological systems are vulnerable to human error and technical defects with far-reaching consequences (Id, Ibid).

### 3. COVID-19 PANDEMIC

This chapter briefly discusses COVID-19 Pandemic as a determinant context of the issues addressed in this research. They refer to the impacts of the pandemic throughout the world in a general way and some impacts on the migrants as an especially vulnerable group.

#### 3.1 ON THE OUTBREAK OF COVID-19 THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

In December 2019, Hubei Province, in Wuhan, China, drew national and international attention since it was the origin of the outbreak of an unknown type of pneumonia (Wang et al., 2020). It is believed that the most significant part of transmission of COVID-19 to other regions in China occurred due to migrants that returned from the affected regions, since there are many migrants in Wuhan and they have probably taken long trips, which brought about the dissemination of the disease (Fan, 2020). Sansonetti (2020) mentions the roles of means of transports, more specifically

inter-continental flights, in terms of transmission and global dissemination of diseases and argues that, as a result, pandemics are established more rapidly when compared with previous ones.

Sansonetti (Ibid), in turn, considers the measures implemented in the first months of 2020 to have been insufficient, taking into account the ones in Italy, Spain, France, and United Kingdom as well as in the United States. On the other hand, the authors cite, as successful cases, China, South Korean, Taiwan and Singapore and, in a certain way, Germany. After the publication of this article in May 2020, the world watched the transference of the epicenter of the epidemic to other countries, such as Brazil and India.

Bearing in mind the COVID-19 dynamic, Sansonetti (Ibid) argues that lockdown and home isolation were settled for a long period at the cost of a huge economical risk. Although the impact of coronavirus in countries with more resources, such as China, Italy, Spain, and the United States has been huge, PNUD points out that the developing countries may suffer even bigger ones. Thus, UNDP estimates that the losses to these countries due to the COVID-19 crisis will exceed \$220 billion and, given that about 55% of the world's population does not have access to social protection services, these losses will tend to be especially high in these societies, affecting education, human rights and, in the most extreme cases, basic food security and nutrition, as noted by the European Commission (EC, 2020). For this international body, fragile health systems will be overburdened and under-resourced, and the situation may be further aggravated by the fact that 75% of people in the least developed countries do not have access to water and soap (Id, Ibid). In turn, OIT (2020) alerted us that, due to the pandemic crisis, almost half of the work force in the world runs the risk of losing their jobs. This organ stated that the prompt impact would be in the context of informal economy and this would cause catastrophic damage.

PNUD (2020) argues that the COVID-19 outbreak may lead to a decline of 4 percent in the world per capita income. The World Bank points out that Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia must be the most affected regions concerning the increase in poverty. The total number of people living in extreme poverty throughout the world may augment from 40 million to 60 million in 2020 (PNUD, 2020). The World Food Programme (2020) has signaled that the crises may almost duplicate the number of people suffering from acute hunger, which represents more than 250 million people until the end of 2020.

One of the biggest problems of the COVID-19 outbreak, when it comes to supply chain, was related to products and health equipment. Mirchandani (2020) emphasizes COVID-19 exposed blatant errors in supply chain process. Countries from all over the world, even the poorest ones, had to face this problem. In relation to some products, the drastic number of demands were not accompanied by supply (for instance, facial masks, hand disinfectant, disinfection spray). For others, demand and supply dropped expressively, which resulted in interruptions of production (as in the automotive industry), risk of bankruptcy and need for governmental support (Ivanov and Dolgui, 2020).

When addressing the effects of the pandemic on supply chains of food, Hobbs (2020) stresses panic behaviors concerning some key-items and the sudden change in consumption patterns, from food service to homemade food. This author too argues that the interruptions in food supply chains can impact the economy due to labor shortages, disruptions in transport networks and border controls. Besides, Hobbs (2020) states that the COVID-19 pandemic will have more lasting effects on the nature of supply chains of food, including the growth of delivery of basic on-line products (Id, Ibid).

### 3.2 ON THE IMPACTS OF COVID-19 OUTBREAK ON THE COMMUNITIES OF IMMIGRANTS

Even though it is true that viruses do not choose specific persons, vulnerability and social inequalities must be taken into consideration when it comes to contagion. Kraut (2010), when discussing the pneumonic flue pandemic in 1918, points out that, although the disease affected both the rich and the poor, the latter could lay off working more rapidly, rest and search for treatment in a more effective fashion, when compared to the former. This author also demonstrates that the flue pandemic (1918-1919) coincided with the largest migration in the history of the United States, and the long working hours as well as innutrition made immigrants more vulnerable to several diseases. In addition, the poverty of urban life and living conditions facilitated the spread of the flu virus at that time (Id, ibid).

In the context of the current pandemic, World Bank (2020) also signaled that migrants are especially vulnerable to coronavirus infection because they tend to gather in urban economic centers. Besides, the immigrants are also more vulnerable than the national ones when it comes to risk of losing jobs, which entails flow reduction of shipping and, as a result, may create more poverty in families that depend on these resources. UN (2020) also pointed out that the effect of this will be drastic for countries where migrant workers contribute to poverty reduction by sending remittances that enable their families to access basic services, health care and education.

UN (Ibid) has also been warning of the vulnerability suffered by dislocated populations and migrants living in camps and other super crowded places, some of which affected by conflicts. Similarly, Kluge et al. (2020, p. 1238) argue that “migrant workers and international refugees may be affected by the loss of income, uncertainty in medical assistance as well as by the problems resulting from the postponement of decisions on their legal status or reduction of job, juridical and administrative services. In many countries, legal residency is a sine qua non condition for access to health public service (World Bank, 2020). When it comes to the fact that migrants and refugees are especially vulnerable to the impacts of COVID-19, as assumed by the authors, Kluge et al. (2020) argue that, during the emergency period and lockdown in several countries, voluntary communitarian services, targeted at refugees and migrants, were affected. This may have directly impacted the support services on which many migrants rely.

Kluge et al. (2020) also assert that immigrants are overrepresented in the street population of most of the members from European Union. In Portugal, it is not a different case. Recent reports on the on-line newspapers *O Globo* (2020) and *Correio Braziliense* (2020) discuss situations of loss of residency by Brazilian migrants living in Portugal as well as the increase of homeless people in this group. Besides, the on-line journal *DW* (2020) addresses the reality of some PALOP citizens who also turned out to be homeless in Portugal in the COVID-19 crisis. In this case, another vulnerability factor is the own migrants' and homeless refugees' life conditions, which may jeopardize the capacity to follow recommendations and health public care, such as hygiene measures, lockdown, and quarantine (Kluge et al., 2020).

Kluge et al. (2020), in contrast, signal that the paucity of information on COVID-19 in different languages, concerning protection measures, increase the risks to migrants and refugees, and, consequently, to autochthonous groups. According to Kraut (2010), during the pneumonic flu pandemic in 1918, the existence of newspapers in other languages than English, with information on how to replace bad habits for better ones, helped many immigrants go through the pandemic.

Mukhra et al. (2020), when addressing the migrants who dislocated in India during the pandemic, also considered them to be especially vulnerable to COVID-19 infection, and highlighted the potential risk that they may be 'reservoirs' for the dissemination of the disease. These authors too argued that the workplaces and quarantine shelters might increase the risk of contamination. Besides, the impact on the working migrants' mental health must be considered: depression due to the surrounding misery and the lack of job opportunities, as well as of financial support may lead to suicidal tendencies (Id, Ibid).

As for Europe, World Bank (2020) signals that COVID-19 crisis also brought into the debate the impacts of travel restrictions or borders closures on immigrants. This institution stresses the working migrants' vulnerability retained or exposed to non-hygienic conditions in crowded airports, which are unable to be in quarantine or run out of medical service.

A study lead by the Joint Research Centre (JRC), from the European Commission, on key-workers at the front line of the EU's response to the coronavirus crisis, which includes from doctors and nurses to drivers, found that 13% of these workers are immigrants (EC, 2020). JRC also shows that the immigrants may suffer the worst effects of the crisis; besides, it is more likely that migrant worker will be hired on temporary contracts, get lower salaries and have occupations incompatible with a WFH job.

Gautret et al. (2020) argue that the intense international traffic between Europe and the rest of the world ensures that travelers become a key-element in terms of global dissemination of infective disease to the European population and environment. In accord with Field et al. (2008), the intense international flow of people entails more vulnerability to the transmission of old infective diseases and emergent ones. The academic literature exemplifies this situation by discussing SARS arrival in France. Desenclos et al. (2004) assert that SARS was introduced in France by a patient who had

returned from Vietnam as well as considers the possibility that there was transmission to other passengers in the flight in which this patient was when arrived in Paris. Besides, Gautret et al. (2020) point out that European doctors must be prepared to treat international diseases. Field et al. (2008), in turn, highlight the contribution of intra-European, which is also significant. In other words, it is not only about the flow of foreigners or extra-Europeans. Yet, these are the first ones discriminated.

In this regard, Howing (2020) argues that migrants and refugees are usually the first ones stigmatized and unfairly blamed for disseminating viruses and diseases. Even though in most cases, for instance, the United States, most people contaminated is constituted by natives, the fear of the disease underlies several episodes of prejudice and stigmatization towards foreigners (Kraut, 2010). World Bank (2020) has already appealed for more attention regarding discrimination and xenophobia, and for more protection and more inclusion of migrants in social programs, health service and cash transfer.

These issues are added to the restrictions at the level of flow reception of people. Gushulak and MacPherson (2010), for instance, approach the importance of checking the health conditions of migrants in the pre-migration phase, taking into account the diversity of characteristics and social conditions of immigrants: for example, in the context of migration, refugees are usually the most vulnerable. These authors discuss the medical screening of migrants by each nation, taking into consideration the diseases with possible impacts on public health and the ones that may cause social risk. Some nations also aim to impede the admission of people with onerous diseases, due to the limited supply of health domestic service.

The medical screening may be perfected or introduced in cases of international concern toward public health, as related by St. John (2005) about SARS, as well as by Kraut (2010) about the influenza pandemic in 1918. The screening procedures of infective diseases at the entrances of the borders (for example, through digital-thermal sensors), may entail the sense of certainty or guarantee that if the disease is detected, it will not enter the country (St John et al., 2005).

WHO (2020) has requested health authorities to consider the impact of the current crisis on immigrants and refugees, in order to ensure their safety and their access to health service and information, taking into account language and physical barriers, as well as legal, administrative and financial restrictions. Kraut (2010) highlights that, in the period of the influenza outbreak in 1918, the United States, being confronted by a significant migratory flow, spread information about health care in other languages than English, so as to reach the target-public, i.e. the migrants. Likewise WHO has recently suggested that the authorities raise the access barriers to health service that migrants may have difficulty finding and avoid the forced repatriation based on fear or suspect of COVID-19 transmission, so immigrants will not be stigmatized or afraid of searching for treatment or exposing their symptoms.

We point out that Portugal, in the COVID-19 outbreak, included all the immigrants with pending residency requests in the system of public health. Thus, this group may undergo treatments like the native ones, in line with WHO recommendations. We also highlight that immigrants, in general terms, have access to health public for urgent and vital treatments in Portugal, even before the pandemic. Kluge et al. (2020) add that such inclusion is of capital importance since there is no health public without migrants and refugees.

#### 4. THE BRAZILIAN AND CABO VERDEAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN PORTUGAL

This chapter provides statistical and bibliographic data about the migrant populations studied in this research.

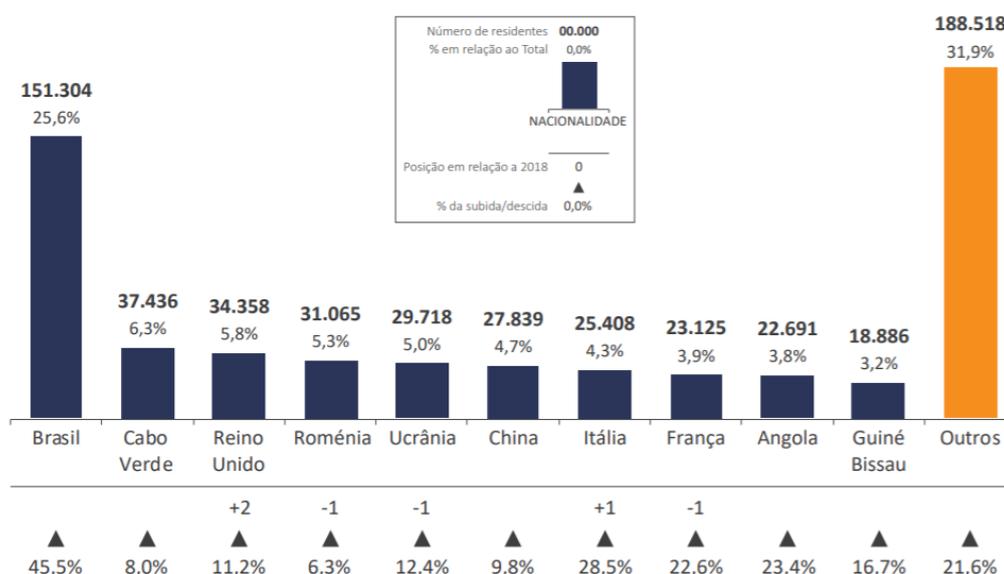
The migration flows between Portugal and Brazil as Portugal and Cabo Verde, in both ways, have an important place in the history of the three countries, mainly because of the colonial past and at present due to common cultural characteristics, with a special mention to the Portuguese language.

In 1980, there were 50,750 foreign residents with a legal status living in Portugal, Cabo Verdeans were the most numerous group amongst them (21,022 people), followed by Spaniards (6,597), and then by Brazilians (3,608) (INE, 2020). Since the early 1980s, an economic migration towards the Portuguese labour market has been identified, represented mainly by young workers, with Cabo Verdean citizens as the largest group (Peixoto, 2002). Brazilian immigrants, on the other hand, had skills that the new economic environment demanded, as a result of Portugal's accession to the European Economic Community in 1986 (Id, Ibid). In fact, other authors, such as Gonçalves (2015) and Abreu and Peixoto (2009), point out that this first wave of Brazilian immigrants to Portugal, which started at that time, was characterized by being more qualified and less numerous. While the second wave of Brazilian immigrants, after 1999, was composed of a large number of lower middle class people, mainly entering the secondary labour market (Gonçalves, 2015; Abreu and Peixoto, 2009).

Currently, as indicated in the Annual Report on Migration and Asylum 2019, published by the SEF (Machado et al., 2020), the most representative nationalities within the entire foreign population residing in Portugal, were first, Brazilians and, second, Cabo Verdeans. Likewise, according to the Indicators of Migrant Integration - 2019 Annual Statistical Report of the Migration Observatory (Oliveira and Gomes, 2019), immigration from these both countries increased from 2017 to 2018 in terms of entry visas granted into Portugal, Brazilians had an increase of 58.7% (observing that between 2016 and 2017 this increase was already 119%) and Cabo Verdeans, an increase of 88.3%. According to INE (2019), in its annual statistical report since 2013 Brazilian and Cabo Verdean nationalities have occupied the 1st and 2nd positions in terms of representativeness.

Machado et al. (2020) indicate that, in 2019, Brazilian nationals represented, as it is observable in the Figure 3 below, 25.6% of the total foreign population residing in Portugal - the highest number since 2012. It is also shown in Figure 1 that Italy, in 2019, held the 7th position amongst the most representative nationalities, however, the authors emphasize in the same report that 29.5% of the resident citizens of Italian nationality are actually Brazilian nationals. Therefore, if we consider the native citizens of Brazil who hold other nationalities, such as the Italian one, we conclude that the number of Brazilians residing in Portugal is even greater than 151,304, as shown in the graph below. Cabo Verdeans, in 2nd position, represent 6.3% of foreign residents (37,436 people).

Figure 3 - Most representative nationalities among foreign residents residing in Portugal



Source: Machado et al. (2020).

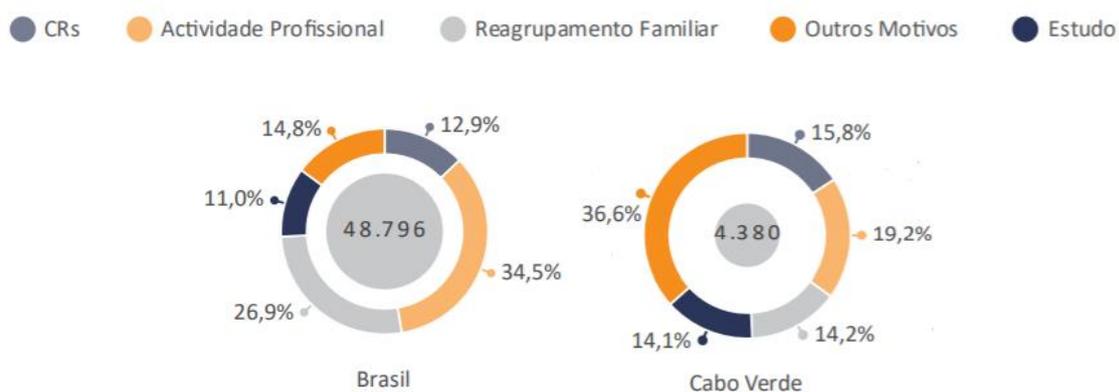
Regarding migration flows, Machado et al. (2020) also highlight the upward trend in the number of new residence visas issued: 129,155 visas were issued in 2019, which means an increase of 38.7% compared to 2018 and 110.3% compared to 2017. Amongst the total new residence visas, 37.8% were issued to Brazilian citizens (48,794 visas), in 1st position, and 3.4% were issued to Cabo Verdean citizens (4,380 visas) who, in this way, are, in 8th position, preceded by United Kingdom (2nd position, with 8,353), Italy (3rd position, with 7,865), India (4th position, with 6,267), Nepal (5th position, with 5,010), France (6th position, with 4,930) and Angola (7th position, with 4,478) (Id, Ibid).

Still based on the numbers of the 2019 SEF Report, we found that a majority of these two national groups that reside in Portugal are women: 56.9% of the total Brazilian population and 53.4% of the Cabo Verdean population. Considering only migration inflows in 2019, women are also the majority in both populations, representing 51.7% of the total of Brazilians and 54.4% of the total of Cabo Verdeans. Similarly, Oliveira and Gomes (2019), referring to data from 2018,

observe that the majority of both populations were constituted by women, who represented 59.4% of Brazilians and 53.5% of Cabo Verdeans.

Migration flows are heterogeneous and the reasons for entry into Portugal are diverse. In 2019, as can be seen in Figure 4, 34.5% of Brazilians applied for a residence permit to carry out professional activity, 26.9% for family reunification, 14.8% for other reasons, 12.9% for residence as an European Citizen and 11.0% for study reasons (Machado et al., 2020). Also in 2019, according to Figure 4, the majority of visas issued to Cabo Verdean citizens, 36.6%, were due to other reasons, secondly, to perform professional activity (19.2%), for residence as an European Citizen (15.8%), for study reasons (14.1%) and, finally, for family reunification (14.2%) (Id, Ibid). Thus, this scenario seems quite different from the previous year (2018), in which, according to the Annual Statistical Report of the Migration Observatory, the main reason for entry of nationals both from Brazil (53.8%) and Cabo Verde (78,7%) was the continuation of studies (Oliveira and Gomes, 2019).

Figure 4 - Reasons for issuing new residence visas in 2019



Source: Machado et al. (2020).

Another factor that impacts migration data is international cooperation. In this domain, Góis and Marques (2016) addressed cooperation policies in education, health and work. Most of the scholarship holders, among the group of international students that Portugal hosts, are from PALOP or East Timor, even though the majority of international students is Brazilian, which may be more justified by the effect of the common language than by cooperation agreements (Góis and Marques, 2016; Iorio and Fonseca, 2018). In relation to health, Góis and Marques (2016) refer that the cooperation consists of the permanence of evacuated patients and originals from programmes for the development of research, technology and training from the PALOP and East Timor, focused on the specific health problems of their respective countries. Regarding the article, Góis and Marques (Ibid) mention the Temporary Emigration of Cabo Verdean Workers Protocol for employment in Portugal, established by Portugal in 1997 and revised in 2007 as part of an European Union multilateral agreement. This agreement deals with the temporary mobility of

Cabo Verdean workers to Portugal, even with a very limited base and several restrictions (Pina-Delgado, 2013).

Iorio and Fonseca (2018) affirm that Brazilians represent most foreigners in Portuguese higher education, representing 32% of the total students in international mobility. The authors conclude that the increase in the number of Brazilian students in Portuguese higher education results from three factors: “Brazilian policies to promote international student mobility; promotion of strategies for attracting foreign students by higher education institutions in Portugal and, above all, sharing the Portuguese language between the two countries” (Id, Ibid, abstract). In the case of Cabo Verdean students, Alves (2015) postulates that the motivation comes from social factors that consist of the existence of a support network for arrival and accommodation, family and friends, and a habit inherited from parents and siblings - the existence of a family member who has already attended Portuguese higher education or who has lived in Portugal and shared the same experience.

Considering the investment modality in Portugal as a way of acquiring a residence permit, Brazilian citizens occupy the 2nd position with 210 investors, just behind Chinese citizens, in 1st position, with 394 investors in 2019. “The special residence permit regime for investment activity, ..., allows obtaining a temporary residence permit exempted of residence visa, provided that a set of requirements defined in the Immigration Law and in the regulatory instruments are verified” (Machado et al., 2020, page 25).

According to the IEFP's 2018 annual report, foreign unemployed people were 17,338 in the end of 2018 (Taveira et al., 2019). Also referring to 2018 data, the Immigration in Numbers report from the Migration Observatory shows that, amongst the foreign unemployed, 28.9% are Brazilians, being the most representative nationality, followed by Ukrainians (10%) and Cabo Verdeans (8%) (Oliveira and Gomes, 2019).

In 2019, Brazilians stood out in the ranking of Portuguese nationality requests with 22,928 requests, with Israelis in 2nd position, with 18,433 requests, followed by Cabo Verdeans in 3rd position with 6,472 requests (Machado et al., 2020).

In 2019 SEF Report, it also mentions the number of people who were illegally staying. Brazilian nationals were identified in 1st position with 24,042 people, followed by Indian nationals in 2nd position with 4,872, then by Nepalese nationals in 3rd position with 2,848 and, subsequently, Cabo Verdean nationals in 4th position with 2,088. Gonçalves (2015), when referring to the Brazilian population residing in Portugal, points out that the exact number of immigrants is very difficult to be calculated due to the portion of the population that lives illegally in the country. Still regarding the Brazilian population, the same author also mentions that there is considerable inconsistency between the different data and statistical sources for the number of Brazilians residing in Portugal.

In relation to the informal labour market, Góis (2008) mentions that the analysis of the job insertion of Cabo Verdean immigrants shows that many who could aspire to permanent contracts, due to their time in Portugal, remain, however, in informality, including also in the same sectors

in which they started to work as soon as they arrived in the country. For this author, the hypothesis that can justify this fact is the traditional approach, taken by Cabo Verdean migrants, to look for their social support network, in order to find a job. “The social inclusion network turns out to be, in some cases, a social exclusion network, preventing access to new sectors, new professions and a social rise in the societies of destination” (Id, *Ibid*, p. 17). Malheiros (1998) identifies the example of civil construction, in which there is a cascade recruitment system where the employee's contract is not directly done with the company, but through third parties and subcontractors, often of Cabo Verdean or Guinean origin, a condition that increases the contractual vulnerability of foreign workers.

Baganha et al. (1999), even before the crisis, when speaking specifically of Portugal, already cited informal work as a problem, not only due to the large number of foreigners in this condition (example: civil construction and public works), but also the high degree of vulnerability in informality itself. Another vulnerable public and also covered by informality are illegal immigrants. Baganha et al. (*Ibid*) affirms that clandestine work, in a short term, can have immediate advantages, such as cost reduction for employers and possibility to generate savings for employees, but the future consequences can be negative, as, for example, in a crisis that can lead to unemployment and helplessness by social security.

Peixoto and Egreja (2012), in a study carried out with Brazilian immigrants in Portugal, point out that the support network, especially the Brazilian friends that are long-term residents in Portugal, also plays an important role in this group for looking for employment in Portugal, although most participants in this study found their first and current job on their own. The same authors also identify that strong ties and family networks lead, especially to low-skilled jobs, while weak ties and the connection with locals tend to lead to more qualified segments.

According to the Strategy and Studies Office (2020) of the Ministry of Economy, the three Portuguese cities that in 2017 concentrated the largest number of Brazilian contingents were Lisbon (with 34,865 Brazilians), Porto (with 9,442) and Setúbal (with 8,796); and amongst the Cabo Verdean population, the three most numerous cities were Lisbon (with 22,174), Setúbal (with 6,228) and Faro (with 2,161).

Considering the outgoing flows of remittances from Portugal, when analysing the data for 2017 and 2018, Oliveira and Gomes (2019) observe that Brazil remains in the first position as the main destination, to which 221.7 million euros were sent in 2017 and 253 million euros in 2018. In terms of volume of remittances, China comes second; even though the Chinese population occupies the 6th position in terms of representativeness, the amount sent represented 10.3% of the 2018 total (Id, *Ibid*). The authors also highlight the upward trend in the amounts of remittances sent, from 2017 to 2018: Brazil (+ 14%), Ukraine (+ 8%) and Cabo Verde (+ 4%).

## 5. METHODOLOGY

The aim of this chapter is to present the methodology and the techniques used in the development of the empirical research.

### 5.1 RESEARCH TYPOLOGY

In this research, the quantitative approach is predominant; nevertheless, some qualitative techniques were also used. With relation to the research, this study has an exploratory and descriptive focus. In summary, the research does not lead to only one way, since different methodological options are combined in order to provide a deeper understanding of the given topic.

The quantitative research is quantifiable, which permits numbers and information to be translated into numbers, to classify and analyze them by means of resources and statistics techniques (Kaurark et al., 2010). On the other hand, the qualitative research does not aim to count opinions or people, but explore opinions or social representations on one given topic, so as to encompass the richness and profoundness of the interlocutor's speech as well as his/her expressions (Gomes, 2011). Malhotra (2006) argues that the treatment of primary data demands a qualitative approach. However, these two research approaches must be opposed, even though they might be complementary, since "a research project constitutes the synthesis of multiple intellectual efforts that oppose and complement each other: theoretical-conceptual abstraction and connection with the empirical reality, exhaustiveness and synthesis, inclusions and cuts and, above all, rigor and creativity" (Deslandes, 2011, p. 31).

The exploratory research aims to amplify the knowledge of one phenomenon in order to clear up one issue or discuss important questions to conduct the research (Raupp and Beuren, 2003). This type of research makes the researcher more familiar with the given topic. The descriptive research, according to Kauark et al. (2010), intends to describe the profile of one determined population or phenomenon, or the establishment of relations amongst variables. For Zanella (2011), descriptive research seeks to know the reality studied, its problems and its characteristics.

### 5.2 DATA COLLECTION

The data used in the exploratory studies of this research come from primary and secondary sources. Malhotra (2006) defined as primary sources those collected or produced by the researcher to solve a research problem. Thus, in this case, the fundamental primary source is the questionnaire formulated and applied in this research, whilst the secondary ones are the publications and documents, as well as statistic data related to the topic, such as academic articles, books, on-line pages of national and international institutions, i.e. United Nations and European Union, and also national and international reports, such as World Bank, INE, SEF and Migration Observatory.

In this research, we used the on-line platform Qualtrics XM for the insertion of the questionnaire, as well for its divulgation and application. This research consists of a transversal

type study, a sort of collection which occurs once in the time (not during the time, the way it occurs in a longitudinal study (Vieira, 2012). The on-line questionnaire was available for answers from August 14<sup>th</sup>, to August 28<sup>th</sup>. Social medias were the predominant means of dissemination of the questionnaire, especially Facebook, since it has the largest concentration of groups of immigrants and on-line pages about them, both in Brazil (largest number of pages) and in Cabo Verde. In addition to Facebook, the survey was published on Telegram, LinkedIn and WhatsApp groups. The Center for Studies on Africa and Development also helped to disseminate the questionnaire in its network of contacts by e-mail and LinkedIn.

### 5.3 PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE

Marconi and Lakatos (2002) define ‘sample’ as a portion or a part, conveniently selected, of the universe (population), or, in other words, a sub conjunct of the population. The sample of this questionnaire is constituted by people who declared themselves Brazilians or Cabo Verdeans, over 18 years old of age and domiciled in Portugal in March 2020 (period of time in which the COVID-19 pandemic began as well the lockdown). All the respondents have access to Internet, albeit non frequent at times, since the questionnaire was on-line. Because the sample is compounded by elements of these two communities and they have decided to collaborate by answering the questionnaire, we consider it as a non-random sample.

The migrant Brazilian and Cabo Verdean communities were selected to be studied in this research due to the fact that these are the most representative foreign populations in Portugal, as well as because of some previously known elements of their social economic and social professional profiles, which enabled us to predict the possibility of situations of vulnerability.

In total, 538 persons responded to the questionnaire, 159 of whom did not conclude it and 77 of whom did not fulfill the prerequisites of place of birth, age and/or residency in Portugal in March 2020. Therefore, we only considered 302 answers, 240 of which were from Brazilians and 62 from Cabo Verdeans.

### 5.4 INSTRUMENT OF THE RESEARCH

The collection of the primary data was executed with the help of questionnaire with 43 questions, 35 of which were closed ones, 2, open ones, and 5, hybrid ones (closed and open). As for the typology of the closed questions on the questionnaire, 24 of these were dichotomous ones with two options of answer. 13 of the closed questions were multiple choice ones and 4 of interval scale type. Besides, one of them was formulated based on a Likert scale, with 22 sentences which had 5 possible answers; the respondents should choose one of the options which varied between “I totally disagree” and “I totally agree”.

The questionnaire was fully formulated in Portuguese. In accord with Tozoni-Reis (2009), the questionnaire is the maximum degree of structuration of an interview, bearing in mind that this

instrument of research is constituted by a set of predefined and sequential questions presented to the interviewer.

The questions on the questionnaire were formulated with the purpose of grasping as much of information as possible, in order to permit the identification of the respondents' profiles and their main impressions about their experience in the COVID-19 pandemic, under a perspective of resilience and vulnerability within the topic of international migration. In order for the research to be more specific, the questions explicitly addressed the experience of COVID-19 in the first months of the pandemic, i.e. the period corresponding to the first phase of lockdown in Portugal, between March and July 2020.

As for the treatment of the data, under the quantitative approach, we used the descriptive statistics. Minayo (2012) argues that the quantitative research in which data are collected in a standardized way and treated by means of sophisticated analysis techniques gives more certainty to the researcher regarding the trustworthiness of the study. The data were tabulated with the help of Excel, version 2013. In the qualitative approach, the content analysis technique was used. Tozoni-Reis (2009) defined that the main objective of content analysis is to reveal the apparent or hidden meanings of a text, document, speech or other type of communication.

## 6. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the research as well as the analyses of the collected data.

Table 1 consists of the compilation of information related to the profile of the sample. In total, 240 Brazilians and 62 Cabo Verdeans answered the whole questionnaire. Only 16% of the Brazilians had another nationality, of whom 13% had a Portuguese one. 10% of the Cabo Verdeans had a Portuguese nationality. Women are the majority in this sample as well as in the 2019 SEF Report data. Amongst Brazilians, the largest group age is the one between 26-35 years of age. Amongst Cabo Verdeans, the largest group age is the one between 18-25 years of age. Most part of Brazilians and Cabo Verdeans who answered the questionnaire have already attended university and have got an academic degree.

Table 1 – General sample characterization

<b>Naturalness</b>	<b>Brazil</b>		<b>Cabo Verde</b>	
	100%	240	100%	62
<b>Other nationalities</b>				
Portugal	13%	30	10%	23
Other countries	3%	7	0%	
<b>Gender</b>	75% female, 25% male	179 female, 61 male	77% female, 23% male	48 female, 14 male
<b>Age</b>				
18-25 years	14%	34	37%	23
26-35 years	46%	111	37%	23
36-45 years	21%	51	16%	10
46-55 years	12%	29	6%	4

56-65 years	5%	12	3%	2
> 65 years	1%	3	0%	0
<b>Education level</b>				
Elementary School or 9th grade or less	1%	2	8%	5
High School or 10th - 12th grade	11%	26	19%	12
Technical Course or Medium Course	9%	21	10%	6
Attended university	15%	36	13%	8
Bachelor's degree	15%	36	0%	0
Graduation	13%	31	26%	16
Postgraduate studies	12%	28	2%	1
Master's degree	22%	52	18%	11
PhD	3%	8	5%	3

Source: own elaboration.

The income of the family aggregate of the majority of the respondents is between 501-1000 euros, as shown in Table 2. As for the professional situation, most of the respondents is employed or works for another person.

Table 2 – Socio-professional profile and living conditions

	<b>Brazil</b>		<b>Cabo Verde</b>	
<b>People who have children living in Portugal</b>	80	33%	24	39%
<b>People who sent remittances (until March 2020)</b>	43	18%	28	45%
<b>Family aggregate income</b>				
Between 0 e 500 Euros	23	10%	18	29%
Between 501 e 1000 Euros	67	28%	25	40%
Between 1001 e 1500 Euros	45	19%	10	16%
Between 1501 e 2000 Euros	50	21%	6	10%
More than 2000 Euros	55	23%	3	5%
<b>Work situation</b>				
Employee or working for others	102	43%	40	65%
Autonomous worker	57	24%	2	3%
Domestic work	3	1%	0	0%
Student	27	11%	12	19%
Retired	12	5%	1	2%
Unemployed	39	16%	7	11%

Source: own elaboration.

The most common typology of family aggregate, both in Brazilians and Cabo Verdeans, consists of two 14-year-old persons or over 14 years old and no one below 14-years old, as shown in Table 3 below. The average of the number of 14-years-old people of the family aggregate or over 14 years old, as informed by Brazilians, is 2,24, and, regarding Cabo Verdeans, 2,23. The average number of people in the family aggregate under the age of 14, among Brazilians, was 0.45 and, among Cabo Verdeans, 0.71. Even though the concept of family aggregate and the fact that the own respondent should be included in the informed amount, the answers to this particular inquiry bring about little reliability since some did not understand what was asked; therefore, some people did not include themselves in the answer. It should also be noted that the answer to this

question was not considered mandatory for the questionnaire, thus some respondents concluded and left it blank.

Table 3 – Quantity of people in the family aggregate per age

	<b>Brazil</b>		<b>Cabo Verde</b>	
	<b>≥ 14 years</b>	<b>&lt; 14 years</b>	<b>≥ 14 years</b>	<b>&lt; 14 years</b>
<b>0</b>	0	143	0	29
<b>1</b>	51	43	19	19
<b>2</b>	114	21	27	10
<b>3</b>	39	2	8	1
<b>4</b>	17	1	2	0
<b>5</b>	7	0	2	0
<b>6</b>	3	0	1	0
<b>7</b>	0	0	1	0

Source: own elaboration.

Table 4 presents the answers given to the question related to the place of residence of the respondent in Portugal at the beginning of the lockdown (March 2020). The information in Table 4 corroborates the data from GEE (2020), which state that Lisbon is the most searched city in order for Brazilians and Cabo Verdeans to live. In August 2020, 6 of the Brazilians respondents moved to another country, whilst 40 moved to another place in Portugal, and the rest remained in their places of residence until March 2020. With regards to Cabo Verdeans, in August 2020, only three of them had changed their place of residence in Portugal, whilst the rest remained in the place of residence where they were in March 2020. This suggests that migrants originating from Brazil present more mobility levels in terms of residency (hence less rootedness) than Cabo Verdean migrants.

Table 4 – Residence in March 2020

	<b>Brazil</b>		<b>Cabo Verde</b>	
Aveiro	6	3%	1	2%
Braga	22	9%	2	3%
Bragança	1	0%	2	3%
Castelo Branco	1	0%	1	2%
Coimbra	7	3%	2	3%
Faro	15	6%	3	5%
Leiria	3	1%	2	3%
Lisboa	119	50%	39	63%
Porto	36	15%	7	11%
Santarém	1	0%	0	0%
Setúbal	23	10%	3	5%
Viana do Castelo	2	1%	0	0%
Viseu	4	2%	0	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: own elaboration.

Table 5 presents the data relative to the evolution of the situation regarding the respondents' jobs during the lockdown. 13% of the Brazilian respondents said that they lost their job during this period and they did not get another job, and 2% said that they lost their job but got another one, whilst 15% were already unemployed at the beginning of the quarantine. As for Cabo Verdeans, 19% lost their job and did not get another one, 5% lost their jobs and got another one, whereas 3% were already unemployed at the beginning of the quarantine. These data conform to what many authors, such as Kluge et al. (2020), IOM (2020), World Bank (2020), ILO (2020), UN (2020), have emphasized regarding the vulnerability of migrants in the face of income and job loss.

Table 5 – Evolution of the employment situation during the months of March to July 2020

	Brazil		Cabo Verde	
Remained employed	100	42%	31	50%
Lost their job	32	13%	12	19%
The job was not kept, but got another job (or was re-admitted to it)	4	2%	3	5%
Remained unemployed	36	15%	2	3%
Autonomous worker	34	14%	0	0%
Retired or student	34	14%	14	23%

Source: own elaboration.

Except for the retired, students and autonomous workers, amongst Brazilians, only 13% of the sample benefited from the financial aid from the Portuguese government related to *lay-off* from March to July 2020. Considering also only the universe of employees and unemployed, the percentage of recipients of *lay-off* amongst Cabo Verdeans was higher: 25%

Regarding the unemployment subsidy and considering the universe of unemployed (those who already were and those who became during the quarantine) and the autonomous workers, 13% of Brazilians informed that they benefited from this subsidy, whereas among Cabo Verdeans, only 18% benefited from it.

In the group of 34 autonomous workers from Brazil, 31 informed that they maintained the activity they used to do; however, 22 reported that the volume of work diminished, 6 informed that they did not work from March to July 2020, whilst 6 reported that they kept the same amount of work. Only 4 from these 34 autonomous workers benefited from financial aid of Portuguese government; the rest, i.e. 30 autonomous workers, did not.

18% of Brazilians and 33% of Cabo Verdeans reported that they used to send remittances to their country of origin by March 2020, as shown in Table 3. Taking into account just this part of the amount we verify that only 55% of Brazilians and 54% of Cabo Verdeans continued to send money during the period of lockdown. United Nations (2020) and World Bank (2020) stress the importance of remittances aiming at the reduction of poverty in the country of origin.

Based on the microeconomic consequences, which affect the exchange rate during the lockdown, 55% of Brazilians and 10% of Cabo Verdeans informed that they were prejudiced due

to the rate variation when using, for instance, credit cards or exchanging money. This piece of information must consider that Brazilian economy is always under a regime of floating rate, whilst the Cabo Verdean currency is indexed to Euro. Therefore, this percentage amongst Cabo Verdeans might have indicated a sort of distortion of reality due to perception or inflation. This question considered that the respondents could have personal resources in the currency of origin.

As for housing, 31% of Brazilians and 18% of Cabo Verdeans claimed that they had difficulty paying it during the lockdown. The alleged reasons as to why this occurred are in Annex 2. The most recurrent reasons reported by Brazilians were unemployment (of the person, the partner or even the couple) and the devaluation of the Brazilian currency. One retired person reported that the devaluation reduced the amount of his/her retirement by 550 euros and therefore needed to return to work during the pandemic.

In contrast 12% of Brazilians and 15% of Cabo Verdeans informed that they were not in a suitable condition to carry out the lockdown within their homes. Some described the reasons, and these are transcribed in Annex 3. IOM (2020) notes that migrants are more vulnerable to eviction and homelessness, and De Antoni et al. (2006) state that unhealthy housing conditions are an indicator of vulnerability.

Regarding work, 50% of Brazilians and 62% of Cabo Verdeans, taking into consideration only the list of employed ones of the sample, worked outside their homes during the lockdown. This fact, i.e. most Brazilians and Cabo Verdeans got out of their homes to work, suggests a situation of vulnerability and exposition for each one of these groups as well as for those who live with them.

16% of Brazilians and 34% of Cabo Verdeans would like to have returned to their country of origin when the pandemic began. Nevertheless, from those who wanted to return, 10% of Brazilians and 1 of Cabo Verdeans could do it. The most recurrent of these reasons, both among Brazilians and Cabo Verdeans, was the lack of money. The reasons as to why the rest was not able to do it are in Annex 4.

Regarding the specific services for immigrants, 47% of Brazilians and 18% of Cabo Verdeans informed that they were affected by the suspension of official services, such as SEF, ACM and CNAI. Besides 13% of Brazilians and 6% of Cabo Verdeans informed that they were prejudiced by the suspension of other services for immigrants, such as Casa do Brasil, some specific NGO or others. 31% of Brazilians and 15% of Cabo Verdeans asserted that their residence or nationality status were somewhat affected due to the suspension of services from SEF or any other related organ. This data reinforces Kluge et al. (2020), in the sense that many immigrants have been prejudiced by the reduction of specific services and by the postponement regarding the ruling of their legal residence status.

Kraut (2010), Arciniega (2013), Hovring (2020), IOM (2020) and WHO (2020) specifically take up the discrimination against immigrants during pandemics. Regarding the episodes of

discrimination during March-July 2020, 20% of Brazilians and 6% of Cabo Verdeans asserted that they felt stigmatized. The most common responses refer to xenophobia, the association of COVID-19 with the condition of immigrant and the priority given to the Portuguese citizens, including for job vacancies. Some motives as to why they felt this way are in Annex 5.

Concerning the Portuguese health system, 37% of Brazilians and 32% of Cabo Verdeans declared that they used it during the lockdown. From this group, 78% of Brazilians and 90% of Cabo Verdeans said that they were well treated.

Regarding mental health, on an interval scale containing 5 options of choice, as shown in Table 6, the respondents did not converge on one unique answer, with the mode of "Good mental health". However, when it comes to the frequency the respondents felt sad or depressive, it is important to note that 45% of Brazilians and 40% of Cabo Verdeans answered "quite often" or "too often". This fact supports the argument of Mukhra et al. (2020) that depression can be caused by poverty, lack of job opportunities and financial support.

Table 6 – How respondents assessed their own mental health

Self-assessment about mental health				How often did they feel sad or depression during lockdown						How often did the own mental health interfere with the ability to accomplish tasks during lockdown				
				Brazil		Cabo Verde		Brazil		Cabo Verde		Brazil		Cabo Verde
Excellent	28	12%	18	29%	Extremely often	19	8%	2	3%	Extremely often	22	9%	5	8%
Very good	74	31%	18	29%	Very often	88	37%	23	37%	Very often	66	28%	12	19%
Good	80	33%	12	19%	Somewhat often	90	38%	18	29%	Somewhat often	82	34%	14	23%
Fair	49	20%	13	21%	Not so often	21	9%	7	11%	Not so often	26	11%	6	10%
Poor	9	4%	1	2%	Not at all often	22	9%	12	19%	Not at all often	44	18%	25	40%

Source: own elaboration.

Taking into consideration that capacity of solidarity (Ojeda and Márquez, 2007) is a factor of resilience within a community, 26% of Brazilians and 6% of Cabo Verdeans claim that they have already helped other immigrants through donations of food or medication during the pandemic.

Likewise, considering that community support is a relevant factor of resilience, we must highlight that the unemployed respondents, including those who lost their jobs in the lockdown, 46% of Brazilians and 41% of Cabo Verdeans were supported by friends to look for new jobs. In contrast from the group of respondents who have children, 13% of Brazilians and 29% of Cabo Verdeans said that they had support from friends to take care of the children during the period of lockdown. Considering all the sample universe, 39% of Brazilians and 33% of Cabo Verdeans said that they have children living in Portugal, as shown in Table 2.

Taking into account the concept of communitarian resilience (Norris et al., 2008), which encompass the economic development as a way of adaption, 25% of Brazilians and 23% of Cabo Verdeans, from the entire sample universe, informed that they tried to earn money by different entrepreneurial initiatives during the lockdown.

Aiming at a better understanding of the issue concerning individual and communitarian resilience from the respondents in the pandemic and lockdown, we first presented 22 statements with which they were supposed to express their greater or lesser agreement, by using a Likert interval scale. The results of the answers are in detail in Annex 6. Then, we analyzed the content of the answers based on the agreement degree, as follows: high convergence (average of percentage between 99% and 56%); medium convergence (average of percentage between 55% and 46%) and low convergence (average of percentage between 45% and 35). Thus, disregarding neutral opinions, Brazilians presented a higher rate of convergence on the statements below:

- 60% fully agreed: “I often talked to my family and friends during the period of lockdown.”
- 74% fully agreed: “I consider that I was well informed regarding how to protect myself from the virus.”
- 70% fully agreed: “The information to which I had access was sufficient regarding how to protect myself from the virus.”
- 66% fully disagreed: “I had financial aid from immigrant friends like me who also live in Portugal.”
- 60% fully disagreed: “I lent money to immigrant friends like me who needed help during the quarantine.”

Besides, amongst Brazilians, the statement presenting medium rate of convergence was:

- 46% fully agreed: “My spiritual practices and my faith were important to me during this period.”

The statements with low rate of convergence were:

- 36% fully disagreed: “I have a support network in Portugal, and everybody helps one another.”
- 42% partially agreed: “While the situation was delicate, I had good sense of humour in several moments.”
- 43% partially agreed: “I trust in political leaders in Portugal.”
- 40% partially agreed and 40% fully agreed: “I was able to overcome difficulties during the period of lockdown.”
- 38% partially agreed: “I reckon that my friends and I (both from the same origin, Brazilians or Cabo Verdeans) adapted well to the pandemic.”

Amongst Cabo Verdeans, the statements with high rates of convergence were:

- 76% fully agreed: “I often talked to my family and friends during the period of lockdown.”
- 76% fully agreed: “I consider that I was well informed regarding how to protect myself from the virus.”
- 68% fully agreed: “The information to which I had access was sufficient regarding how to protect myself from the virus.”

Only this following statement had a medium rate of convergence amongst Cape Verdeans:

- 55% fully disagreed: “I had financial aid from immigrant friends like me who also live in Portugal.”

Finally, the following pieces of information had a low rate of convergence amongst Cabo Verdeans:

- 39% fully agreed: “I consider that I have received emotional support.”
- 35% partially agreed and 44% fully agreed: “I consider the isolation to be only physical-based since I had online contact with lots of people.”
- 40% fully agreed: "I consider myself well integrated in Portugal from the point of view of my social relations."
- 40% fully agreed: “Whenever I needed help in Portugal, I had friends who could help me out.”
- 39% partially agreed and 39% fully agreed: “While the situation was delicate, I had good sense of humour in several moments.”
- 45% fully agreed: “My spiritual practices and my faith were important to me during this period.”
- 37% fully agreed: “I was able to overcome difficulties during the period of lockdown.”
- 37% partially agreed: “I saw acts of solidarity among my friends.”
- 40% totally disagreed: "I lent money to immigrant friends like me who needed it during the quarantine.”

Having said that, Brazilians and Cabo Verdeans converged when they agreed they had contact with family and friends during lockdown and the information they had was sufficient regarding how to protect themselves from infection and the COVID-19. A great part of the sample considered spiritual practices to be important, a great part said they had good humour in several moments and they were able to overcome difficulties during the period of lockdown.

Albeit with little expressivity, we can note that the Cabo Verdean community has little more sense of union than the Brazilian one, since Cabo Verdeans have asserted that they were socially integrated in Portugal, they had friends helping them out and they have observed acts of solidarity amongst their group of friends in Portugal.

Brazilians and Cabo Verdeans too converged when talking about the absence of financial aid from their migrant friends in Portugal. Overall, the respondents did not have financial aid nor did

they lean money to other migrants from their community. It is worth noting that, according to Table 5, 13% of Brazilians and 19% of Cabo Verdeans lost their jobs between March-July 2020, 15% of Brazilians and 3% of Cabo Verdeans were already unemployed, in addition to the consequent difficulties in paying for housing reported by 31% of Brazilians and 18% of Cabo Verdeans.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

This work aims to investigate, in the light of theoretical contribution on resilience and vulnerability, how immigrants living in Portugal experienced the first period of the COVID-19 pandemic, which corresponded to the initial period of lockdown. We carried out a survey based on the collection of primary data through a questionnaire to Brazilian and Cabo Verdean communities living in Portugal at the beginning of the pandemic. The questions concerned resilience and vulnerability, COVID-19, the impacts felt by immigrants and their perceptions towards an ensemble of issues. This empirical study addressed their experiences from March to July 2020.

In order to state the main conclusions of this research, we take up the main question of this study: what were the main factors of resilience and vulnerability, individual-wise and communitarian-wise, experienced/mobilized by Brazilian and Cabo Verdean migrants living in Portugal, during the period of lockdown?

As for the factors of resilience, we highlight the fact that most part of the respondents makes a good assessment of their mental health. Almost half of those who became unemployed had the support of friends to look for work. Some also had the support of friends to look after their children while working or looking for a job. Others reported having had different entrepreneurial initiatives than usual during this period to earn money. A high percentage of the sample kept in touch with family and friends throughout the period and considered themselves well informed about the care to be taken to avoid contamination during the pandemic. Spiritual and faith practices helped part of the sample to cope better with the lockdown.

As for the factors of vulnerability, unemployment and the precarious employment situation of informal and self-employed workers are the first to be highlighted. Few Brazilian and Cabo Verdean migrants have benefited from financial aid such as lay-offs, unemployment benefits or support for the self-employed. This low percentage of beneficiaries may also reflect informality at work. The reduction or suspension of income not only affects the lives of migrants, but also on the lives of those who benefit from the remittances they stop sending. 45% of Brazilians and 46% of Cabo Verdeans who sent remittances to their country of origin stopped doing so during the period from March to July 2020. Brazilians have also suffered because of the devaluation of the Brazilian currency, the Real, against the Euro. This was the second most frequent reason given for the

difficulties in paying for housing that 31% of Brazilians and 18% of Cabo Verdeans claim to have had. The first reason was unemployment (of the person and/or his/her partner).

Within the employee subgroup, 62% of Cabo Verdeans and 50% of Brazilians moved to work during lockdown – another vulnerability factor when it came to exposing the migrant group to the risk of contagion. With the suspension of specific services aimed at migrants, some Brazilian and Cabo Verdean migrants claim to have been harmed, including due to the postponement of the decision on their legal residency status in Portugal. On the other hand, a significant number reported having been the target of discriminatory phrases or acts by people who associated the infection of the virus with immigrants, a fact that was added to the reports of the majority who reported experiencing xenophobia in general (i.e., not only during the pandemic period).

Iorio and Fonseca (2017), in a study on Brazilian students in Portugal, postulate that interaction on social networks before migration enables the exchange of information and reduces the fear of the unknown, besides facilitating social insertion. Considering the large number of groups of Brazilians in Portugal on social networks, especially Facebook, and also taking into account the strong interaction among members of these groups in terms of posts and comments, it was expected that there would be a greater sense of unity, minimal identification as a community and mutual support. However, the answers to the questions referring to "groups of friends" or "community" compiled in the table in Annex 6 did not suggest that the respondents feel integrated or have people to turn to. Although timidly, it was noted that the Cabo Verdean sample seems to feel more group oriented and more socially integrated in Portugal.

Based on the collection and analysis of these primary data, it is thus concluded that the resilience factors identified at the level of these two immigrant communities do not seem to compensate for the multiple vulnerability factors at both individual and community levels, corroborating what the academic literature and international bodies have noted regarding the vulnerability of migrants in general.

The dissemination of the survey on social networks, including immigrant groups on Facebook, allowed the sample to be relatively diverse, as shown in Table 1, which profiles the respondents. However, the high average educational profile of respondents suggests that this sample is perhaps somewhat biased towards a higher relative weight of the more qualified and presumably less vulnerable migrants. Similarly, only people with internet access, who use social networks and who saw these postings, excluding migrants who do not have internet access and possibly homeless people, who may have been evicted during the period or even those who were already living on the street before the pandemic, an even more vulnerable public, responded. If the range of research could cover the excluded public, we would probably find more vulnerable immigrants with lower levels of formal education, which would probably further reinforce the overall conclusion on the dominance of vulnerability factors over resilience.

Another limitation of the survey was the instrument itself - the questionnaire. Complementary interviews could allow us to better understand the reality of the sample, consider specific and exceptional situations, as well as clarify doubts regarding some important data. One of the questions that generated doubt was, for example, the labour situation. The percentages of employees and self-employed people in Table 2 were not the same as in Table 5, which was drawn up from the question on the labour situation from March to July 2020. Perhaps, because of unemployment, some workers began to work independently in August 2020, when the survey was carried out, and therefore the percentage of self-employed in Table 2 was higher than in Table 5. This explanation is consistent with the fact that 25% of Brazilians and 23% of Cabo Verdeans stated that they had different entrepreneurial initiatives than usual during the period. In any case, it may be possible to explore some of the results and indications suggested by this first study in more depth in future work through qualitative approaches.

Finally, one can perhaps speculate that the relatively surprising results regarding the low sense of community manifested by respondents, especially Brazilians, may be largely due to financial difficulties, the uncertain situation associated with the pandemic and competition for employment opportunities. In a forthcoming study, it would certainly be relevant to explore these issues further, including informing intervention strategies to promote more effective processes and dynamics of integration and social support.

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## ANNEXES\*

### ANNEX 1 - QUESTIONNAIRE

Q0 What is your country of birth?

Brazil (1) / Cape Verde (2) / Other (3)

Q1 Nationality

Brazil (1) / Cape Verde (2) / Portugal (3) / Other (4) \_\_\_\_\_

Q2 Age

0-18 years (1) / 18-25 years (2) / 26-35 years (3) / 36-45 years (4) / 46-55 years (5) / 56-65 years (6) / > 65 0-18 years (7)

Q3 Where was you living in March of 2020?

▼ List of regions of Portugal (1-24) ... Was not living in Portugal around March of 2020 (25)

Q4 Where were you in March of 2020?

In Portugal, at my house (1) / In another place in Portugal (2) / In Brazil (3) / In Cape Verde (4) / In another country (5)

Q5 Where do you live, currently?

In Portugal, at the same house where I used to live in March 2020. (1) / I moved to another place in Portugal (2) / In Brazil (3) / In Cape Verde (4) / In another country (5)

Q6 Where are you at this moment?

In Portugal, at my house (1) / In another place in Portugal (2) // In Brazil (3) / In Cape Verde (4) / In another country (5)

Q7 Have you kept your job, during March to July of 2020?

Yes (1) / No (2) / No, but I got another job, during the quarantine (or was rehired) (3) / I've been unemployed for that period (4) / Not applicable; I work as freelancer or self-employed (5) / Not applicable; I am retired or I've been only studying (5)

Q8 From March to July of 2020, as self-employed, have you been doing the same kind of work?

Yes (1) / No (please, specify) (2) \_\_\_\_\_

\* The original version of all annexes is in Portuguese, all were translated into English.

Q9 From March to July of 2020, as self-employed, have you seen a drop in the demand for your services?

Yes, there was a drop in the demand for my services (1) / No, there was no change (2) / I didn't work at all, in this period (3)

Q10 Have you received the financial support (lay-off scheme) from Government of Portugal, from March to July of 2020?

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q11 Have you received unemployment benefit from Government of Portugal, from March to July of 2020?

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q12 From March to July of 2020?, have you received any financial support for as self-employed with reduced activity from Government of Portugal?

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q12 Did you use to send money to your family in your home country, before March of 2020?

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q14 Have you sent money to your family in your home country, from March to July of 2020?

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q15 After losing your job, did your friends help you with job-hunting?

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q16 Did exchange rate fluctuations adversely affected you- from March to July of 2020 - in case of currency exchange or your credit card operations?

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q17 did you have to borrow money from friends, relatives or even banks? - from March to July of 2020.  
Sim (1) / Não (2)

Q18 Did you struggle to pay the rent on the house where you lived, from March to July of 2020?

Sim (please, specify) (1) \_\_\_\_\_ / Não (2)

Q19 Do you think that you had adequate housing to fulfil quarantine and social distancing requirements?  
Sim (1) / Não (please, specify) (2) \_\_\_\_\_

Q20 Did you help any groups of immigrants with food or medicine donations during the pandemic?

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q21 Have you had any entrepreneurial initiatives to make money, different from what you usually do, during the months of March to July 2020? Example: providing service or selling products.

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q22 Did you move to work outside the home during the months of March to July 2020?

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q23 Would you like to have returned to your home country when the pandemic started?

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q24 Did you manage to return to your country?

Yes (1) / No (please specify reason) (2) \_\_\_\_\_

Q25 Have you been affected by the suspension of any official service for migrants? (for example: SEF, ACM or CNAI)

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q26 Have you been affected by the suspension of any other migrant services? (Casa do Brasil, any specific NGO or others)

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q27 Do you have children living with you in Portugal?

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q28 During the months of March to July 2020, did you receive support from friends with your children? (Example: care while you were working or looking for a job)

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q29 Did you feel discriminated against or stigmatized for being a migrant specifically during the months of March to July 2020?

Yes (please specify) (1) \_\_\_\_\_ / No (2)

Q30 Has your residence and/or nationality status been affected in any way by the suspension of services of SEF or other related body?

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q31 Did you have to resort to the Portuguese health system during the months of March to July 2020?

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q32 Were you well treated when you used the Portuguese health system?

Yes (1) / No (2)

Q33 Ojeda and Márquez (2007) define community as a group of human beings united by a social bond that implies a shared cultural orientation in their group identity. Considering the above concept and the months of March to July 2020, please indicate the degree of agreement with the following assertions, choosing an option on the scale below that varies from totally disagreeing to totally agreeing.

	Strongly disagree	Partially disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Partially agree	Fully agree
I often talked to my family and friends during the period of lockdown. (1)					
I consider that I have received emotional support. (2)					
I have a support network in Portugal, and everybody helps one another. (3)					
I consider the isolation to be only physical-based since I had online contact with lots of people. (4)					
My group of friends in Portugal consists mainly of people from my home community (Brazilian / Cape Verdean). (5)					
I consider myself well integrated in Portugal from the point of view of my social relations. (6)					
If I needed support, I know I could turn to people from my home community (Brazilian/Cabo Verdean) in Portugal. (7)					

If I needed support, I know I could turn to people from outside my home community (Brazilian/Cabo Verdean) in Portugal. (8)					
Whenever I needed help in Portugal, I had friends who could help me out. (9)					
While the situation was delicate, I had good sense of humour in several moments. (10)					
Groups or community associations of which I am a member in Portugal (e.g. church, club, sport and/or politics) have supported me. (11)					
My spiritual practices and my faith were important to me during this period. (12)					
I consider that I was well informed regarding how to protect myself from the virus. (13)					
The information to which I had access was sufficient regarding how to protect myself from the virus during the lockdown time. (14)					
I trust in political leaders in Portugal. (15)					
I trust the leaders of my immigrant community in Portugal. (16)					
I was able to overcome difficulties during the period of lockdown. (17)					
I reckon that my friends and I (both from the same origin, Brazilians or Cabo Verdeans) adapted well to the pandemic. (18)					
I believe that my friends and I (both from the same origin, Brazilians or Cabo Verdeans) have overcome together the difficulties we had during the quarantine. (19)					
I saw acts of solidarity among my friends. (20)					
I had financial aid from immigrant friends like me who also live in Portugal. (21)					
I lent money to immigrant friends like me who needed help during the quarantine. (22)					

Q34 In general, how do you evaluate your mental health?

Excellent (1) / Very good (2) / Good (3) / Fair (4) / Poor (5)

Q35 During the months of March to July 2020, how often did you feel sad or depressed?

Extremely often (1) / Very often (2) / Somewhat often (3) / Not so often (4) / Not at all (5)

Q36 During the months of March to July 2020, how often did your mental health interfere with your ability to perform tasks or do tasks?

Extremely often (1) / Very often (2) / Somewhat often (3) / Not so often (4) / Not at all (5)

Q37 Gender

Female (1) / Male (2) / Non-binary (3) / Prefer not to express an opinion (4)

## Q38 Level of education

Primary schools or 9th year or less (1) / High school or 10th - 12th year (2) / Technical Course or Medium Course (3) / Attended university (4) / Bachelor's degree (5) / Graduate (6) / Postgraduate (7) / Master's degree (8) / PhD (9)

## Q39 Net monthly income of your family aggregate

Family aggregate: a group of people living in a common economy or, in other words, using their income to pay common household expenses.

Between 0 and 500 Euros (1) / Between 501 and 1000 Euros (2) / Between 1001 and 1500 Euros (3) / Between 1501 and 2000 Euros (4) / Over 2000 Euros (5)

Q40 Number of persons aged 14 or over in your family aggregate (including you) \_\_\_\_\_

Q41 Number of persons under 14 in your family aggregate \_\_\_\_\_

## Q42 Professional situation

Employee (1) / Autonomous worker (2) / Domestic work (3) / Employee and student (4) / Student (5) / Retired or retired (6) / Unemployed (7)

## ANNEX 2 - DIFFICULTIES IN PAYING FOR HOUSING: REASONS

<b>Brazil</b>	
I had to use my savings from Brazil.	I delayed the rent.
Like all of us, of course it was very tight.	My husband was self-employed and had no income in July, so we had to use our savings.
With the rent of my house in Brazil, I pay the rent of the flat where I live in Porto. As my Brazilian tenants had financial difficulties due to the pandemic, I had to negotiate the value of the property I live in in Porto.	Due to the very unfavorable exchange rate to the Real and the uncertainties in the Brazilian economy, some months were harder to get the rent money.
Landlord lowered the value to help.	3 months still to pay waiting for the benefit of the IHRU.
I had to get help from relatives.	We paid, but left other things unpaid.
I can't afford to pay for an address, so I live with friends.	Yes, that was the reason for my change of residence during this period.
I lost the job of rent supplement.	The rent for April was paid in installments.
I almost lived in the street.	But I soon got a moratorium.
The money I bring from Brazil has been highly devalued.	I was having trouble getting a job.
The landlord gave me a discount of 50 euros in April.	In March.
I asked for a reduction in the rent.	Rent and bills.
I had to use a financial reserve.	Because only my husband is working and we have 2 small children.
We almost did failed.	Income was paid at 50%.
Late payment.	Housing and food.
I arrived in Portugal on March 19 as a pensioner, I had to get a job because my pensioner's salary fell by 550 euros.	My salary was cut, but I didn't get anything from the government because the company didn't cut enough to get restitution from the government.
Husband unemployed.	Exchange rate variation.
The money was not enough for the rent.	I had for all the months.

The rent because, with the exchange rate variation, it increased a lot since I receive a real pension.	My boyfriend and I lived in a room. I kept my job, he did not. So only I paid everything for both of us with a salary of 580 euros.
To this day I am in debt.	Very expensive rent.
I stopped paying April, May and June.	I was unemployed.
4 months in arrears.	I shared the month of May in 2x.
I even moved from house to room.	In April and May. My landlord even decided not to collect the rent to help.
The exchange rate fluctuation affected the initial budget.	I had to ask them to lower the amount a little.
I received aid from the uporto (SASUP) so I could pay the rent.	My husband and I were unemployed at the same time.
For lack of employment.	I couldn't pay the rent.
I got a rent reduction.	Since I didn't work, I had no money.
Husband unemployed.	My wife was unemployed.
<b>Cabo Verde</b>	
Yes, it was a bit difficult as in lay-off I received very little.	Income reduction.
I asked my parents for money.	Due to the pandemic crisis.
2 months without paying for my house.	I used to work, but was able to pay all employees on time.

## ANNEX 3 - DIFFICULTIES TO PERFORM THE LOCKDOWN AT HOME: REASONS

<b>Brazil</b>	
Without work and without money... It becomes very difficult.	Financial difficulties, access to up-to-date information and especially psychological difficulties.
When it came to carrying out my work activities, I had to pay for the purchase of an ergometric table and chair, as the company did not show itself. I have a herniated disc, I need minimum conditions.	It was a T0, without TV and without any balcony or outside where I could sunbathe, walk or stay a bit outdoors, as I was already on the street.
Lack of money.	I have experienced difficulties in paying rent, food and college.
I worked.	I worked.
I worked normally.	No, because I slept in a shared house and everyone had to work.
I continued working.	No, because other people live.
I had to reduce, for example, food.	I moved to a bigger house.
I share house with 4 people.	It was not necessary.
Since I kept my home office job, I didn't have the necessary equipment to perform the same job as the office.	There was no living room, only bedroom, bathroom and kitchen. There was no sun inside and no balcony.
I shared with other people they didn't respect this.	Lack of food.
Exchange people on the spot.	I live in a hostel.
<b>Cabo Verde</b>	
House with 8 people.	I had to apply for scholarship and food support.
Because I get a minimum wage and it doesn't come until the end of the month.	Sometimes yes, sometimes no.

ANNEX 4 - REASONS FOR NOT BEING ABLE TO RETURN TO YOUR HOME COUNTRY DURING  
LOCKDOWN

<b>Brazil</b>		
Flight cancelled.	If it were, I could not return to Portugal.	Working.
I did not find it safe to travel with the possibility of carrying the virus from here to Brazil.	Lack of money.	In Brazil the number of cases is much higher than in Portugal.
It is still too expensive to travel to Brazil.	Lack of money.	I didn't have the money for the ticket.
The university did not decide if and when it would resume classes in person.	I couldn't get money for tickets, we are a family of 3 adults and 1 baby.	There were no flights and the value of the ticket was very high.
How?	I preferred to stay.	Flight cancellation.
Shortage of flight.	I had no money.	I ended up going to another country.
<b>Cabo Verde</b>		
I am a sick person, dependent on the Portuguese health system.	There was no flight.	I had no money.
Studies.	Due to lack of financial conditions.	It closed borders.
I was waiting for my residence document, as mine had expired.	For financial reasons and course completion.	Because I have no document.

## ANNEX 5 - REASONS FOR FEELING DISCRIMINATED DURING LOCKDOWN

<b>Brazil</b>	
I went to a school to ask for information and they treated me badly, saying that Brazilians are all infected.	Before the pandemic it was not necessary to have the residence permit for many job vacancies, now it is almost a requirement.
Not having a housing visa.	Portugueses from Lisbon are xenophobes.
Not having the same rights.	Discrimination for being Brazilian.
Go back to your land, you speak Brazilian, you elected that crazy guy - Bolsonaro.	Government benefits for immigrants were only paid from May and many were denied.
When you are an immigrant, you will always be discriminated against.	To rent a flat.
All the time we are here.	The priority of the vacancy is almost always for Portuguese.
A boss mocked me saying that HE had a steady job. He threatened to leave me without a job and said that I would not get another job.	An attendant of SEF, by telephone, simply treated me badly.
I have a hard time because I don't have the money to validate my diploma and I've heard from employers that they don't hire Brazilians.	For "immigrants would take COVID in greater numbers," according to a prejudiced comment.
I was not seen at the health post and was short of breath for days.	Portuguese may live in other countries, but they do not like us going to theirs.

Since I arrived, not only being exclusive of the period mentioned.	Always. "We have no identity", "we are the Brazilians", "we have to go home".
When I read social media comments.	There is xenophobia in Portugal.
Preference was given to Portuguese.	The general lack of assistance from Brazil and the insufficiency, despite acknowledging the efforts of the Portuguese government, were factors in the deepening of emotional instability.
Most of the jobs were only for resident and Portuguese people.	
<b>Cabo Verde</b>	
Not having financial support from the government, knowing that I contributed several years here to social security.	Relate increased COVID to foreign workers.

## ANNEX 6 - COMMUNITY RESILIENCE FACTORS SCALE

		Strongly disagree		Partially disagree		Neither agree nor disagree		Partially agree		Fully agree	
		BR	CV	BR	CV	BR	CV	BR	CV	BR	CV
1	I often talked to my family and friends during the period of lockdown.	2%	3%	4%	3%	5%	3%	29%	15%	60%	76%
2	I consider that I have received emotional support.	11%	13%	10%	6%	21%	19%	28%	23%	31%	39%
3	I have a support network in Portugal, and everybody helps one another.	36%	32%	12%	21%	18%	16%	22%	21%	12%	10%
4	I consider the isolation to be only physical-based since I had online contact with lots of people.	8%	8%	15%	6%	12%	6%	33%	35%	33%	44%
5	My group of friends in Portugal consists mainly of people from my home community (Brazilian / Cape Verdean).	16%	24%	13%	8%	14%	5%	29%	29%	28%	34%
6	I consider myself well integrated in Portugal from the point of view of my social relations.	14%	3%	16%	8%	18%	18%	31%	31%	21%	40%
7	If I needed support, I know I could turn to people from my home community (Brazilian/Cabo Verdean) in Portugal.	17%	23%	11%	10%	23%	13%	32%	34%	18%	21%
8	If I needed support, I know I could turn to people from outside my home community (Brazilian/Cabo Verdean) in Portugal.	20%	21%	14%	10%	25%	23%	28%	26%	14%	21%
9	Whenever I needed help in Portugal, I had friends who could help me out.	11%	13%	10%	8%	23%	15%	31%	24%	25%	40%
10	While the situation was delicate, I had good sense of humour in several moments.	4%	5%	7%	5%	13%	13%	42%	39%	34%	39%
11	Groups or community associations of which I am a member in Portugal (e.g. church, club, sport and/or politics) have supported me.	31%	27%	7%	15%	43%	31%	12%	16%	8%	11%

12	My spiritual practices and my faith were important to me during this period.	12%	13%	4%	6%	17%	23%	22%	13%	46%	45%
13	I consider that I was well informed regarding how to protect myself from the virus.	1%	3%	1%	0%	2%	0%	23%	21%	74%	76%
14	The information to which I had access was sufficient regarding how to protect myself from the virus during the lockdown time.	1%	3%	1%	0%	4%	2%	24%	27%	70%	68%
15	I trust in political leaders in Portugal.	5%	5%	5%	10%	27%	60%	43%	23%	21%	3%
16	I trust the leaders of my immigrant community in Portugal.	13%	6%	11%	16%	60%	63%	12%	11%	5%	3%
17	I was able to overcome difficulties during the period of lockdown.	4%	5%	6%	6%	10%	18%	40%	34%	40%	37%
18	I reckon that my friends and I (both from the same origin, Brazilians or Cabo Verdeans) adapted well to the pandemic.	7%	6%	16%	11%	26%	42%	38%	34%	13%	6%
19	I believe that my friends and I (both from the same origin, Brazilians or Cabo Verdeans) have overcome together the difficulties we had during the quarantine.	8%	5%	13%	16%	36%	37%	32%	32%	11%	10%
20	I saw acts of solidarity among my friends.	8%	6%	10%	3%	23%	27%	33%	37%	26%	26%
21	I had financial aid from immigrant friends like me who also live in Portugal.	66%	55%	9%	10%	17%	18%	4%	16%	4%	2%
22	I lent money to immigrant friends like me who needed help during the quarantine.	60%	40%	5%	8%	17%	18%	8%	18%	10%	16%