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Reject access and coloniality: dialogues with qualified Brazilian women in Portugal

Andrea Oltramari

Professora da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (Brasil)

andreaoltr@gmail.com

Josiane Silva de Oliveira

Pesquisadora da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (Brasil)

oliveira.josianesilva@gmail.com

Marina Rainho

Pesquisadora da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (Brasil)

marina.rainhoartes@gmail.com

Aline Chima Komino

Pesquisadora da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (Brasil)

alinechima@hotmail.com

Abstract

The aim of this article is to understand the colonial dynamics faced by Brazilian women in their integration in the Portuguese labour market and also to the city and their practices of confronting colonialities. We interviewed 38 Brazilian women who have lived in Portugal for three years or less, belonging to the so-called fourth migratory wave of Brazilians to Portugal. Data were collected between February 2019 and October 2020, in person, taking into account the restrictive sanitary measures related to the Covid-19 pandemic. Our results are presented in two categories: a) reject access and b) Coping strategies and right to the city. They show that barriers often involve xenophobia and harassment, cruelty and colonial pathologization that remain present over the subordinate population, terminology coined by Spivak (2003) in relation to strategies of (re)existence.

Keywords

Qualified Brazilian women; Coloniality; Immigration; Reject access

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Acesso negado e colonialidade: diálogos com mulheres brasileiras qualificadas em Portugal

Resumo

O objetivo deste artigo é compreender as dinâmicas coloniais enfrentadas por mulheres brasileiras em sua integração no mercado de trabalho português, bem como na cidade, e suas práticas de enfrentamento às colonialidades. Entrevistamos 38 mulheres brasileiras que vivem em Portugal há três anos ou menos, pertencentes à chamada quarta onda migratória de brasileiros para o país. Os dados foram coletados entre fevereiro de 2019 e outubro de 2020, presencialmente, considerando as medidas sanitárias restritivas relacionadas à pandemia de Covid-19. Nossos resultados são apresentados em duas categorias: a) acesso negado e b) estratégias de enfrentamento e direito à cidade. Eles revelam que as barreiras frequentemente envolvem xenofobia e assédio, crueldade e patologização colonial que permanecem presentes sobre a população subordinada, uma terminologia cunhada por Spivak (2003) em relação às estratégias de (re)existência.

Palavras-Chave

Mulheres brasileiras qualificadas; Colonialidade; Imigração; Acesso negado

Acceso negado y colonialidad: diálogos con mujeres brasileñas calificadas en Portugal

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es comprender las dinámicas coloniales que enfrentan las mujeres brasileñas en su integración en el mercado laboral portugués, así como en la ciudad, y sus prácticas de enfrentamiento a las colonialidades. Entrevistamos a 38 mujeres brasileñas que viven en Portugal desde hace tres años o menos, pertenecientes a la llamada cuarta ola migratoria de brasileños hacia el país. Los datos fueron recolectados entre febrero de 2019 y octubre de 2020, de forma presencial, teniendo en cuenta las medidas sanitarias restrictivas relacionadas con la pandemia de Covid-19. Nuestros resultados se presentan en dos categorías: a) acceso negado y b) estrategias de afrontamiento y derecho a la ciudad. Los resultados muestran que las barreras a menudo implican xenofobia y acoso, crueldad y patologización colonial que permanecen presentes sobre la población subordinada, una terminología acuñada por Spivak (2003) en relación con las estrategias de (re)existencia.

Palabras clave

Mujeres brasileñas cualificadas; Colonialidad; Inmigración; Acceso negado

Dados para Contato | Contact Details | Detalles de Contacto: Andrea Oltramari - Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul. Av. Paulo Gama, 110 - Farroupilha, Porto Alegre - RS, 90040-060, Brasil. **URL:** https://www.ufrgs.br/.

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INTRODUÇÃO

Employment opportunities do not only depend on objective conditions, such as educational qualifications and professional skills. Intersections such as gender, race, ethnicity, origin and migratory status, for example, are possibly more relevant when it comes to work opportunities outside the country of nationality (Castles, 2010). Migrant women, even those that are highly skilled, are subordinated to less skilled jobs (Acker, 2004; Chow, 2003; McCall, 2001; Carangio, 2023; Bolzani et al., 2021). Hirata (2020) points to the relationship between precariousness, flexibilization and women's work, especially if crossed by the intersectionalities of race, color, and ethnicity. In France, for example, the debate about precarious and flexible work places women at the centre of the analysis. Issues such as family, age, gender and ethnicity bring culturally rooted elements that tend to narrow or expand career possibilities in contemporary times (Yu, 2019) and some careers fall more heavily on women than on men, especially those linked to care work (Hirata, 2009). Thus, it is relevant to associate gender discussions with migration, as the possibilities of integration and permanence in the labour market depend on socio-historical contexts.

In general, women end up neglected in international opportunities, even when they have high qualifications, considering that some countries are still restrictive regarding the presence of immigrant women in organizational and power spaces (Fraga, Antunes; Rocha-de-Oliveira, 2020) especially with women from the global south (Mohanty, 2003). Fraga and Rocha-de-Oliveira (2020) point to labyrinths, sometimes without exit, faced by women in search of mobility. Racial, social and geographic limitations are elements, for example, that must be considered when at the perspective of immigration is imbricated with gender and inevitably brings other intersecting social markers of difference (Manning, 2021; Fraga; Rocha-de-Oliveira, 2020; Hirata, 2018; Hirata, 2020; Scherer; Prestes, 2019).

There are many studies that point to the stigmas and stereotypes of Brazilian women in Portugal. To illustrate, Malheiros and Padilla (2014) have already pointed out the stigmatized image and that they eventually imprint a negative connotation on Brazilian women, especially associated with sensuality, remnants of the Portuguese colonial imagination. Based on this stigmatized image, the authors show how Brazilian women's entrepreneurial acumen serves as a resource in their entry into the Portuguese labour market, considering the stereotype of the Brazilian festival and aesthetic market. Thus, the authors concluded that they became entrepreneurs in the female beauty market and reinterpreted and mobilized this negative image, turning it into a resource to leverage their business. Silva (2012) also has a seminal study on the problematization of what might eventually remain in the Portuguese colonial imagination. More recently, this theme was studied by Gomes (2018). Overall, not only in migration research but also in the field of organizational studies, there remains a significant need for further research that explores the interconnections between coloniality and migration (Prasad, 2013).

Following Gomes (2018) we intend to advance analyses that, eventually, interpret the Brazilian as the imaginary of the colonized and hypersexualized body. The aim of this article is to understand the colonial dynamics faced by Brazilian women in their integration into the Portuguese labor market and also to the city and their practices of confronting colonialities. This study explores two primary categories: rejected access and coping strategies/resistance to denied spaces. By examining these categories, the research seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of the barriers these women encounter and how they navigate and resist these challenges. Additionally, we associate to such discussions the literature on city rights, considering the anticolonial perspective of Kilomba (2019).

According to Kilomba (2019), colonial violence is characterized by the production of psychic and physical trauma. Recognition as subjects constituted in the context of colonization highlights the different forms of domination and, consequently, of violence that cross us subjectively. As such, this process is not limited to subjectivity, but also to different material conditions. The production of life and cities conform in this context. In addition, Kilomba (2019) highlights how sexism and racism should also be considered based on colonial violence. It is believed in this study, as in Gomes (2018), that the social roles constructed for men and women undoubtedly impact the lives of immigrants.

For Silva (2012) there are two forms of labour integration in the Portuguese labour market, considering Brazilian women: a) a part of the women fall below their labour qualifications and after some time they manage to improve their integration , without, nevertheless, ever reaching the same levels achieved in Brazil; and b) there are also women, even if in smaller numbers, who are able to enter a qualified job, such as businesswomen, doctors, dentists, teachers, researchers, among other professions. Aside from the concern for this difficulty of integration, the author points out that the Portuguese media has also been reproducing the stereotypes of Brazilian women, following the maintenance of the colonial imaginary about Brazilian women. Additionally, Sciortino (2021) states that the stigma that immigrants face has always been intense. Discussions and studies on the colonial and stereotyped image of Brazilian women have been the object of study by many researchers. Among them, Togni (2008) stands out. The stereotypes associated with the imaginary are predominantly exotic. They arise, above all, from a social construction (as much as the social construction of traditional female roles such as wife and mother, for example) and derive from the time when Brazil was a colony of Portugal, difficult times of enslavement, extermination and violent practices against women. This “supposed Brazilianness” as Togni (2008, p. 10) points out says about the exoticization of the Brazilian national identity and the sexualization of these women, especially revealed by Portuguese and Brazilian media (Togni, 2008; Pontes, 2004).

However, there were some reports in Togni’s (2008) research that pointed to the reproduction of the stereotype associated with the body and sexuality, especially when referring to what would mediate the transnational marriage between Brazilian women and Portuguese men. At times, based

on the reports, the deconstruction of the stereotype was not possible, and the appropriation of the stereotype of the Brazilian woman was used by the interviewees in a positive and homogenized sense (Togni, 2008). Additionally, social and economic mobility were also the means to migrate even if at departure they were qualified, but upon arrival their integration in the labour market was disqualified.

There are, however, many associations emerging, precisely to combat these stereotypes, which speak of associations of Brazilian women with joy, hypersexualization, and waddle. Gomes (2018) already pointed out that two important associations in Lisbon have been making relevant initiatives in the defence of the rights of migrants, namely the Casa do Brasil in Lisbon and the Associação Lusofonia Cultura e Cidadania, both of whose objectives are related to welcoming and defence of the rights of migrants.

The aim of this article is to understand the reject access faced by Brazilian women in their integration in the Portuguese labour market and also to the city and their practices of confronting colonialities. specially in the recent years. Therefore, this article is organized as follows: First, we discuss the necessity of addressing this subject within the colonial context between Brazil and Portugal. Next, we introduce Kilomba's studies to facilitate a discussion about coloniality. After that, we outline the methodology of our research. Finally, we present and discuss the results.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. A BRIEF DECOLONIAL CONTEXT

For Cusicanqui (2012) the duo between colonizer and colonized remains in the present, we believe that it also extends to other populations, as well as a certain control of writing over the other, therefore writing about immigrant women being immigrants or in the process of, infers in an attempt to break this logic (or part of), understanding that the ways of existing as an immigrant are also diverse. That said, it is necessary to question the image that the European holds about the Brazilian people: it associates festivities (carnival and samba) and sexuality (exotic and erotic body) as shown by the studies by Buarque, 2023, Togni (2008), Silva (2012) and Bridges (2004).

Quijano (2005) addresses the issue of globalization and the concept of modernity, which positioned Europe as the exemplar of a modern society, being the most advanced in various fields such as science, technology, and the arts, while disregarding other civilizations. The author also discusses the construction of "races" and how they are tied to the colonization process. Additionally, he provides a historical context that aids in understanding certain characteristics of contemporary

society, particularly in the development of what would be considered the West, the East, Africa, and Latin America. Quijano (2005) also examines the role of the capitalist system in this context, especially concerning paid labor and racial relations.

Therefore, when we talk about colonial relations and decolonial proposals, we talk more about coloniality than about colonialism, starting to also refer to historical landmarks in terms of theory. Thus, we refer not to direct colonization, but to how the echoes of that colonization perpetuate themselves. Coloniality is, therefore, the repetition of colonial violence to be and give power.

The subordinate position also reflects this violence, as well as the geopolitics of knowledge (women qualified in positions that do not require qualification), for example, with the coloniality of power, knowledge, and being intrinsic. Subjectivities and collectivities are directly influenced by coloniality, so even though it is declared that there is no prejudice, Brazilian women report how difficult it is to enter the labor market in the area of their specialization, or even how difficult it is to rent a house, for example.

Therefore, to think about female immigration from this framework is to think that it is constantly crossed by actions of power, therefore, coloniality of power. Doubly: because you are a woman and because you are an immigrant. Thus, we verify and underline the dark side of modernity that remains over time, legitimizing oppression and inequalities.

For Chungara (1978) the colonial difference is not a cultural difference, we use cultural dissimulation to mask the coloniality of power. When looking at labour market access barriers in particular, we find that these barriers are often involved in xenophobia and harassment.

Thus, we think it is necessary to involve the discussion about the decolonial theoretical background and the colonialities implicit in gender under the subordinate population, a terminology coined by Spivak (2003) underlining how the local social imaginary affects the work, and affective, relations of these women. In order to to break with the processes of subalternization that decolonial debates present the need for understanding, in addition to resistance, the re-existence of subordinated people:

> The re-existence points to decentring the established logics to search in the depths of the cultures - in this case indigenous and afro-descendants - the keys of organizational, production, food, ritual and aesthetic forms that allow to dignify life and re-invent it to remain transforming itself (Achinte, 2013, p. 455).

Using the term re-existence in decolonial debates is to highlight how populations that were colonized more than resisted. They also imputed other ways of existing in the world beyond what the “civilizing missions” violently imputed to these localities.

This process becomes more evident in the work developed by Lugones (2008). For the aforementioned author, in colonial modernity, the centrality is the dichotomous hierarchy between the human and the non-human. Thus, the "civilizing missions" of the colonizing countries were configured euphemically in relation to their main objective: the brutality of access to the bodies of the colonized through exploitation, sexual violence, reproductive control and systematic terror (Lugones, 2008). Lugones (2008) highlights that in the process of colonization of Latin America by countries like Spain and Portugal, colonizers even produced hats from the vaginas of indigenous women who were murdered.

However, the supposed civilizing goal of transforming human colonized people was not real, as this transformation did not occur in terms of identity, but of nature (Lugones, 2008). The colonized bodies were non-human bodies. So much so that to mark the female sexuality of the colonized bodies there was an association of these with appearing as Satan and taken by evil, by the lascivious and sinful understanding of these women. Thus, the colonialities of power (relationship of colonial domination), of power (the notion of hierarchy between human and non-human) and of being (women's bodies as lustful bodies from the point of view of sexuality) can be understood as gendered. In the context of migration studies, the topic of gender coloniality deserves to be the object of constant study, as shown by solidified and seminal studies on Brazilian women in Portugal, such as those by Pontes (2004), Togni (2008), Silva (2012), Gomes (2018) and França and Padilla (2018).

1.2. WHERE DO YOU COME FROM? COLONIALITY AND PRODUCTION OF PLACES IN MIGRATION

Where do you come from? This question, which, at first, may seem like a simple curiosity, shows, in the words of Kilomba (2019), an exercise in coloniality. Such exercise has as one of its main marks delimiting territorialities (Kilomba, 2019). In this questioning, in a very explicit way, there is an indication that there are borders between the "I" and the "other". And these borders are not limited only to the imaginaries and fantasies of domination (Kilomba, 2019), but also to the material dimension of existence, such as the space of the city. Questioning where we came from implies, directly, the understanding that we do not belong where we are.

When we consider the city as a socially produced space, it is the fabric of its relationships that show limits, places and ways of inhabiting it. In addition to highlighting centralities that are produced from these textures and that highlight the nuclei responsible for coordinating and directing the different activities that constitute them (Santos, 1959). When our relationships are woven from the questioning of our origin, there is a recognition of not belonging to the same nucleus of social constitution. Thus, considering that in colonialism the relationship of domination is one of its

central elements, what authorizes a person to assume in advance that they are distinct are the colonial fantasies (Kilomba, 2019) that ontologically substantiate the constitution of the other based on the assumption of inequality.

Kilomba (2019) highlights that the colonial relationship establishes a logic of categorization in which the self and the other are mutually exclusive. This is what Collins (2016) calls the logic of dichotomy by opposition, which has as one of its characteristics the understanding that these categories are different and inherently opposed to one another. In this context, there is no way for us to inhabit the same space, as our differences are ontologically opposite. One of the effects of this logic is the replacement of "and" by "or". We cannot be concurrently. Kilomba (2019) makes this discussion presenting as an example the impossibility of being a black and German woman. By discussing the account of a black Afro-German woman whose identity is constantly questioned by white people in Germany because she is a black German woman, the author highlights how race is this element of colonial split that separates the self from the other, but, above all, it prevents the constitution of being from non-duality when we discuss the occupation of cities based on elements of national borders. How can a city in Germany be inhabited by a black and German woman? Here, highlights Kilomba (2019) race and nationality are elements that generate an irreconcilable incompatibility in inhabiting the city. It is not possible to be black and German. Therefore, at all times, people who have these "irreconcilable differences" in the colonial logic are constantly asked "where do you come from?" and/or "when do you intend to come back?" (Kilomba, 2019).

Another important point highlighted by Kilomba (2019) refers to the naturalization of these types of questions as a form of scrutiny of people considered non-white in Europe. It is not by chance that when we research themes related to coloniality, race relations or immigration, our debate constantly turns to the scrutiny of the colonized, the non-white or the native. We tend not to question the current norms, but to scrutinize the "deviant". Therefore, the question "where do you come from?" also becomes a naturalized practice in our everyday life.

Cardoso (2014) contributes to these discussions by stating that the white person, understood here as the European, classifies the other and silences himself, by placing himself as a central character in the history of colonial violence in the West. This silence occurs because, after all, "private, intimate spaces, the secrets of whites among whites regarding the racial issue are difficult to access" (Cardoso, 2014, p. 89).

This colonial dynamic constitutes the fabric of social relations that produce the city. About this, Kilomba (2019, p. 113) states:

> I can't help remembering how the street where I grew up in Lisbon, Portugal - officially Rua Dr. João de Barros, became known as Rua dos Macacos. The street was also sometimes called the "Banana Republic," an imaginary nation inhabited by monkeys. In the eyes of white people, we, black people were "monkeys" who had recently arrived from formerly colonized Africa. On the one hand, the grotesque

> fantasy of classifying us as apes reveals the need to impose on us the status of inferiors - non-humans. On the other hand, the need to imagine our street as an illusory separate country reveals the forced incompatibility of blackness and Portugueseness. What, in fact, they wanted to imagine us living in another country, not there, but abroad, in our own Republic Excluded twice. Twice placed as "Other". So every time we left our republic, or ghetto, we were asked: "Where do you come from?" as a reminder of where we should be.

The colonial dynamic informs/imposes our place, in physical and symbolic terms. And at all times we are challenged in a material and symbolic way so that this place is not forgotten. This has effects even on street names, such as the "street of monkeys" discussed by Kilomba (2019), on monuments considered historical and representative of who the city belongs to, as well as the distribution of public facilities and public policies, such as modals, or types, and public and private transport routes. It is colonialism that produces cities and determines who can and cannot live in them, as well as the place we occupy in these locations.

2. METHOD

The qualitative research (Minayo, Deslandes, Gomes, 2011) was carried out from February 2019 to October 2020 in the city of Lisbon, Portugal.[1] The choice of this location to discuss the migratory process of Brazilian women occurred because Portugal was one of the main countries to colonize Brazil.

Studies on Brazilian immigration in Portugal are not new. For example, Padilla (2006), Machado (2006), Malheiros (2007), Peixoto (2008), Góis (2009), França and Padilla (2018) refer to various waves. The first wave refers to the period prior to 1990 and its main characteristic is that it is "composed of a large portion of immigrants with high levels of education and who have integrated themselves into more qualified segments of the Portuguese labour market" (Malheiros, 2007, p. 14). The second wave, more specifically from the beginning of the 1990s, was for humbler Brazilians, mostly men, whose entry into the labour market was through personal services and civil construction; jobs were less qualified, starting the process of proletarianization of Brazilian immigrants in Portugal (Góis, 2009, Peixoto, 2009). The third wave, which occurred at the turn of the century, marked an increase in intensity, but followed the same migratory pattern as the second wave in terms of the labour market. According to França and Padilla (2018), what marks this period is the increase in the immigration of women, which becomes greater than that of men, and the significant increase in the entry of Brazilians, which becomes the largest immigrant nationality in Portugal. According to Oltramari, Scherer and Fraga (2020), the fourth wave is characterized by

1 We would like to thank CAPES (Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel) and CNPq (National Council for Scientific and Technological Development) for the financial support provided for the execution of this research.

having a strong intersection with race, gender and class, and according to Fernandes, Peixoto and Oltramari (2021) it is also characterized by the feminization of migration.

This process was carried out based on violent practices, such as the extermination of the country's original population, the indigenous people, as well as the enslavement of the black African population in the Brazilian context. Although Brazil's "independence" from Portugal took place in 1822, it is still clear how colonial violence structures Brazilian society, such as racism against the black and indigenous population. Additionally, slavery was abolished in 1888, by means of the Áurea law, after almost 400 years of slavery. A difficult, slow and arduous process, full of struggle. Considering the debates on colonialism (Kilomba, 2019), discussing immigration processes between countries that have these historical "colonial ties" can show possibilities for understanding how colonialities are reconfigured contemporaneously.

The production of empirical material for the analyses included semi-structured interviews with 38 Brazilian women who have lived in Portugal for three years or less, belonging to the so-called fourth migratory wave (Fernandes, Peixoto, Oltramari, 2021; Oltramari, Scherer, Fraga, 2020). The inclusion criteria were: length of time living in Portugal between 2015 and 2019; age over 18; have already worked in Portugal; had already undergone regularization attempts in the country; women born in Brazil. The data discussed here were collected between February 2019 and October 2020, in person, taking into account the restrictive sanitary measures imposed by the new Covid-19 coronavirus. In order to make the data collection possible, we searched for qualified Brazilian women using the snowball method. For every woman we approached, five or six more were indicated, a fact that left the researchers positively surprised.

As an interview script, we adopted the following sequence: socioeconomic profile of the interviewees, reasons for migration, future projects in Portugal or other countries, experiences of violence and harassment in Portugal, integration and maintenance strategies in the Portuguese labour market, difficulties and facilities in regularization and access to the city (housing, documents, health, labour market). In the wake of what Kilomba (2021) decries, data analysis has the desire to tell other stories, which are usually naturalized and trivialized. As Kilomba (2021) says: What stories are told? Where are they counted? How are they counted? And told by whom? Thus, we consider the possibility of discussing migratory dynamics from women who historically have colonial violence in their social constitution processes. How to write without failing to say that elite white women also reinforce this violence.

Although they are part of an economic elite in Brazil, white Brazilian women were constituted in the context of domination and colonial exploitation that characterize this location. By Brazilian elite we focus on studies by Souza (2017) in which he refers to the Brazilian elite as the place of those who have the power to perpetuate a cruel society forged in slavery. From these repertoires they constituted themselves as subjects in the world. Considering that the debates on coloniality

show us how it is characterized in its political dimension as a collective project, it is from the understanding of how this collective dynamic is particularized by these women that this study is placed.

Data analysis included reading and re-reading more than 200 pages of speech transcriptions. The interviews totaled an average of 40 hours of voice recording. The ethical principles of the interviews were carefully respected: anonymity of the interviewees, the provision of free and informed consent, attentive and respectful listening and the return of our main data analysis to the interviewees.

The interpretative analyses of the research results took place from the construction of two axes of analysis, based on Minayo (2001) on content analysis directions. The first refers to how colonialities impact access to the city by Brazilian women in Portugal. In these discussions, we emphasize aspects related to documentation, housing and other services that enable them to recognize that they exist in this location. The second axis is constituted from the elements developed by Brazilian women to (re)exist as immigrants, that is, their practices of confronting colonialities.

3. ANALYSIS

3.1. REJECTED ACCESS

To present the research results, our categorization resulted in two axes of analysis. In the first, we present the refused access, that is, we present the various reports of denied access to the city, which are related to housing, documentation and health; in the second axis, we debate about the coping strategies and resistance to these denied spaces, as well as mental health maintenance strategies.

Understanding coloniality as a form of exercising domination, this process is also constituted by the singularities of the articulation of axes of oppression that structure society, as discussed by Collins (2016). In this work, as discussed by Kilomba (2019), we see that the migratory processes of women are influenced by the dynamics of racial oppression in terms of the geopolitics of Western colonization.

It was possible to notice that white Brazilian women recognize their states of racial advantage because they are white, as discussed by Cardoso (2014). This perception presents as one of its constituent elements the family support they receive in migration, something that for black people becomes more complex precisely because of the effect of the colonial dynamics on this population

(Gomes, 2018; Oltramari, Scherer and Fraga, 2020). Questions about mobility therefore, at this moment, appear labyrinthine and heterogeneous.

It is also important to highlight that Brazilian women are perceived as a mixed race in Portugal, regardless of their actual skin color. This form of racialization is influenced by coloniality, wherein only Europeans are regarded as white (Bonnet, 1998). In these perceptions of Brazilian women, skin color becomes less significant, while nationality and the question "where are you from?" emerge as more critical and symbolic categories within this colonial imaginary of the body (Kilomba, 2008).

The question "Where do you come from" becomes real when, in everyday life, women hear refusals regarding their desires and access rights, such as: access to affective spaces, access to housing, rejection of accent (, work and documentation. It seems interesting, in this article, to promote a parallel with these factors, questioning which forces and symbols are also exerted on the qualified immigrant woman, trying to build other narratives, often unsuccessfully, in the constitution of this city.

The narratives about language, speech, which constitute an important place of existence and memory, above all a place of identity, are deprived of place as soon as they hear the phrase "speak Portuguese, not Brazilian". This sentence, the first impression, immediately evokes the exclusion of what for a person is constituted as one of the first accesses to the city's space: speech. Many women referred that the searching for Portugal was related to first facility, with regard to migration: the language. Not finding this space and, above all, understanding that language is dynamic and implied an overlapping of languages of the original peoples in Brazil, is to deprive the other of its place. Brazilian white women are influenced by the languages of native people in a contradictory sense. While in Brazil this language marks them as dominant, in racial terms, in the European context they are marked as being "the other" for presenting this language as the basis for their constitution of their subjectivities. At this point, it is important to highlight the racial, contextual, regional and national relations that mark the colonial processes.

The effect of this, in some women, is the search for linguistic convergence, in an attempt to verbalize their accent as close as possible to the destination country, Portugal, neglecting the pronunciation of their mother tongue. This is the case of P. (41 years old) who uses another accent all the time. The implementation of institutions legitimized by the letter (schools, hospitals, workshops, prisons) and hegemonic discourses (maps, grammars, constitutions, manuals, hygiene treaties) regulate the conduct of social actors, establish boundaries between them and transmit to them the certainty of existing within or outside the limits defined by this legality in writing (González Stephan, 1996, apud Castro-Goméz, 2005, p. 81).

One of the effects of coloniality is to deprive humanity of the "other". In this place, the dimension of reason is deprived of the colonized that starts to occupy the condition of a body, displaced, in

the world, where there is no history and little knowledge that can contribute to the development of society, since not even the human condition this body boasts. In the context of migration, emphatically when we analyse labour relations, this process becomes evident when the place of knowledge in the exercise of work is constituted from a Eurocentric ontology. Therefore, the nature of constitution of labour knowledge cannot be established based on the ways in which a non-European person works. The end of colonialism did not mean the end of coloniality, as Quijano (2005) warns us. In the refusal of formal employment contracts, many are left with professional insertion primarily through voluntary work, as already announced by Oltramari, Scherer and Fraga (2020). This work, however, can last for years. Additionally, we want to point out here that this problem sometimes also happens to young white Portuguese people.

In this sense, in addition to the speech, the women interviewed reported that the knowledge of work that they gained in Brazil was disregarded when they migrated to Portugal. An important point to reflect on is what precedes this integration in the labour market: the equivalence of diplomas. Despite such a barrier, previous studies speak of both real and symbolic barriers. The real ones refer, above all, to time and high monetary values for the realization of equivalence and the symbolic ones refer to exhaustion in the consolidation of this process (Oltramari, Beltrame, 2021).

Coloniality and immigration travel on which roads in Portugal? In our interviews, we found that there is a common quality among some women about the fear of immigrating to Portugal. We could (and always should) raise here infinite aspects such as colonial trauma and colonialism, but understanding coloniality is what places us in the present. In the sense that coloniality is the characteristic of colonialism that persists to the present time, for example, the fact that a highly qualified woman is not able to enter the Portuguese labour market because of her nationality and because there is a subjective belief that she is less aware or not properly educated for certain Portuguese cultural imaginaries. Coloniality of power, because it is misunderstood that those further north understand better than those further south.

Another denied access, associated with the place that those who hear “where do you come from” occupy, is access to housing. Brazilian women report, among so many difficulties, those that relate to the stereotype of Brazilian women associated with the party market. Some heard, right after the identification of a “Brazilian” accent, the reading of rules such as “family house, no parties, men or noise allowed”. Specifically, C. (49 years old) said: “I learned that after a Portuguese man said he wouldn’t rent to me, I discovered that he rented for a lower price to a Portuguese woman. This presents itself as a very subtle element of coloniality. “The colonized appears as the other of reason, which would justify the exercise of disciplinary power by the colonizer. Evil, barbarism and incontinence are the identity marks of the colonized, while goodness, civilization and rationality are characteristic of the colonizer” (Castro-Goméz, 2005, p. 83).

Then the high prices, for the rent of just one room. Additionally, the report on the condition of the rooms: "many only had the mattress on the floor, without the bed. If we complained, the owners would say "can't you see that I've invested in the room? I can't charge less". Women are, little by little, thrown to peripheral places, as the rents of rooms and apartments reach, in most cases, the figure of one or two minimum wages. Even though in this article we are considering that there is price discrimination against Brazilian women, we want to add the element that economic exploitation also collides with Portuguese people, and this makes us think that it is not just a problem of Brazilian identity. Brazilian women living in rooms often share spaces with Portuguese students and pay the same prices, and are therefore subject to the same exploitation. The difference is basically in the form of access, when Brazilian women hear on the first phone call: "What are you doing in Portugal?".

We explore your territory, your territory is mine, but mine is not yours. During data collection we found a woman who worked as a courier. The case of X., 35, was very iconic considering the right to housing. X. tried to save money to migrate again to Italy and found in her work as a courier the possibility of raising the amount she needed. She slept on the street, in a sleeping bag, until a group of friends, also Brazilians and couriers, got together and got a friend's sofa so she could spend her winter nights and live up to the phrase by Kilomba (2019), inhabit is to exist[2]. As Nobre (2018, p. 4) points out, just as the existence of people living on the streets is a secular phenomenon in Brazil and has come from colonial times "aggravated by the abolition of slavery, since freed blacks were left to their own fate, without State protection" it can be understood that being a migrant reverberates and reproduces this secular phenomenon, in which both the Portuguese State and the Brazilian State neglect welcoming, relegating informal networks of migrants to solving problems that are eminently social. A collective conscience is urgently needed, so that what F., 46, heard from a Portuguese man is not reproduced: "but it is the tax money I pay that is being used to welcome and finance immigrants".

Access to documentation and regularization, however, is the worst of fears and anxieties. Of these, depends directly the right to access the city: work, housing, and even the life of leisure and culture, such as access to museums and cultural houses, which have reduced values for regular residents in Portugal. A Brazilian woman who works as a maid, S., 40 years old, says "I'm just waiting and hoping for speed in the regularization process to leave the house where I work". Her work was occasionally satisfying for being able to pay her basic monthly bills, such as room rent, electricity, food, water, gas and when she got some extra money she used it for recreation. Another woman, H., 26 years old, was not as lucky as S., as she got stuck at Lisbon airport while trying to reunify her family. She was almost deported to Brazil, were it not for her contact and reception networks, which make a big difference both in departure and arrival (Oltramari, Scherer, Fraga, 2020; Padilla, 2006).

2 Some reports of Brazilian couriers who immigrated to Portugal have already been the subject of studies by Oltramari, Areosa, Ferraz and Franco (2021).

3.2. COPING STRATEGIES AND RIGHT TO THE CITY

Firstly, we point out some of the ways in which these Brazilian women suffer, when trying to survive in the city, to survive from the colonial imaginary, violence, and subalterization. Use of illicit drugs, abusive use of alcohol, excessive loneliness and lack of social capital are some of these ways, as we describe bellow.

In solitude, P. drinks a lot in Lisbon. This also occurred with M., (38 years old) in which she says that loneliness made her both drink more and use marihuana everyday. It is not uncommon for many immigrants to be exhausted and in poor health, especially their mental health. One non-access reverberates to many others, in geometric progression. Not speaking with the desired accent and grammar generates dramatic and perverse effects in their daily work and studies; subsequent in institutions that regularize the migration project and in property owners that stereotype Brazilians.

Coloniality and immigration travel on which roads in Portugal? In our interviews, we found that there is a common quality among some women about the fear of immigrating to Portugal. We could (and always should) raise here infinite aspects such as colonial trauma and colonialism, but understanding coloniality is what places us in the present. In the sense that coloniality is the characteristic of colonialism that persists to the present time, for example, the fact that a highly qualified woman is not able to enter the Portuguese labour market because of her nationality and because there is a subjective belief that she is less aware or not properly educated for certain Portuguese cultural imaginaries. As A. (45 years old) says "I don't have Portuguese friends. If I had, I would somehow be able to fit in culturally and be better accepted. It would also boost my self-esteem". Coloniality of power, because it is misunderstood that those further north understand better than those further south.

In spite of coping and resistance strategies to inhabit the city, we realize that some are presented more frequently, such as: networks of affection, groups in social networks, rent by subcontracting, financing of apartments, searching for student visas. These strategies guarantee mobility and integration into work and the city. Additionally, previous studies (Oltramari, Areosa, Ferraz and Franco, 2021) found traces of exploitation of Brazilians by Brazilians in Portugal. Considering that colonialism (Kilomba, 2019) is marked by a structural process, which is collective, the possibilities of (re)existence in this dynamic are also constituted from strategies that are also collective. This collectivism is a way of organizing the conviviality among immigrants as sometimes the conflicts are not only defined by ethnicity and race, but are embedded in social relations (Padilla; Azevedo; Olmos-Alcaraz, 2014).

Regarding the networks of affection, this can be related to the recognition of Brazilian women no longer as the "other", but as "I". When the axis of the "me-other" duality is broken, colonial violence also tends to be demobilized, as we start to recognize ourselves as ontologically inhabiting the same

"world". In this context, "where do you come from" is no longer a linguistic strategy of disruption, but of recognition.

In the statements, the resistance to the restriction of access refuses to present itself again due to the eroticization of the Brazilian body and being. The use of the stigma resource associated with sensuality is no longer supported by women. Instead, facebook and instagram pages have been created by the same women as a denunciation of the stereotype and stigma of Brazilian women and are translated into English in order to expand access to reading and information. Another thing that helps with mobility: complaints on social networks, as presented in the work of França and Oliveira (2021).

The use of technologies such as social networks, therefore, also enables the construction of this sense of collectivity. The mobilization of agendas that can be shared are also possibilities for (re) existing in another possible world. Also, Socioeconomic protection networks are created from the precariousness of access to housing. Rent by subcontracting is established as a way to make access to a city that institutionally is unviable.

Another mark of colonialism is putting the colonized in the place of infantilization (Kilomba, 2019) or lack of knowledge. However, this can also be a strategic place of confrontation in relation to barriers to access the city and recognition as subjects in the world. In this sense, the use of a student visa is the way that many Brazilian women find access to the labour market and it is a form of recurrent regularization. Thus, according to Fernandes, Peixoto and Oltramari (2021), the third status with the highest volume of entries is that of students, always representing a considerable weight, totalling 15.7% of the total number of visas granted in 2018, for example. According to the authors, women represent a slight majority in this case – 56% in 2018.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

First of all, it is important to mention that being an immigrant is certainly not a unified experience. There is, therefore, no unity in the dilemmas Brazilian women face in Portugal. This being a negative point of the work carried out as it does not cover a greater diversity, it is necessary to pay attention to other profiles and categories in the moment following the planning, in the continuation of this project.

The loneliness of an immigrant seems to us a constant, a constant possibly aggravated by the pandemic. The networks (Lencioni, 2010; Dias, 2007) and social capital can show that an immigrant can feel alone and far from her family, and for that she mobilizes the networks of affection and social: they report that they seek the spontaneous network of support and especially of affection

(Oltramari, Scherer, Fraga, 2020), especially if the destination country remains closed in its family circle of origin.

However, the factors presented here are nonetheless imminent to an aspiration for change in colonial and hierarchical relations, of knowledge, being and having. Understanding and highlighting the importance of immigrant subjectivities presents us as a necessity, the understanding of the other as a fundamental part of society. In other words, everyday prejudices and violent situations must be understood as an aggravating factor in the immigrant's mental health, for example, and thus, floating through other narratives, is the resistance to being where one does not belong, or rather, where one is remembered that it does not belong there.

The interviews revealed that, in a context of pervasive violence, family support, for instance, is perceived as a "privilege" for immigrant women. While the colonial dynamic necessitates the collective demobilization of the colonized, these women recognize the critical need for collective networks for their survival. Many of the interviewees were white women from Southern Brazil, due to the network of one of the interlocutors. Therefore, it is essential to advance the concepts of Brazilian Whiteness with greater determination, elucidating the differences in advantages among white racial groups, even within contexts of social vulnerability.

Furthermore, we emphasize the necessity of more studies that employ intersectional lenses, as advocated by Collins (2017) and Crenshaw (2002). Such approaches are crucial for conducting analyses that avoid homogenizing the experiences, histories, and lived realities of immigrant women. Instead, they should account for various matrices of oppression, providing a more nuanced understanding of their diverse and complex identities (Ozturk & Berber, 2020; Nazzal et al., 2023; Hwang & Beauregard, 2021).

In the axes of analysis presented, we can conclude that the first emphasizes how the dynamics of racial oppression produces different experiences in the migratory process between black and white Brazilian women. We emphasize that white women perceive this differentiation and recognize the colonial dimension as a constituent of this process. Additionally, it is based on discussions about the relationship between coloniality and access to the labour market. Finally, we emphasize that the relationship between knowledge and power has coloniality as a constituent of this articulation. We affirm this when we understand that even when the women participating in this study have professional training compatible with the exercise of a profession, such exercise is not possible because of the place they occupy: migrants.

There is, generally, a negative connotation given the geographical origin of the women interviewed, which allows us to refer that there is a colonial difference that is daily present in the process of control and downgrading of populations, here referred to as the Brazilian. Being decolonial is how we introduce here the voice of the other assuming the equivalence of dialogues. This equivalence

implies the concrete recognition of the existence of asymmetries of power and knowledge as discussed by Lugones (2008). From this, assume other references of existences than those established by colonial modernity that is based on the human and non-human dichotomy (Lugones, 2014). To be decolonial is to overcome the logic of oppositional dichotomies (Collins, 2016).

It is also worth mentioning here the mutual support network that has been appearing in Portugal, to face xenophobic and racist movements, such as: Calcinhas em Lisboa, CABE, launch of the blog "Emergency Covid 19" launched by Casa do Brasil that contains information and updates on health, housing, the labour market, "Brazilians don't shut up", and some new immigrant associations such as Diaspora without Borders. It is therefore urgent to broaden the debate; to enter into legislation to, above all, break with the Eurocentric thinking, given the recurrence of the denial of prejudice towards migrant women.

As main results, it was observed that the barriers of bullying at work and outside it precede any professional insertion and are characterized especially by the history of colonialities that persist to the present day. With the pandemic, gender inequalities intensified. Our article had, therefore, among its objectives, to present, above all, a critical view of the formation of Brazilian immigration in Portugal, in the wake of others that preceded it (Gomes, 2018; França, Padilla, 2018).

As Kilomba (2019) discusses, the locations in cities considered as "neighborhoods of immigrant people" have a connection with the hygienist debates in urbanities. Even if this idea is not applicable to Brazilians in Portugal since they do not show any specific spatial concentration pattern, we believe it is important to bring such reflections to the future debate. This process imprints an idea that evil is only in the other, in this case, the immigrant, so the access and permanence of migrant people in cities are controlled in different ways. From access to basic documents that can guarantee rights, considered human, such as health and housing, to more sophisticated strategies, such as the question that migrants usually hear and that mark their non-belonging "Where are you from?".

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