

# iscte

INSTITUTO  
UNIVERSITÁRIO  
DE LISBOA

---

## Ethnic and Racial Discrimination against Chinese People in Portugal before and during the Emergence of COVID- 19

Margarida Reis Carvalho Miranda Rosa

*Master* in International Studies

Supervisor:

Doctor Sofia Gaspar, Integrated Researcher

CIES – ISCTE-University Institute Lisbon

November 2022





SOCIOLOGIA  
E POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS

---

Department of History

# Ethnic and Racial Discrimination against Chinese People in Portugal before and during the Emergence of COVID- 19

Margarida Reis Carvalho Miranda Rosa

*Master* in International Studies

Supervisor:

Doctor Sofia Gaspar, Integrated Researcher

CIES – ISCTE-University Institute Lisbon

November 2022



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Completing this thesis means a lot to me, on both a personal and academic level. I would like to acknowledge the importance of all the people without whom this would not have been possible by thanking them with a few words.

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Sofia Gaspar, for the support and encouragement throughout each stage of my research, for all the insight and guidance, and for always being available when I needed. Her passion and interest combined with her vast knowledge and experience on the topic meant that I couldn't have had a better supervisor for this research, and so, I am truly grateful for the chance to work with her.

To all 20 interviewees who trusted me with their experiences, I thank them for their willingness to help and for reassuring me of the importance of this research. It was a pleasure and a privilege to listen their stories.

My deepest gratitude to my parents, for all the opportunities they have provided me and for always believing in and supporting me in my choices. Also, to my family: my brother, sister-in-law, cousins and uncles, and especially my aunt Ligia, who passed away while I was completing this work, and whom I know would be very proud of my achievement. I am very thankful for you all.

A sincere thanks to my boyfriend for the love, patience, and unconditional support in the most critical moments, and for always believing in my potential.

Finally, to my amazing group of friends. Thank you for all the laughs and moments we spent together, for showing me that you are always by my side, and for encouraging me to always keep going.

Today, I end what was one of the most incredible and challenging journeys of my life. A big thank you to everyone!



## RESUMO

Esta dissertação centra-se na discriminação e racismo vivenciados por migrantes chineses de diferentes categorias sociodemográficas (imigrantes de primeira geração, estudantes internacionais, e descendentes de chineses) antes e durante a pandemia de COVID-19. É analisada a crescente consciencialização e resistência deste grupo à discriminação racial na sociedade portuguesa, utilizando métodos de investigação qualitativa (entrevistas semi-estruturadas) para examinar paralelos entre as experiências dos chineses que viveram em Portugal nestes dois períodos. Devido ao papel significativo que os meios de comunicação e os ativistas têm desempenhado na construção social do movimento *anti-Asian hate*, também são analisados dados qualitativos importantes dessas fontes. Este estudo demonstra como a pandemia do COVID-19 revelou as diferentes formas como a discriminação e o racismo são vivenciados por pessoas de origem chinesa. A pandemia trouxe uma nova atenção aos casos de discriminação contra essa comunidade e inspirou os imigrantes chineses (especialmente os descendentes) a resistir e identificar o racismo, bem como a assumir um papel mais ativo no combate ao mesmo.

**Palavras-chave:** Discriminação; Pandemia COVID-19; Migração chinesa; Portugal; Resistência





## **ABSTRACT**

This dissertation focuses on the discrimination and racism experienced by Chinese migrants of different sociodemographic categories (first-generation immigrants, international students, and Chinese descendants) before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. It analyses this group's increasing awareness of and resistance to racial discrimination in Portuguese society using qualitative research methods (semi-structured interviews) to examine parallels between Chinese people's experiences living in Portugal in these two periods. Due to the significant role that the news media and activists have played in the social construction of the anti-Asian hate movement, important qualitative data from these sources are also analyzed. This study demonstrates how the COVID-19 pandemic has revealed the different ways discrimination and racism are experienced by people of Chinese origin. The pandemic has brought new attention to cases of discrimination against this community and has inspired Chinese immigrants (especially descendants) to resist and identify racism as well as take a more active role in fighting it.

**Keywords:** Discrimination; COVID-19 pandemic; Chinese migration; Portugal; Resistance

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	v
RESUMO .....	i
ABSTRACT .....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	iv
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
2. CHINESE MIGRATION, INTEGRATION AND DISCRIMINATION .....	3
2.1. Chinese Migration to Portugal: An Overview .....	3
2.2. Social Integration of Chinese Migrants in a Global and Portuguese Context .....	6
2. 3. Evidence of Ethnic and Racial Discrimination of Chinese Migrants .....	9
2. 4. The Perception of Racism by Chinese Citizens in Times of COVID .....	10
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	13
3. 1. Types of Discrimination: Explicit Behaviors and Microaggressions .....	13
3. 2. Definition of Research Problem and Research Objectives.....	16
4. METHODOLOGY .....	17
4. 1. Methods and Data Collection Techniques.....	18
4. 2. Characterization of the Participants.....	19
5. DISCUSSION AND DATA ANALYSIS .....	25
5. 1. Discrimination Before COVID.....	25
5.2. Discrimination During COVID .....	27
5. 3. The Perception of Racism by Chinese Migrants in Portugal.....	30
5. 4. Strategies of Resistance and Response to Discrimination.....	32
6. CONCLUSIONS .....	35
7. REFERENCES .....	39
ANNEXES .....	46
A. INFORMED CONSENT .....	46
B. INTERVIEW GUIDE: DESCENDANTS.....	48

C. INTERVIEW GUIDE: INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS.....	50
D. INTERVIEW GUIDE: IMMIGRANTS.....	52

## **INDEX OF TABLES AND FIGURES**

Figure 2.1: Evolution of the Chinese population in Portugal (1980–2021)

Table 4.1: Sociodemographic information of participants

Figure 5.1: Fen's instastory

Figure 5.2: Putochinomaricon during Madrid Fashion Week

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

After the first case of COVID-19 was detected in China, the rapid spread of the disease around the world was accompanied by increased incidents of racism, discrimination, and violence against Asian people. Since January 2020, many Chinese migrants across the globe have reported experiencing racial insults, unfair workplace termination, being spat on and other forms of physical assault, being shunned, etc., while simultaneously being blamed and stigmatized by the media and government officials for the spread of COVID-19.

Some of the recent acts of hate against Asians can be traced to deeply rooted anti-Chinese sentiment that predates the pandemic. Such sentiment has been disguised and overlooked due to its normalization and acceptance. The increase in discrimination resulting from the emergence of COVID-19 has brought a new attention to these acts. Therefore, many studies have been produced recently with the goal of investigating the impacts of the pandemic on Chinese communities around the world.

Thus far, only one study (França et al., 2022), and some brief news in traditional media (Franco, 2021; “Racismo contra chineses”, 2021) have been produced on this topic in Portugal. However, in countries like France (Wang et al., 2020), the Netherlands (Leung, 2021), the UK (Pang, 2020), and the USA (Wu, Qian & Wilkes, 2020) (Ren & Feagin, 2020) this issue has received more attention during the course of the pandemic. Thus, this dissertation relies on already existing studies on this topic in order to understand whether discrimination behaviors and attitudes towards Chinese people in Portugal had also emerged since the outbreak of the virus. To achieve this goal, a contextual framework is given in Chapter 2, where the investigation provides an overview on the migration path from China to Portugal, exploring the various migratory flows that formed Portugal’s Chinese community, followed by a brief analysis of the integration process of the Chinese migrant population around the world and in Portugal specifically. Then, a brief reflection on the evidence of ethnical and racial discriminations towards Chinese migrants is presented in order to lay the groundwork for a later look at how the new wave of discrimination brought by COVID-19 was originally perceived and endorsed by these migrants and how new intergenerational work to fight Asian hate around the world began.

Next, in Chapter 3, the forms of discrimination Asian people experience are described in a theoretical manner, with particular use of the concept of microaggressions

by Sue et al. (2007), and the research problem and objectives of the investigation are delineated.

A critical methodological approach is applied in Chapter 4 to determine the structure and application process of the interviews, and a sociodemographic description of the participants is given. Twenty interviews were carried out with Chinese migrants who were living in Portugal before and during the emergence of the pandemic. These interviewees fall into different sociodemographic categories: first-generation immigrants, international students and Chinese descendants.

Finally, in Chapter 5 the results from this investigation are used to compare the discriminatory attitudes and behaviors experienced by victims before and during the pandemic in Portugal, in order to determine if, as found in other studies undertaken on this topic, this group of people has also suffered an increase in the volume and severity of discrimination, and if so, to try to understand the respondents' resistance strategies.

Direct actions, such as the birth of social movements, the work of NGOs, and the spreading of awareness through social networks, have been taken to combat the social and ethno-racial discrimination that the COVID-19 pandemic has given rise to and manifested against Chinese people. Nonetheless, there is still a long way to go in order to achieve this goal. This dissertation is one more step towards achieving that goal, by increasing knowledge in the area, calling for attention to these problems and making an important contribution to the body of resources several entities and institutions in Portugal can consult. Therefore, this study meets two of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals, namely the "Reduction of Inequalities" goal, as it will highlight the inequalities that exist in the treatment of Chinese migrants in Portugal and contribute to designing and promoting public policies addressing this subject; and the "Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions" goal, as it will promote knowledge in this area and contribute to the harmonization among different social groups in this field. In addition, this study will contribute to institutions, the scientific community and civil society in general by providing interinstitutional information for the High Commissioner for Migration ([www.acm.gov.pt](http://www.acm.gov.pt)), a state body that plays central role in the integration of immigrants in Portugal. It will also provide information for the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR), an institution that gathers complaints of ethnic discrimination and attempts to mitigate and eliminate such discrimination. Moreover, this study aligns with some strategic areas of the "Plano Nacional de Combate ao Racismo e

à Discriminação”<sup>1</sup>, a plan that affirms equality, combats against segregation, and is based on a vision of a community that refuses any marginalization among its citizenry.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. CHINESE MIGRATION, INTEGRATION AND DISCRIMINATION

### 2.1. Chinese Migration to Portugal: An Overview

In order to better understand the evolution of the Chinese immigrant experience in Portugal we need to examine the migration trajectories and flows between China and Portugal across time. Although China and Chinese culture were, in the past, seen as distant, globalization has made them increasingly familiar to Portugal and its inhabitants (Rodrigues & Gaspar, 2021). The relationship between these two countries, while at its closest since the 1990s, dates back to the sixteenth century, under the establishment of Macao and the creation of the Portuguese colonial empire. The oldest flows of Chinese citizens were, therefore, a product of this empire, which facilitated people coming to Portugal from Macao and Mozambique<sup>3</sup> after the Carnation Revolution (1974) and the independence of Mozambique in 1975. Chinese immigration from these countries is part of a larger migratory context, inscribed in a logic of historical and linguistic proximity between Portugal and its former colonies and administrative territories (Gaspar, 2017).

Between 1980 and 2000, the number of Chinese residents legally residing in Portugal increased significantly, especially in the periods after 2001 and 2008, as a result of a massive legalization of irregular migrants (D.L. 4/2001 of January 10; Ordinance No. 395/2008, of June 6, under the terms of Law No. 23/2007). Chinese migrants in irregular situations in other European nations were thus attracted to Portugal by the potential of acquiring a regular status in Europe. This, together with the country’s economic development in the 1990s and subsequent to the entry in the European Union (former CEE), improved the country’s financial appeal (Rodrigues & Gaspar, 2021). During these years, Chinese migrants, usually from the rural provinces and mostly unskilled and poorly educated, were attracted to Portugal in their search for economic and regularization

---

<sup>1</sup><https://www.fpf.pt/Portals/0/Plano%20nacional%20de%20combate%20ao%20racismo%20e%20a%20discriminacao%202021-2025%202.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> It would also be important to share the research findings with other entities such as “Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau” (<http://www.cccm.pt>), and the “Instituto Confúcio” in Lisbon (<https://www.confucio.ulisboa.pt>).

<sup>3</sup> A Chinese community was established in Mozambique since the 1870s due to the recruitment, by Portuguese colonialists, of these migrants to work in the African colony.

opportunities (Li & Wong, 2017; Rodrigues & Gaspar, 2021). The Chinese population in Portugal began growing through their connection to the business sector, initiated by the establishment of Chinese restaurants in the 1980s. As the dining industry in larger Portuguese cities was already reaching saturation in the early 1990s, the Chinese began to shift their business to wholesale import–export activities, and in the second half of the decade, they began founding retail enterprises (Rodrigues & Gaspar, 2021). Additionally, in 2006, many restaurants closed due to irregularities and a lack of hygiene, and as a result, many entrepreneurs left the dining sector for the retail sector, which reached its saturation point around 2008, at which point, there was talk about a crisis in the sector (Rodrigues, 2013).

In the last two decades of the twentieth century, Chinese emigration resurfaced as a major force of worldwide migration in what has been called the “New Chinese Migration” (Thunø, 2007). The new migrants were more likely than before to be students, professionals and investors drawn from urban centers all over China, but they also included people from rural areas, who continued to constitute an important part of this new Chinese migration and were, indeed, its initiators (Li & Wong, 2017).

During this period, the 2008 global financial crisis resulted in a sovereign debt crisis in Portugal. This new economic, financial, and political scenario caused a stronger intertwining of economic and financial interests between Portugal and China, with the latter coming to the former’s rescue by buying the country’s sovereign debt and acquiring Portuguese state-owned and private companies (Gaspar & Ampudia de Haro, 2020). The 2011 bailout was a defining moment in the establishment of the Chinese diaspora in Portugal. It was not only a business and financial opportunity for China but also a turning point in Chinese migration to Portugal. This turning point was largely due to the Portuguese government’s investment residence permit program, known as the “Golden Visa” scheme (Gaspar & Ampudia de Haro, 2020), and the lowering of visa requirements for international students (França, 2021).

In fact, during the economic crisis, austerity measures had a significant impact on the public budgets of Portuguese higher education institutions (HEIs), prompting them to seek alternate sources of funding (Cairns et al., 2014). Portugal developed strategies to attract Chinese students, following the footsteps of other European countries such as the United Kingdom, Germany, and France, which saw China as a new market to explore and responded by offering a diverse range of study abroad opportunities, language courses, transfer credit, and degree mobility. Furthermore, increased attention to the level of



internationalization of Portuguese HEIs has also highlighted the importance of Chinese students in this process. As a result, in the 2005/06 and 2010/11 school years, the number of Chinese students in Portugal grew by 251.7% (Oliveira et al., 2013). The National Access Competition (CNA), according to data from the Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics (DGEEC), reported that between 2011 and 2019, there were 6,568 Chinese students registered at universities and polytechnical schools in Portugal (Abel, 2020).

Additionally, after the economic crisis, and due to the new Golden Visa holders, the overall number of Chinese living in Portugal increased. This new profile of Chinese immigrants had more educational qualifications and higher socioeconomic status than previous flows of economic migrants and young adults seeking to study in the country (Amante & Rodrigues, 2020; Gaspar & Ampudia de Haro, 2020). According to official numbers from the Portuguese Immigration and Border Service (SEF, 2022), between 2012 and 2022 a total of 5,209 residence permits for investment activities were granted to these Chinese investors.

Thus, the Chinese immigrants who settled in Portugal arrived in three main waves of migration and came from quite different socioeconomic backgrounds. The first wave of migration brought Macanese and Chinese Mozambicans, whose process of social integration into Portuguese society was simpler than that of other groups due to their knowledge of the language and the familiarity with the country's culture. Then, from the 1990s on came economic immigrants and small entrepreneurs. Last were those arriving after 2012 (the end of the financial crisis in Portugal): Golden Visa holders and international students from middle-class backgrounds (Gaspar, 2017).

Due to the sedentarization of Chinese immigrants, another social profile of immigrant has been increasing in Portugal during the last few decades. This social profile comprises those of Chinese descent, mostly the children of immigrants, who were born in Portugal (children of Chinese seeking economic opportunities who arrived after the 1990s and the young children of Golden Visa holders) or who were born abroad and migrated to Portugal during their childhood or adolescence (Li, 2012).

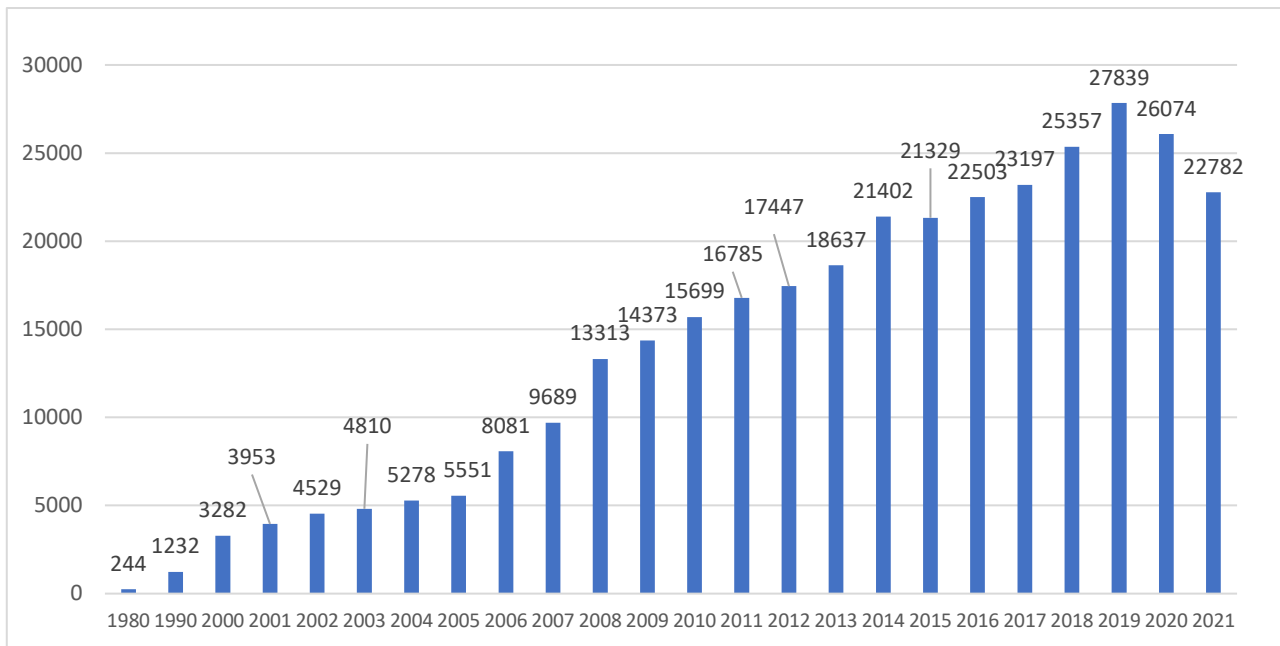


Figure 2.1. Evolution of the Chinese population in Portugal (1980–2021)

Source: SEF, 2021

Figure 2.1 gives a clear perspective on the evolution of the Chinese migrant population in Portugal. As the graph shows, Chinese migration increased significantly in the beginning of the 2000s and saw additional jumps in 2006 and 2008. After that, and until 2019, the growth was constant, and the number of Chinese migrants officially registered in Portugal reached 27.839. However, with the spread of COVID-19, the number decreased to 26.074 in 2020 and to 22.782 in 2021 (SEF, 2021).

## 2.2. Social Integration of Chinese Migrants in a Global and Portuguese Context

The concept of integration has long been discussed in the social sciences. Portes and Rumbaut (2001), studying the process of integration of immigrant children in the USA, argue that integration into the host society is not a linear or homogeneous process and that it relies on a segmentation pattern, based on social capital differences. This pattern shows that segmentation can occur and be deeply ingrained in the migrant society. It informs new models of immigrant insertion into the community according to factors such as race, parental education, and socioeconomic status, as well as interactions with other ethnic minority groups (Li, 2012). All of these dimensions can affect the experience of child immigrants. This means that the possession of social capital determinates how immigrants will navigate the migration process. Based on Portes and Rumbaut’s (2001) research, those with more social capital will probably achieve their expected social

identity, while the others will probably struggle and receive less support from their families.

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) also differentiate among the existing generations of Chinese descendants in a host, or recipient country. The term “generation 1.5” is used to refer to those individuals born outside the recipient country and who completed their basic (or primary) schooling in their country of origin between the ages of 6 and 12. The second generation is used to designate individuals born in the host country to immigrant parents.

Accordingly, in the USA, Chinese descendants’ school performance was found to vary across generations. For the 1.5 generation, after receiving education in China, showed greater performance and motivation in learning complex content and in accepting the rigor of teachers than the second generation of Chinese, who showed a lower desire to achieve school success (Kaufman, 2004). In Spain, lower aspirations were found among Chinese students than among native Spanish students, as the former tended to accept the idea of working for the family business in the future. These low aspirations are often the result of perceived social discrimination by younger Chinese descendants, a poor command of the language (in the case of the 1.5 generation), and also a lack of experience with the cultural and symbolic environment that native individuals of the same generation have grown up with (Yiu, 2013).

In the Portuguese context, Li (2012) and Rodrigues (2013) describe the trajectory of economic Chinese immigration, in which, as a rule, the father and mother immigrate first (sometimes only the father) and, after a few years, the children immigrate as well. The motivating factors that encourage immigration can vary, but the first generation of Chinese immigrants typically immigrates with the intention of opening a small business, and in this case, once they arrive in Portugal, the family atmosphere is governed by the participation of the entire household, including the children, in the family business, as the children contribute by helping their parents after school in their shops or restaurants. In this context, the social isolation from Portuguese society is compensated for by strong sociability networks inside the Chinese community. The environment in this community is, therefore, extremely endogamous and focused on work ethic and on the expectations of future fortune (Rodrigues, 2013).

Some studies focusing on these difficulties in the social integration process of Chinese students in Portugal argue that most Chinese students report not having difficulty making friends among the native-born population, even if only few of them have contact with such friends after class or graduation (Li, 2012). The greatest obstacle in peer

interaction seems to be not the language – children and adolescents tend to have an easier time learning the language of their host country, largely due to their greater immersion in the native environment, particularly in public schools (Jia, 2004) – but rather emotional characteristics, or more specifically, the subjects they could raise based on living environment sharing. Chinese students not only prefer to blend in by staying among people who share the same cultural identity but also do not have enough interest in or motivation to make local friends, and so, friends they make are usually also from Asia (Li, 2012).

Thus, the previously mentioned authors (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Kaufman, 2004; Yiu, 2013; Li, 2012; Rodrigues, 2013) all reported that the sedentarization of Chinese immigrants in Western countries is often accompanied by stress and adaptation difficulties, including language barriers, conflicting values, prejudice and a lack of access to social and institutional resources. However, some studies in Portugal (Barata, 2020; Fu, 2019; Li, 2012) have revealed that, unlike the 1.5 generation, whose social integration faces more difficulties, the children of immigrant families who are born and educated in Portugal (second generation), tend to more easily absorb Western values and behaviors, have a greater knowledge of the Portuguese language, and develop autochthonous sociability networks, which helps them settle down in their host country. This proximity to Portuguese society, in addition to often allowing them to serve as mediators between the two communities (Portuguese and Chinese), also allows them to eventually participate in family or ethnic businesses circles with cultural skills and technical knowledge acquired in Portugal, which makes their interaction and performance simultaneously more favorable to the recipient society and more prestigious in the eyes of the Chinese community (Gaspar, 2019).

Although general adaptation difficulties should diminish over time, the greatest number of adjustment issues are predicted to appear at the start of transition, when people are experiencing the most life changes and have the least social support and relevant cultural knowledge (Ward et al., 1998, as cited in Fu, 2019, p. 4). In fact, from Ward et al.'s (2001) perspective, a longer stay in the host country would suggest greater opportunities for culture learning which could result in improved socio-cultural adaptation (Fu, 2019). However, in the case of the first generation of immigrants – due to the fact that they often do not learn the language of the host countries and are very involved in ethnic social networks of their own community – the integration process is

usually slower than of their children, who have less time in the host country but, as mentioned earlier, can more easily adapt to its society.

According to a report by the High Commissioner for Migration (Oliveira, 2021), it is necessary to consider, when assessing the integration of immigrants, several dimensions of the process, some of which are easier to measure than others. Among the various dimensions that should be included in this assessment are education and qualifications, mastery of the Portuguese language, insertion in the labor market, social protection, housing conditions, access to healthcare and justice, racial and ethnic discrimination, political participation, access to nationality and citizenship, and remittances.

Bearing in mind that the existence of ethnic and racial discrimination is one of the most fundamental issues in the process of the integration (or disintegration) of immigrants in the recipient country, it is important to understand what the experiences of Chinese immigrants in this context have been across the globe.

### **2. 3. Evidence of Ethnic and Racial Discrimination of Chinese Migrants**

Wang et al. (2012), when studying the modern barriers to the social integration of Chinese immigrants in Canada and comparing them to the barriers in previous (pre-1947) flows of migration, concluded that in the two periods, immigrants faced both individual (people's racist beliefs, racial stereotypes and cultural bias) and structural (law, policies and government practices) barriers. These were believed to have contributed to their low level of identity formation and recognition, and little sense of belonging to the host country. Specifically, individual Chinese immigrants experienced difficulties in adapting to the language and culture in both periods. As for the structural barriers these Chinese immigrants faced, regardless of the ways in which they have been undervalued or excluded from mainstream society – either overtly in the earlier period or covertly in the modern period – they have encountered racial discrimination and exclusion in the economic, social and political dimensions (Wang et al, 2012).

The presence (or lack) of this social and ethnic discrimination is also an important factor for Chinese immigrants' integration process in their recipient country. A comparison between previous and modern flows of immigration suggests that despite their different forms in the two different periods, racial discrimination and exclusion have not disappeared. In fact, overt racial discrimination toward and exclusion of Chinese immigrants may have become illegal and less apparent, but covert racism persists over

time (Zong & Perry, 2011). Covert racism is a form of racial discrimination that is concealed or subtle rather than obvious or public and is often subconscious. Since the most common characteristics associated with covert racism are that it serves to subvert, distort, restrict, and deny rewards, privileges, access, and benefits to racial minorities, its denigrating impacts can often be masked or denied (Coates & Morrison, 2011).

In the USA, the rise of China as an economic power has stirred resentment and discrimination among Chinese individuals (Leong & Tang, 2016). According to Leong and Tang (2016), as the USA is considered the world's greatest economic force, China's growth from a poor developing country to a major economic power in just a few decades has raised concern among some individuals. This growth, combined with the constant socioeconomic disputes the two countries have faced throughout the years have contributed to ongoing xenophobic behavior and sentiments towards Chinese individuals in the USA.

Likewise, in Australia, the practices of Chinese migrants in the labor market reflect conditions in which people who lack English proficiency and "good" accents cannot get a proper job that pays at least minimum wage, and even people with English proficiency who are foreigners often cannot secure the same salaries as native Australian workers would (Li, 2017; Reilly, 2015). There is, then, a structural condition of social inequality where human capital (especially English proficiency), foreignness, and racial stereotypes might intersect (Li, 2019).

When it comes to Portugal, a study conducted by Barata (2020) highlighted that second-generation Chinese immigrants have faced various forms of discrimination at school, including microaggressions, xenophobic and physical attacks. Verbal abuse is, by far, the most common form of racial harassment and discrimination, having been experienced by all of that study's participants except one, which had escalated to physical violence.

These studies represent the social reality of Chinese immigrants' lives before the advent of COVID-19. From there, one can trace the repercussions that the emergence of a new virus originating from China could bring for the Chinese population around the globe and examine how it has led to the emergence of some forms of discrimination against this group.

#### **2. 4. The Perception of Racism by Chinese Citizens in Times of COVID**

Just a few months after the first case of COVID-19 was discovered in China (December 2019), the entirety of Europe was already affected, and Portugal was no exception. The country's first case of COVID-19 was detected in March 2020, in the city of Porto. Soon, people began to understand that this was no normal health crisis but also a global economic and socio-political one, with severe repercussions for all domains of society. The COVID-19 pandemic not only made visible existing social and ethnic-racial inequalities, but it also triggered a new wave of discrimination around the world. As a result of being associated with the origins of the virus, people perceived to be "Chinese" or "Asian" have been experiencing prejudice, unfair treatment, and racism, including, in some cases, physical attacks (Mandjou 2020, as cited in Wang et al., 2020, p. 2).

As COVID-19 began to spread worldwide, numerous news outlets reported cases of discrimination against people of Asian descent occurring in public places such as public transport, shopping malls, on the street and school campuses. In fact, the terms "Wuhan virus," "China virus," and "Chinese virus" have all been used by laypeople, politicians, and the media to refer to the virus (Su et al., 2020). Donald Trump, then President of the USA, used the expression "Chinese virus" in public addresses more than 20 times between March 16th and March 30th, 2020 (Viala-Gaudefroy & Lindaman, 2020). Such discourses, consequently, inhibited the public's understanding and perception of the novel coronavirus.

In the UK, the Manchester Chinese Centre has received scores of complaints of racist incidents targeting children in schools across the region (Campbell, 2020). Italy, Spain, France, Russia, some regions of Africa, and Brazil have also been collecting reports and media accounts of assaults, verbal harassment, bullying, and discrimination against people of Asian descent ("COVID-19 Fueling Anti-Asian ", 2020). Even Portugal, which has shared very little information regarding this issue, reported an increase in discriminatory behaviors towards the Chinese community, which has been facing ethno-racial inequalities and racist comments in public and online ("Pandemia aumenta racismo", 2021).

Many cities started reporting incidents of discrimination against Chinese people wearing face masks: In Sheffield a postgraduate student was reportedly verbally and physically harassed on the street (Campbell, 2020); in Berlin, a girl was blamed for bringing the virus to Europe (Xu, 2020); in New York, a woman was attacked at a Chinatown subway station (Sosa & Brown, 2020); in Toronto, a nurse was spit on and verbally assaulted (Tsekouras, 2020); and in Australia, a woman was verbally harassed

in the supermarket (Zhao, 2020). Face mask wearing was previously only associated with health care settings in the West, but it is so common in daily life in many Eastern Asian countries due to environmental factors or certain lifestyles that it has even been seen as a fashion statement. This cultural difference, combined with the legacy of racism, may have contributed to the increased discrimination against Asian communities (He et al., 2020).

Ren and Feagin (2020) give examples of situations in which wearing a mask brought discomfort to Chinese- or Asian-looking people's lives in the US before wearing them was mandated by public authorities. Hearing comments about Asian Americans being dangerous for bringing diseases like COVID-19 and receiving physical threats and verbal abuse were some of the reasons victims started feeling insecure about wearing a mask in public and often started choosing not to wear one (Ren & Feagin, 2020). The perception that wearing a mask indicates that someone is physically weak and sick frequently led to attacks against Asian Americans. However, a few people even reported being attacked for not wearing masks (Ren & Feagin, 2020). In these cases, the Asian victim was similarly ascribed a sickly and diseased identity, and the face mask became a symbolic and physical way to distinguish the racially "inferior" from the "superior".

In Portugal, some forms of racism and discrimination, as mentioned in the previous chapter, were already reported long before the emergence of the virus. Expressions such as "*chinoca*" (a prejudiced way to say Chinese), "*amarelos*" (yellow people) and "*olhos em bico*" (slanted eyes) have long been part of the daily vernacular in Portugal, as have ignorance about and disrespect towards the Asian community when people apply these types of expressions to anyone who appears Asian, lumping them all together as "all looking the same" and disregarding the fact that they have different ethnic origins. However, although this behavior is widespread, it continues to exist in an invisible form, as these prejudices and stereotypes are normalized in the treatment of Asian people, and few measures have been developed to combat them. Some of the few initiatives present in Portugal to fight racism and discrimination are the result of work by associations like SOS Racismo, which seeks to establish a more just, egalitarian, and intercultural society where everyone can enjoy the same citizenship rights, and the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR), which aims to prevent and outlaw racial discrimination and penalize acts that result in the violation of fundamental human rights. However, with the emergence of COVID-19, it is clear that the situation has become aggravated, requiring more research to bring these issues into the public's awareness and to combat them.



Since the emergence of the virus there has been much intergenerational work at the grassroots level through campaigns, advocacy, and actions on social media to fight Asian hate around the world. For instance, The *STOP AAPI HATE* project was started on March 19<sup>th</sup>, 2020, by Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) civil rights organizations to document anti-Asian violence and prejudice during COVID-19. Over 2,500 reports of COVID-19-related hate events have been received by the *STOP AAPI HATE* reporting center (at the time of writing) since its launch (Wu, Qian & Wilkes, 2020). On May 20<sup>th</sup>, 2021, President Biden signed a bill addressing the widespread increase in violence against Asian Americans. This bill intended to create a post at the Justice Department to expedite hate crime investigations and promote multilingual services so that more incidences of violence against Asians could be reported (Hahm, 2021).

In France, during the COVID-19 pandemic, heightened media coverage and representation of prejudice toward Asians has permitted a growing awareness among Chinese and other Asian-perceived cultures (Wang et al., 2020). On social media, one Asian woman highlighted how the health crisis has fueled hate speech and discriminatory crimes towards “Asian-labelled’ people, who are thought to all be Chinese. The hashtag #JeNeSuisPasUnVirus (I am not a virus) was formed in response to the post, which has been widely used among the French Asian community on social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram (Wang et al., 2020).

Also, *besea.n*, *Racism Unmasked Edinburgh*, and *End the Virus of Racism* in the United Kingdom have organized and mobilized people to the fight against racism, and more established organizations, such as the Asian Australian Alliance, have focused their efforts on reporting procedures (Haynes, 2021).

It is clear, therefore, that active steps have been taken towards combating social and ethno-racial discrimination against Chinese people that the COVID-19 pandemic has incited and made visible. Nonetheless, there is still a long way to go in order to achieve the goal of ending Asian hate.

### **3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **3. 1. Types of Discrimination: Explicit Behaviors and Microaggressions**

As mentioned before, discrimination and racism experienced by people of Chinese origin can be expressed in various ways; however, they are usually simplified into the general categories of direct and indirect discrimination.

Direct discrimination occurs when policies or practices openly target minority or disadvantaged groups based on their group membership characteristics (Hajian & Domingo-Ferrer, 2013). Some reports of workplace discrimination against Asian people around the world during the pandemic illustrate this type of discrimination: In a cosmetics store from London, a customer refused to have his makeup done by Ian Wong, a Chinese part-time makeup artist and law school graduate, because “the pandemic just started” and he was “not quite comfortable with him”. In Denver, Colorado in the USA, Sumy, a Vietnamese American immigrant who worked as a store clerk, said that the new store manager refused to speak to her and the other Vietnamese women to the point where she did not even acknowledge their existence (Toh et al., 2021).

Indirect discrimination, on the other hand, happens when policies or practices that, while not explicitly specifying any discriminatory characteristics, deliberately or accidentally result in discriminatory outcomes and put someone at a particular disadvantage (Hajian & Domingo-Ferrer, 2013). For example, imagine that a cleaning company needs to reduce their number of cleaners because of a downturn in business, and one of the redundancy selection criteria the company includes is good written English skills even though the job does not involve any writing. Two of the cleaners are from China and speak English well but do not have good written English skills. The employer identifies these two cleaners as redundant based on their lower level of written English, which puts them at a disadvantage because their first language is not English (“Race discrimination at work”, 2022).

Recently, racism has undergone a transformation, and its more subtle manifestation have been labeled *modern racism* (McConahay, 1986, as cited in Sue et al., 2007, p. 272). This contemporary form of racism is considered to be an indirect form of discrimination, as it is likely to be disguised and covert. It has changed from the “old fashioned” form of overt racial hatred and prejudice being intentionally and openly displayed to a vaguer and more nebulous form that is more challenging to identify and acknowledge, which some call “racial microaggressions” (Sue et al., 2007). In order to understand how the social-psychological mechanisms of racism operate in people’s daily lives, it is important to delve into these racial microaggressions. Such aggressions are “micro” because they are discrete and not easily identified (Solórzano et al., 2000);

nevertheless, they may perpetuate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults that are used daily against people of color, expanding the gaps among racial realities and reflecting ideological beliefs that impact these people's lives (Li, 2019). Perpetrators of microaggressions are often oblivious about their part in such communications when they interact with racial/ethnic minorities (Sue et al., 2007). According to Derald W. Sue and colleagues (2007), microaggressions include micro-assaults (verbal or nonverbal attacks, such as remarks implying that Asian people carry the virus with them), micro-insults (communication that conveys impoliteness and insensitivity, for example, someone being surprised that Chinese people speak English well), and micro-invalidations (communications that negate the psychological thoughts or feelings of people, such as, expressing that Chinese people are overly sensitive about racial issues).

The problem is that the effectiveness of racial microaggressions derives from the fact that both the offender and, oftentimes, the victim are unaware of them (Sue, 2005). Most white people regard themselves as upright, moral, and respectable individuals who support democracy and equality. They therefore find it difficult to accept that they may have prejudiced racial beliefs and attitudes or act in a discriminating manner (Sue, 2004). Usually, reasonable and unprejudiced explanations are offered for microaggressions, but for the victims, there is always the distressing question of whether it actually happened or it was simply an oversensitive reaction to something that had no racial overtones (Crocker & Major, 1989, as cited in Sue et al., 2007, p. 275). Microaggressions can be hard to detect, especially when other explanations seem plausible. Many people of color report having a nagging feeling of being attacked or offended or that something is wrong (Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003). In some ways, they may find it easier to deal with an overt and evident racist act than a subtle or disguised microaggression (Solórzano et al., 2000).

Therefore, it is important to bring attention not only to cases of discrimination that are evident and publicly displayed but also to these cases of subtle and disguised discriminatory behavior that, although sometimes invisible to the exterior gaze, can negatively impact the daily lives of people from minoritized ethnic groups. This way, one can bring awareness to, rather than overlook, such incidents and acknowledge that they need to be considered with the same importance as direct forms of discrimination. It is also important to make these incidents public in order to motivate other victims to report

and condemn such situations and consequently make them more easily noticed and mediated.

### **3. 2. Definition of Research Problem and Research Objectives**

The main goal of this dissertation is to study, in the Portuguese context, whether Chinese people's perception of racism has changed during the COVID-19 pandemic and then to identify their perceptions of discrimination before and during the pandemic. This aim will allow us to understand a) if the emergence and spread of the virus was associated in the public mind with Chinese migrants, b) whether this social representation has contributed to an increase in ethnic and racial discriminatory behaviors during the pandemic, and c) what coping mechanisms Chinese people developed in response to these ethnically and racially discriminatory behaviors.

For this purpose, the results obtained in Wang et al.'s (2020) study will be considered and compared with the results obtained in the interviews conducted in this research due to the similarity in analyzing discriminatory behavior towards various subgroups of Chinese people during the pandemic. In the current research, the analysis will focus on three distinct groups, with distinct sociodemographic characteristics, and different migratory paths: first-generation migrants, Chinese descendants, and international students.

Additionally, the taxonomy created by Sue and colleagues (2007) on microaggressions will be used to analyze whether they are useful tools to understand incidents of discrimination related by the interviewees. As such, in order to understand how the social-psychological impacts of racism appear in people's daily lives and social encounters, it is important to delve into racial microaggressions, i.e., micro-assaults, micro-insults, and micro-invalidations (Sue et al, 2007:274–275). These concepts will be illustrated through the narratives of the interviewees.

According to previous studies (Gover et al, 2020; He et al., 2020; Wang et al, 2020), Chinese people have been reporting more incidents of negative ethnic and racial discrimination since the emergence of the pandemic than before. In Portugal, França and colleagues (2022) found that Chinese people were also accused of causing and spreading the coronavirus. However, the authors did not identify whether microaggressions had occurred before the pandemic and then increased during this period. Therefore, the current study will go further in exploring this issue and assuming a temporal dimension (before and during the COVID pandemic), since the aim is to compare racist behaviors

before and during the pandemic across the experiences of several Chinese groups. This means that this ethnic and racial discrimination might have happened before, in a subtle manner, but with the emergence of the pandemic, the opportunity arose to make these prejudices more visible, as has been found in other contexts (Wang et al, 2020, in France).

#### **4. METHODOLOGY**

This study uses a qualitative methodology in which 20 in-depth semi-structured interviews were carried out between March and May 2022 with Chinese migrants living in Portugal before and during the emergence of the pandemic. The semi-structured interviews were focused on several key questions covering issues of interest and allowed leeway to explore the subject matter. There was an interview guide (attached in the annex) with closed-ended and open-ended questions that was flexible so as to allow the interview to go in different directions depending on the participants' answers or to obtain further details about the topic. The interviews were mostly conducted online, through the Zoom teleconferencing platform, although a few were also done in person. All interviews were fully transcribed, further analyzed according to thematic topics and articulated with the theoretical framework.

Interviews were considered the most suitable technique for analyzing experiences with discrimination behaviors, since such experiences are personal to each individual. Because they provide a fuller view into people's lives, prior permission was asked of all interviewees to record the interviews and to use all information given during the session. All interviews followed ISCTE's Code of Ethical Conduct<sup>4</sup>.

Furthermore, three interview guides were designed to best suit each social profile of Chinese immigrants in Portugal (attached in the annex): one guide for international students, one for first-generation immigrants, and one for Chinese descendants. The topics of each questionnaire were very similar, but the questions were tailored to the specific dynamics of each social group. The interview was divided into seven sections. The first section included the individual's sociodemographic information/details, such as name, age, gender and location of origin. The next section encompassed questions about family migration, educational and professional history, and social integration in Portugal

---

<sup>4</sup>[https://www.iscte-iul.pt/assets/files/2022/01/24/1643046250963\\_Code\\_of\\_Ethical\\_Conduct\\_in\\_Research\\_ISCTE.pdf](https://www.iscte-iul.pt/assets/files/2022/01/24/1643046250963_Code_of_Ethical_Conduct_in_Research_ISCTE.pdf)

over the years. Then, the third and fourth sections referred to school/university and work experiences. These sections were primarily intended to gain a better understanding of the interviewees' social integration in the country and to validate the finding in the literature review that the earlier the age of arrival (or in some cases, being born in Portugal), the greater the individual's immersion in the country's society and culture is (Ward et al., 2001; Barata 2020; Fu, 2019; Li, 2012). Because these sections provided underlying insights into the process of making friends and personal experiences with discrimination and learning difficulties, they constituted an apt transition to the fifth section regarding stigma and discrimination experiences. The fifth section was where questions regarding discriminatory behavior were asked, with the aim of understanding whether such actions already existed and encountered before COVID-19 or emerged only during the pandemic.

Finally, the last two sections referred to the interviewees' overall experience in Portugal, where respondents were basically asked about their satisfaction with living in Portugal, as well as difficulties they had experienced. At the end, questions on their future expectations and migration plans (staying in Portugal or moving to China or another country) were included.

#### **4. 1. Methods and Data Collection Techniques**

Different techniques were used to contact the participants. Since I attended the same university as some of the potential contributors (international students) during my bachelor's degree, I took advantage of this social connection to identify and contact interviewees. From there, a "snowball" technique was used to reach more people. However, as this study aimed to include more individuals than just Chinese students, an informal approach was taken to reach people through social media platforms such as Instagram, Tik Tok and LinkedIn, where private messages were sent to other potential participants. Through this approach, it was possible to identify some Chinese descendants as potential interviewees. Therefore, due to the need to also reach first-generation immigrants, a participant-observation technique was developed, consisting of going to local Chinese restaurants, retail and grocery shops in the suburbs of Lisbon, and initiating face-to-face contact with potential participants. As a result, around 40 people were contacted, of which some did not reply, and 20 of whom agreed to participate in the study. Of the 20 interviews, 15 were directly approached, and five were referrals identified through the snowball technique. In most cases, it was relatively easy to find people who fit the criteria for the interviews and agreed to participate – keeping in mind that I was

already acquainted with some of them and that social media is a fast and efficient way to reach people (especially young adults). However, social contact with first-generation immigrants was different. First, because in face-to-face contact, people may feel less comfortable agreeing to participate. Second, I came to realize that first-generation immigrants are usually less open to being approached than international students or descendants, mostly due to generational issues and a greater difficulty in speaking Portuguese. Two examples of this were my attempts to reach a shop worker and a Chinese restaurant owner. The first told me she was not interested in participating as soon I tried to explain my intentions, and the second responded she was not comfortable with either the Portuguese or the English language and could hardly understand me.

Fifteen interviews were conducted virtually (via the Zoom teleconferencing platform), and five were held face-to-face. Both virtual and face-to-face interviews were recorded on a mobile phone with the consent of the participants. On average, the interviews took 30 minutes each, but this time varied depending on how much participants were willing to speak about their experiences. Participants were given the option to have the interview conducted in Portuguese or English; six interviewees opted for English and the rest for Portuguese.

#### **4. 2. Characterization of the Participants**

In the table below, information can be found regarding the sample's sociodemographic composition, such as the participants' age, gender, marital status, education level, occupation, major in school, social profile (i.e., immigrants, Chinese descendants, or international students), location of origin, and date of arrival in Portugal. As seen in the table, the mean age of interviewees was 28 years old, and there were 12 women and eight men. Among the 20 interviewees, five were married and the rest were unmarried. The largest social profile was international students (nine individuals), followed by first-generation immigrants (six) and Chinese descendants (five). Furthermore, only eight people were employed at the time of the interview, and the remaining were university students. The working interviewees included two retail shop owners, one clothing shop owner, one grocery shop owner, one restaurant owner, one Anime shop owner, one professional table tennis player and one translator and interpreter. As for education level, eight people had concluded secondary education, seven had a bachelor's degree, four had obtained a master's degree and only one had obtained a PhD. Among the participants who had attended higher education, five majored in applied foreign languages, three in

international relations, two in business management, one in public policy and another in political studies.

Regarding the participants' location of origin, four were born in Portugal and the rest were born in China. In Portugal, participants originated from Lisbon, Porto, Almada and Santarém. In China, the largest group of participants originated from Macau (six individuals), followed by Beijing (three individuals). The remaining seven participants came from northeast and southeast Chinese cities such as Harbin, Shanxi, Xian, Taizhou, Zhongshan, Wenzhou and Zhuhai.



Table 4.1: Sociodemographic information of participants

Interview Nr.	Age	Gender	Marital Status	Education Level	Occupation	Major	Social Profile	Origin	Year of Arrival in PT
1	24	Female	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Student	Applied Foreign Languages	International Student	Zhuhai	2016
2	24	Male	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Student	Applied Foreign Languages	International Student	Macau	2016
3	25	Male	Single	Master's Degree	Student	Business Management	International Student	Harbin	2019
4	26	Female	Single	Master's Degree	Student	International Relations	International Student	Shanxi	2018
5	27	Female	Single	Master's Degree	Student	International Relations	International Student	Beijing	2017
6	23	Male	Single	High School Diploma	Anime Shop Owner	-	Descendent of Immigrant	Porto	Born in PT
7	23	Male	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Student	Applied Foreign Languages	International Student	Macau	2018

8	23	Female	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Student	Applied Languages	Foreign	International Student	Macau	2017
9	23	Female	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Student	Applied Languages	Foreign	International Student	Macau	2016
10	20	Female	Single	High School Diploma	Student	-		Descendant of Immigrant	Santarém	Born in Pt
11	25	Male	Single	High School Diploma	Table Tennis Player	-		Descendant of Immigrant	Almada	Born in PT
12	32	Female	Single	Master's Degree	Student	International Relations		International Student	Beijing	2019
13	24	Female	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Student	Business Management		Descendant of Immigrant	Macau	1999
14	27	Female	Single	PhD	Translator/Interpreter	Public Policy		Immigrant	Beijing	2013
15	23	Female	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Student	Political Studies		Descendant of Immigrant	Lisbon	Born in PT
16	42	Female	Married	High School Diploma	Retail Shop Owner	-		Immigrant	Xian	2000

17	37	Male	Married	High School Diploma	Restaurant Owner	-	Immigrant	Macau	2006
18	45	Male	Married	High School Diploma	Grocery Shop Owner	-	Immigrant	Taizhou	1997
19	36	Female	Married	High School Diploma	Retail Shop Owner	-	Immigrant	Zhongshan	2008
20	40	Male	Married	High School Diploma	Clothing Shop Owner	-	Immigrant	Wenzhou	2005



## 5. DISCUSSION AND DATA ANALYSIS

### 5. 1. Discrimination Before COVID

Scholars in other countries have argued that discrimination against Chinese immigrants was present long before the emergence of COVID-19, for example, in France, Wang et al. (2012); in the USA, Leong and Tang (2016); and in Australia, Li (2019). In Portugal, previous research focusing on the process of settlement and the integration of first-generation immigrants and their descendants also reported some degree of discrimination felt by the Chinese community before the pandemic (Gaspar, 2019; Barata, 2020).

Like the results of other research conducted in a Portuguese context (Barata, 2020; Gaspar, 2019), my results (even if my sample is not wholly representative) show that 11 out of 20 interviewees had experienced some form of discrimination before the pandemic. As mentioned before, these forms of discrimination include microaggressions, such as micro-assaults and micro-insults (Sue, 2007), as well as negative stereotypes (generalized derogatory assumptions about the Chinese community).

Among the group of interviewees, two out of six first-generation migrants reported incidents of discrimination before COVID-19. One was a retail shop owner who suffered from micro-insults, such as overhearing customers call her “chinoca” and say “olhos em bico” while in her shop. The other was a clothing shop owner who, according to his perception, was treated differently when he wore a suit for work than at other times, which reveals a possible stereotype related to the image of a successful Chinese businessman who deserves special treatment:

“I recall hearing people talk about me in the store...using the term ‘olhos em bico’ or saying that they were in the ‘chinoca’ store”.

(Chun, 36, first-generation immigrant, in Portugal since 2008)

“I always felt like when I’m dressed for work, in a suit, everyone treats me in a different way, a nicer way. As if I gain some kind of attention and respect”.

(Kun, 40, first-generation immigrant, in Portugal since 2005)

Regarding international students, five out of nine interviewees reported cases of discrimination: three referred to the same micro-insults as the shop owner above, and two suffered micro-assaults such as being followed by someone in the street and having a store manager expel them and a friend from the establishment for no apparent reason:

“I went for a stroll, and I felt I was being followed by a Portuguese man in the street. I don’t know why, but he seemed he could be a mentally ill person. So, I started walking faster and he continued following me until I eventually lost him”.

(Jian, 23, international student, in Portugal since 2018)

“I remember one thing. A friend and I once entered a sports store and, maybe because we were talking Chinese out loud, the manager of the store asked us to leave when we had just entered. I don’t think we did anything wrong, so I thought maybe he just didn’t like Asian people”.

(Xiu, 32, international student, in Portugal since 2019)

These experiences of interviewees from two different social profiles, are in line with those obtained by Leong and Tang (2016), who explain that because of their appearance and accent, Chinese immigrants often experience negligence, verbal abuse, or microaggressions on a day-to-day basis.

As for the interviewees who were descendants of Chinese people, four out of five experienced discriminatory behavior. All four had suffered from micro-insults, being called names such as “chinoca” and having the phrases “olhos em bico”, “arigato” and “pastel de flango” (a way for mocking Chinese people’s pronunciation) directed at them. These behaviors normally occurred at school or on the street, had no provocation, and were perpetuated by strangers:

“Throughout my life, I have experienced episodes of racism or xenophobia where I have been called a variety of names such as “chinoca”, “olhos em bico” or even “pastel de flango”.

(Hao, 23, descendent, born in Portugal)

Daiyu is a Chinese woman descendent who was born in Macau and was adopted by a Portuguese couple there who later returned to Portugal. In addition to continually hearing people calling her names like those previously mentioned, growing up, she experienced a great deal of other forms of discrimination where she suffered from various micro-insults:

“When I was a kid, I would go to certain places or stores with my mother and people wouldn’t let me in unless I pointed to her and explained she was actually my mother. I have also had people first try to speak in English to me and then proceed to be surprised by the fact I could speak Portuguese so well, when it’s in fact my first language. I have also once heard someone tell me I was very pretty for a Chinese person...And then I also

remember situations where acquaintances would come up to me and say something in the lines of “So Chinoca, what’s up?”, like it was okay for them to say something like that when I barely know them”.

(Daiyu, 24, descendant, in Portugal since 1999)

Finally, other serious episodes were reported, where the interviewee was faced with more direct situations of discrimination. Based on Sue’s taxonomy (2007) Hao, another descendant, was confronted with micro-insults:

“One time, when I was getting off the train, I handed a suitcase to an elderly lady who had just dropped it and in return, she made a disgusted face and said, “Get out of here, Chinese”. Another time I was in a clothes shop with some friends when a man around 40 years old said ‘smells like Chinese’. We proceeded to confront him, and he repeated the same thing and left”.

(Hao, 23, descendent, born in Portugal)

The second generation of Chinese migrants appear, then, to be the ones who have suffered from racism more openly or most easily identify that they were victims of discrimination. Like in Wang et al.’s (2020) findings, younger people (descendants and international students) were more inclined to identify as victims than older people (first-generation immigrants) and have also proved to be more open to discuss the topic. Furthermore, Wang et al.’s (2020) results are also similar to those herein in terms of differences among different social groups’ accounts of experiences with racism: First, the denial of racism is very common among older/first-generation immigrants; second, the recognition of racism is common among young newcomers (international students) and descendants; and finally, active discussion of racism is most common among the Chinese descendants. Possible explanations for these results may relate to the fact that these younger generations grew up in a society in which the topic of racism is increasingly discussed and reported. In addition, the degree of immersion of each individual in the culture of the recipient country, particularly their fluency in the country’s language, may also be a differentiating factor with regard to the perception of racism. It is possible that the reason first-generation immigrants do not report so many cases of discrimination is due to a lack of understanding of the discriminatory attitudes and language directed against them. This issue is further addressed below.

## **5.2. Discrimination During COVID**

As mentioned before, several studies from countries like the USA, France and Portugal (Gover et al, 2020; He et al., 2020; Wang et al, 2020; França et al., 2022) have claimed an increase in discrimination against Chinese communities with the advent of COVID-19. Among my interviewees, 18 individuals (compared with 11 before the pandemic) reported some type of discrimination against them or their friends, and eight of them had never had such experiences before the emergence of the virus. Of these 18 individuals, five were first-generation immigrants, five were descendants, and eight were international students.

Fifteen people reported cases where they, or their friends, felt judged for and insecure about wearing a mask. Similar to studies on this topic in both Portugal (França et al., 2022) and other countries (Ren & Feagin, 2020; Wang et al., 2020), this study found that harassment, verbal abuse, and comments describing Chinese people as sick and dangerous for carrying diseases like COVID-19 led the victims to feel insecure about wearing a mask in public. Usually due to cultural differences, and because they closely followed the news from China, many people from the Chinese community in Portugal chose to wear masks as soon as they first heard about COVID-19:

“When the virus first appeared in China, I started to wear masks here because my whole family kept me informed of the situation they were going through in the country”.

(Li, international student, in Portugal since 2017)

Since the use of masks was not yet mandatory in Portugal, and in Portuguese culture, masks were synonymous with disease, this situation made the Chinese community very vulnerable to certain microaggressions. These microaggressions mainly occurred on the street, in the university or on public transport, where the Chinese interviewees reported that people would look at them differently, fear being close to them, and even change seats to avoid being near them.

Among those groups who reported feeling judged for wearing a mask, three were first-generation immigrants, four were descendants, and eight were international students.

Mei, Chang, Li and Min were international students studying in the same university. When the pandemic first started, they described an incident where they felt discriminated against because they were wearing masks: At that time, the university had hung posters with guidelines for how to act in relation to the virus. These posters said, among other things, that people should not wear masks unless they had symptoms. As the



students saw it, the use of the mask was not just intended to protect others from a potential infection but also to protect themselves. Because these students were the only people choosing to wear masks, they felt the posters were a personal attack and that they were incentivizing hate against them. However, this turned out to be a misinterpretation of the situation that did not correspond to the university's intention, as a professor from the university clarified. When the professor first heard of their discomfort, she arranged a meeting with these students to clarify the intention of the university in using the posters and explain that they did not mean to incentivize hate towards mask-wearing students:

“I remember when the pandemic started, and a lot of Asian students were wearing masks. Then the university comes out with an announcement saying to not wear masks unless we have symptoms because it can cause other students to panic, and we thought this was kind of discriminatory because they are targeting us, which made the other students start looking at us differently...Then, we had that meeting with a professor explaining the announcement was not targeting any group of people specifically and that those were the [standard] DGS measures”.

(Li, 23, international student, in Portugal since 2017)

This episode shows the positive intention of the university in clarifying the situation in a context of increasing ambiguity and insecurity during the pandemic. França et al. (2022) described a similar situation, where an undergraduate student felt judged for wearing a mask when the university sent emails saying that masks should not be worn. Although the result of this culturally ignorant action was that the students felt discriminated against, it cannot be said that the university's intentions were misplaced, as mask wearing was not yet among the prevention measures recommended by Portuguese health authorities. These events, therefore, reveal the types of misunderstandings that arise about other people's attitudes and intentions.

As other studies have shown (Ren & Feagin, 2020; Wang et al., 2020), mask wearing turned Chinese people into an “easy target” for various attacks in countries like the USA and France. A similar situation was found in Portugal, as eight individuals reported verbal attacks implying that Asian people were carrying or were the originators of the virus: Respondents heard others pretend to cough and then say, “she is from China” or say, “Oh, she is Asian. There is COVID”, “Virus, virus”, “They came here and brought COVID to Europe”, and “Don't touch that, it is full of COVID”. Among these individuals,

three were first-generation immigrants, two were descendants and three were international students. Chun recalls a discriminatory situation she faced at work due to her decision to wear a mask:

“I was working as a store cashier in the beginning of the pandemic when a customer told me, “If you are sick, you shouldn’t be here just putting us at risk”, because I was wearing a mask. I then answered that I was not sick and was wearing a mask for my own protection, to which the lady said “Your protection? That’s funny”.

(Chun, 36, first-generation immigrant, in Portugal since 2008)

### **5. 3. The Perception of Racism by Chinese Migrants in Portugal**

Although all interviewees had been discriminated against at some point while in the country, when first asked, “Do you think there is discrimination in Portugal?” they tended to deny the existence of continued and permanent racism. Very similar to the respondents in França et al.’s (2022) study, a lot of the respondents first answered that they did not feel discriminated against and later, when asked specific questions, they reported at least one case of discrimination or racism. As with França’s (2022) respondents, they all believed there is discrimination in Portugal, but the majority argued that it is not as serious as it can be in other countries, and despite them having been discriminated against, their narratives often seemed to justify the perpetrators’ behaviors as cultural differences, proceeding to defend Portugal as a country with friendly people and little discrimination:

“I started wearing a mask and at that time people might have judged me, but I believe it is a matter of cultural differences and not discrimination...I know about some situations of discrimination in other European countries, but I think Portugal is better”.

(Guang, 25, international student, in Portugal since 2019)

Nevertheless, when confronted with a denial of racism, one should bear in mind that many Chinese immigrants are not fluent in Portuguese, and so they may not have perceived or understood less obvious manifestations of discrimination. Mei was called “chinoca” during the first year she was in Portugal, and she understood the meaning of this word only because she asked one of her professors about it, whereas Chun already knew a little Portuguese before coming to Portugal, which is why she understood people were being racist when they called her “chinoca” or said, “olhos em bico”. This may have contributed to first-generation immigrants “underestimating” the prevalence of racism

due to a lack of linguistic and cultural understanding. On the other hand, because the Chinese descendants have an Asian phenotype but speak Portuguese and identify with Portuguese culture, they can more easily pick up on racist behaviors.

This issue, of prior knowledge of the language as a decisive factor in understanding discrimination, is rarely mentioned in other studies. Nonetheless, it is a very important factor, since it is decisive in being able to identify certain types of discrimination and can cause misunderstanding in situations that seem problematic but are not, as the aforementioned case in which the international students felt judged for wearing a mask in the university.

Other encounters with discrimination were reported by two Chinese descendants: Daiyu had someone ask her if “she ate bats”, purportedly as a joke, and Fen was stuck in traffic when a woman honked at her and yelled “Go back to your country”. These are the types of offensive actions that can be seen around the world directed towards a wide variety of communities and are also very commonly taken against the Afro-descendant community in Portugal, which is one of the largest communities in the country and struggles daily against the social naturalization of repressive and coercive forms of action (Raposo et al., 2019).

Fen described another situation that made her extremely annoyed and uncomfortable:

“At the beginning of the pandemic, an Instagram influencer made a video talking about how, in a Chinese retail store, [the clerks] had an acrylic vinyl separating them from the costumers, and how she felt like they were spreaders or the source of the virus and yet were still trying to be protected from the costumers ‘like the costumers were the problem in the pandemic’” I saw this and felt insulted and worried about having a person with such a big platform spreading this type of message and incentivizing hate towards the Chinese population. I proceeded to message the influencer, asking her to delete the video and trying to educate her about the problematic discourse she used”.

(Fen, 23, descendent, born in Portugal)

França et al. (2022) explained that although many times the victims they interviewed in Portugal were aware of the racial nature of the situations they encountered, the most common reaction they had in these circumstances was to avoid direct confrontation with the perpetrators. However, in other contexts, such as France, Wang (2020) found that responses like Fen’s are increasingly frequent, as during the COVID-19 pandemic, discussions on anti-Asian racism have been brought back into public

discourse, and many people, particularly young individuals of Chinese descent (including descendants and recent young immigrants), have started speaking up and bringing awareness to a problem that has long been ignored.

#### **5. 4. Strategies of Resistance and Response to Discrimination**

The findings show that most of the interviewees reported cases of discrimination issuing from strangers, often occurred on the street, in stores or on public transportation. However, second-generation Chinese recounted being discriminated against by casual acquaintances and close peers while growing up and by strangers before and during the pandemic. One thing a few descendants pointed out is that sometimes, the perpetrator is not even aware they are being disrespectful; they try to justify their actions by saying they are just kidding and try to diminish the magnitude of the situation by stating that the victims are being over-sensitive. As clarified above, this behavior is described as microinvalidation by Sue and colleagues (2007). Accordingly, Daiyu, a Chinese descendent, mentioned:

“What many people think it’s a joke, for me is being discriminatory...then when I speak up, they respond that it’s just a joke and that I shouldn’t take it seriously”.  
(Daiyu, 24, descendent, in Portugal since 1999)

Fen, another participant, also reported a situation that prompted discussion in her family, comprising herself and her father (who are Chinese) and her mother and two half-siblings (who are Portuguese). At the beginning of the pandemic, an Asian cuisine restaurant opened in Lisbon under the name "O Chinoca". For her, the concept of the restaurant was obviously very prejudiced. She described jokes used by the restaurant where they substituted the letters "r" for "l", mimicking the Chinese accent, and the aesthetics of the restaurant being the typical caricature of an uneducated Chinese person with a very different culture who cannot adapt to Portugal. In other words, the restaurant's marketing was not appealing to any Chinese who wanted to eat there. However, while she and her father found the restaurant’s concept clearly racist, her mother and brother (who are Portuguese) thought the concept was funny. Two weeks after this discussion, a new item appeared in *Jornal Expresso* about the fact that the Chinese community had lodged a complaint with the consumer protection bureau to close the restaurant and completely change its branding.

This episode illustrates a strategy of resistance and condemnation by the Chinese community that some authors have noted as becoming increasingly frequent due to the rise in discrimination caused by the COVID-19 pandemic (Gover et al, 2020; Wang et al, 2020; Ren & Feagin, 2020).

Based on the interviews in this study, it seems that the emergence of the pandemic also made some of the participants more likely to speak up about this topic than before. This differs from the results obtained in Franca et al.'s (2022) study on microaggressions towards Chinese international students in Portugal during COVID-19, which showed that the most common reaction amongst the participants was to avoid direct confrontations and to brush off the microaggressions. However, the present study's reports of resistance to discrimination all came from the Chinese descendants, a social profile that was not included in França et al.'s investigation. This only reinforces what was previously mentioned, that second-generation Chinese immigrants appear to be the ones more openly suffering from racism or more easily declaring that they have been victims. They are also the ones who more readily condemn any form of discrimination, maybe due to their knowledge of the Portuguese language and their acquaintance with the social values and norms that rule Portuguese society.

I found Fen on social media when she posted an Instagram story aimed at creating awareness and concern about this topic, describing an incident of discrimination she had experienced that day.

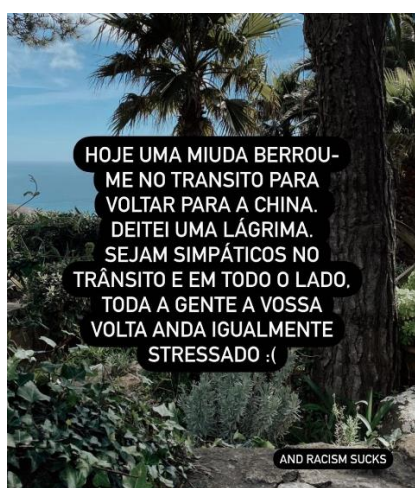


Figure 5.2. Fen's instastory

At that time, she had already participated in discussions on anti-Asian hate at her university and had shared her strong beliefs by educating people about their discriminatory behavior online. Daiyu also shared her frustration on social media about

"Today a girl yelled at me in traffic to go back to China. I shed a tear. Be nice in traffic and everywhere else. Everyone around you is equally stressed :( [in English] and racism sucks".

being tired of the discrimination she constantly experiences and trying to make people acknowledge things that they do unconsciously. Finally, Hao also made use of online platforms to create comedic videos about discriminatory situations he had faced throughout his life. These videos, hosted on Tik Tok, usually consist of his reaction and evaluation (on a scale from 1 to 10) of xenophobic names that he has been called, as well as his making fun of his experiences of growing up as a biracial person.

This kind of response to increasing discrimination against Asian people can also be found in other contexts. In Spain, an influencer, musician, and activist known as *Putochinomaricón* uses his online platform to continually raise awareness of racist and discriminatory situations through light and humorous discourse. As a descendant of Taiwanese parents, he is well-known for his activism against Asian hate in Spain. He is affiliated with organizations such as *SOS Racismo Madrid*, has been the face of campaigns such as #iamnotavirus on social media, and has been a representative at events such as Madrid Fashion Week, where he walked the runway with the phrase “I am not a virus” written on his chest.



Figure 5.3. Putochinomaricón during Madrid Fashion Week

Source: Pasiiecznik, 2020

Gracy Ly is a French author, blogger, producer and activist who, through her first novel, “*Jeune fille modèle*”, podcast titled “*Kiffe Ta Race*” (which she co-hosts with journalist Rokhaya Diallo), and a web series titled “*Ça reste entre nous*”, tries to share the voices of the French Asian community, which is considered invisible and underrepresented in public life. As a French citizen of Chinese-Cambodian origin, Grace wants to change the way France talks about matters of race and has already made many

achievements, such as recently being recognized “the anti-racist author” on the March 8, 2021, special edition cover of Marie Claire magazine.

Amanda N. Nguyen is an Asian-American social entrepreneur, a civil rights activist, the CEO and founder of Rise (a non-governmental civil rights organization) and a 2019 Nobel Peace Prize Nominee. In 2021, Amanda posted a video on Instagram urging national media outlets to better cover the recent surge of anti-Asian violence against residents across the country, from the San Francisco Bay Area to New York City. The viral video prompted a wave of collective action from the anti-Asian hate movement in the USA.

This shows that social media can, therefore, also function as an important space for condemnation and resistance towards racism. Online platforms have great potential to enable a dynamic blend of education, contact and protest and to provide spaces for people to learn and share their views (Betton, 2015).

These episodes indicate that although the increase in discrimination against Asian people has brought greater visibility of and action against an already existing problem, Portugal still has a long way to go when it comes to acknowledging the existence of racism and acting accordingly to end it.

## **6. CONCLUSIONS**

This dissertation concerns the racial and ethnic discrimination experienced by 20 Chinese individuals living in Portugal. Following França et al. (2022) in the same context and Wang et al.’s (2020) study in France, the findings presented here constitute a long-term look at the situation before and during the COVID-19 pandemic, specifically collecting the experiences of three different groups of people of Chinese origin: first-generation immigrants, international students and descendants. As this research has shown, in Portugal and other countries, Chinese citizens have been considered, by lay people, to be responsible for causing and spreading the novel coronavirus and have consequently been subject to prejudice and racial discrimination. It is, therefore, crucial to make racial discrimination visible, as Wang et al. (2020, p.18) noted: “racial colour blindness, which can also mean blindness to differential treatment experienced by migrants and their descendants, precisely reinforces systemic racism, both in daily interpersonal interactions and in access to right”. The idea behind this statement prompted deep introspection into how Portugal deals with discrimination, comparing it against the case of the USA. The

USA is a world superpower and is therefore influential for many countries. Because it has one of the most multicultural populations, it is the best choice for this comparison.

In terms of how the media prioritizes and portrays news in the two countries, US media often report headlines like “Kamala Harris becomes first woman vice president”. However, there were no headlines reporting that Antonio Costa was the first ever dark-skinned prime minister of Portugal. These episodes are merely representative of a bigger question. In fact, it can be said that overall, the USA is much more aware of discrimination and racism-related topics than Portugal, as evidenced by the wide variety of social movements and NGOs that have originated there, such as Black Lives Matter and Stop AAPI Hate. However, it is also true that many more cases of discrimination are [proportionally based on population size] reported in the USA than in Portugal (U.S. News Staff, 2021). Hence, because issues related to race (and even to gender and sexuality) are more openly discussed in the USA, one could say that US Americans would also feel more comfortable sharing their opinions. Thus, narratives used in headlines like those previously mentioned can both be taken as a celebration of an achievement in the fight for equal rights and present an opportunity for opponents to hijack these narratives and misuse them. Therefore, one of the largest differences in the way the two countries seem to deal with discrimination and racism is how in the USA, people acknowledge, debate and repudiate more problematic episodes, while in Portugal, there is less awareness and action on this front.

Thus, on the one hand, Portugal’s way of dealing with discrimination does not encourage discussion around the topic, which one could say it leads to fewer stigmatized mentalities and in turn explains the interviewees’ belief that Portugal is, in comparison with other countries, less discriminatory. On the other hand, based on Wang et al.’s (2020) argument, because there is blindness regarding differential treatment, or no widespread awareness and discussion regarding these problems, acts of discrimination and racism continue to occur without any action being taken to combat them.

The findings of this research confirm that there is still very little awareness of the problems of ethical and racial discrimination towards the Chinese community in Portugal. Many interviewees reported cases of microaggressions and episodes where the perpetrators seemed to not even understand that their behavior was discriminatory. However, when it comes to the experience of communities such as people of African and Brazilian descent, the perpetrator’s behaviors are often more explicit, which seems to result in greater awareness of and resistance to such actions among the Portuguese



population. That is because these individuals are much more affected by the dynamics of Portuguese colonialism (Alves & Russell, 2021). Many believe that the suffering and injustice perpetuated by the slavery and colonization of their ancestors legitimized the descendants' fight for equality and has motivated them to raise awareness of problems of discrimination that continue even to this day.

The process of colonization in Macau was somehow unusual when compared to the African colonies and Brazil because Portugal was not able to fully control it (Porter, 1993; França et al., 2022). Therefore, the two countries (Portugal and China) share a unique postcolonial relation and, despite the cultural heritage, the importance of the Portuguese presence in Macau has been minimized (Porter, 1993; Amaro, 2016), which could explain the lack of attention given to cases of discrimination towards the Chinese community in Portugal. Nevertheless, this investigation shows that the pandemic has brought a new awareness of some cases of discrimination by revealing an increase in reports of discriminatory episodes and resistance from some victims.

It is now important to point out some limitations of the current research that should be taken into account in future studies. It was previously shown that although all the interviewees were discriminated at some point during their time in Portugal, the majority seemed to justify the perpetrators' behaviors as stemming from cultural differences and defended Portugal as a country with friendly people and little discrimination, similarly to França et al.'s (2022) findings. The reason for such a response was not explored in this work. Freyre (1933) argued that a lusotropicalism perspective would explain the myth of Portugal's openness to diversity and tolerance toward foreigners. According to this perspective, the official and hegemonic discourse denies racism and portrays Portugal as a tolerant country where racism, if not inexistent, is only a minor problem, especially when compared to the situation in other countries (Araújo, 2013). These lusotropicalist ideas were said to have survived the Portuguese dictatorship (whence they originated), feeding the structural racism that might exist in the country and being now part of commonplace. Further research should analyze whether these ideas are also present in younger generations (born after 2000), who seem more aware of racism; nevertheless, if true, these ideas would explain why the interviewees believe that Portugal is not a very discriminatory country. Either way, this subject would be interesting to further investigate.

Additionally, the issue of prior knowledge of the language as a decisive factor for understanding discrimination is a very important subject and rarely mentioned in other

studies. Since there was evidence in this dissertation that this factor both helped individuals identify cases of discrimination and led to misunderstandings, the role of language on the perception and condemnation of racist acts should be explored in future research.

Moreover, in identifying discrimination, one should also try to understand the profile of the perpetrators. It is important to carry out additional research to determine whether certain characteristics, such as the age and gender of the perpetrator, reveal any patterns.

Other important areas to investigate in the future include whether the experience of discrimination and racism motivated more reports of cases to institutions such as CICDR and SOS Racism or even on social media. Likewise, it is also necessary to conduct research with a greater number of participants, making it possible to include a wider range of Chinese immigrants, such as so-called skilled and unskilled workers, older and younger individuals, and residents in urban and rural areas. The role of Chinese associations and churches in spreading awareness of discrimination and supporting denunciation and resistance in response should also be examined.

Finally, it will also be necessary to carry out a post-COVID-19 study (post-COVID follow-up) that investigates the evolution of discriminatory acts towards and the perceptions of racism among Chinese people, so that it can be understood if the attention to these cases, brought about by the pandemic, will result in more action to combat racism. Furthermore, such work will be essential in determining if the reports of discrimination form a pattern, continue to increase after the end of the pandemic, or return to pre-pandemic figures.

## 7. REFERENCES

- Abel, D. (2020). Portugal records Chinese student boom, with thousands registered in 2019. Retrieved 29 March 2022, from <https://www.englishforums.com/news/portugal-records-chinese-student-boom/>
- Alves, E., & Russell, K. (2021). Between international student and immigrant: A critical perspective on angolan and cape verdean students in Portugal. In R. Brooks & S. O'Shea (Eds.), *Reimagining the higher education student. Constructing and contesting identities* (pp. 223-239). Routledge.
- Amante, M. de F. & Rodrigues, I. (2020). Mobility Regimes and the crisis: The changing face of Chinese migration due to the Portuguese Golden Visa policy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Early View.
- Amaro, V. (2016). Linguistic practice, power and imagined worlds: The case of the Portuguese in postcolonial Macau. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 37(1), 33–50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2015.1119809>
- Araújo, M. (2013). Challenging narratives on diversity and immigration in Portugal: The (de)politicization of colonialism and racism. In J. Capetillo, G. Jacobs, & P. Kretsedemas (Eds.), *Migrant Marginality: A Transnational Perspective* (pp. 27–46). Routledge.
- Barata, M. (2020). *The Social and Economic Integration of Chinese Immigrants in Portugal: Generation 2.0* (Master Thesis). ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa.
- Betton, V., Borschmann, R., Docherty, M., Coleman, S., Brown, M., & Henderson, C. (2015). The role of social media in reducing stigma and discrimination. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 206(6), 443-444. doi:10.1192/bjp.bp.114.152835
- Cairns, D., Growiec, K. & de Almeida Alves, N. (2014). Another 'Missing Middle'? The marginalised majority of tertiary-educated youth in Portugal during the economic crisis. *Journal of Youth Studies*.
- Campbell, L. (2020, February 9). Chinese in UK report 'shocking' levels of racism after coronavirus outbreak. *The Guardian*. Retrieved November 12, 2022, from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/feb/09/chinese-in-uk-report-shocking-levels-of-racism-after-coronavirus-outbreak>
- Coates, R. D., & Morrison, J. (2011). Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. *Covert racism*. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004203655.i-461>
- Racismo contra chineses que vivem em Portugal aumentou devido à pandemia. (2021, April 3). SIC Notícias. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from <https://sicnoticias.pt/especiais/coronavirus/2021-04-03-Racismo-contra-chineses-que-vivem-em-Portugal-aumentou-devido-a-pandemia-31e1ffb2>.

- Covid-19 Fueling Anti-Asian Racism and Xenophobia Worldwide. (2020, May 12). Human Rights Watch. Retrieved May 31, 2021, from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/05/12/covid-19-fueling-anti-asian-racism-and-xenophobia-worldwide>.
- Crocker, J., & Major, B. (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. *Psychological Review*, 96(4), 608-630. doi: 10.1037/0033-295x.96.4.608
- Franco, H. (2021, April 3). Pandemia desperta racismo contra chineses. *Expresso*. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from <https://expresso.pt/coronavirus/2021-04-03-Pandemia-desperta-racismo-contra-chineses-4e508140>.
- França, T. (2021). The Silk Route of Student Mobility: Portuguese Universities' Strategies for Attracting Chinese Students. In S. Gaspar & I. Rodrigues, *The Presence of China and the Chinese Diaspora in Portugal and Portuguese-Speaking Territories*.
- França, T., Gaspar, S., & Mathias, D. (2022). "it's not good, but it could be worse": Racial microaggressions toward Chinese international students during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15595692.2022.2098274>
- Freyre, G. (1933). *Casa-Grande e Senzala: Formação da família brasileira sob o regime de economia patriarcal*. Ciências Humanas e Sociais RJ: o: Maia & Schmidt.
- Fu, J. (2019). *Social Inclusion of Chinese Immigrants in Portugal: The Roles of Length of Residence and Social Networks* (Master's degree). Iscte - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa.
- Gaspar, S. (2017). Chinese Migration to Portugal (葡萄牙中国移民). *Journal Of Chinese Overseas*, 13(1), 48-69. doi: 10.1163/17932548-12341343.
- Gaspar, S. (2019). Chinese descendants' professional pathways: Moving to new businesses?. *Portuguese Journal Of Social Science*, 18(1), 91-108. doi: 10.1386/pjss.18.1.91\_1
- Gaspar, S., & Ampudia de Haro, F. (2020). "Buying Citizenship? Chinese Golden Visa Migrants in Portugal". *International Migration*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/imig.12621>.
- Gover, A. R., Harper, S. B., & Langton, L. (2020). Anti-Asian Hate Crime During the COVID-19 Pandemic: Exploring the Reproduction of Inequality. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 45(4), 647–667.
- Hahm, H. (2021, May 25). Pov: What We Need to Do to End Anti-Asian Racism. *BU Today*. Retrieved June 1, 2021, from <https://www.bu.edu/articles/2021/pov-what-we-need-to-do-to-end-anti-asian-racism/>.
- Hajian, S., & Domingo-Ferrer, J. (2013). A Methodology for Direct and Indirect Discrimination Prevention in Data Mining. *IEEE Transactions On Knowledge And Data Engineering*, 25(7), 1445-1459. doi: 10.1109/tkde.2012.72
- Haynes, S. (2021, March 18). 'This Isn't Just a Problem for North America.' The Atlanta Shooting Highlights the Painful Reality of Rising Anti-Asian Violence Around the World. *TIME*.

- Retrieved June 1, 2021, from <https://time.com/5947862/anti-asian-attacks-rising-worldwide/>.
- He, J., He, L., Zhou, W., Nie, X., & He, M. (2020). Discrimination and Social Exclusion in the Outbreak of COVID-19. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17(8), 2933.
- Jia, G. (2004), “The acquisition of English and maintenance of first language by immigrant children and adolescents in North America”, em U. P. Gilen e J. Roopnarine (orgs.), *Childhood and Adolescence. Cross-Cultural Perspectives and Applications*, Westport, CT, Praeger, pp. 350-373.
- Kaufman, J. (2004), “The interplay between social and cultural determinants of school effort and success: an investigation of Chinese-immigrant and second-generation Chinese students’ perceptions towards school”, *Social Science Quarterly*, 85 (5), pp. 1275-1298. DOI : 10.1111/j.0038-4941.2004.00276.x
- Leong, F. T., & Tang, M. (2016). Career barriers for Chinese immigrants in the United States. *The Career Development Quarterly*, 64(3), 259–271. <https://doi.org/10.1002/cdq.1205>Leong
- Leung, M. (2021). [COVID] Countering the Virus: Discrimination and protestation in multicultural Europe.
- Li, L. (2012). *Social Integration of International Chinese Second Generation of Immigrants. Research on the Youth from 15 to 24 of Chinese Immigrants in Lisbon* (Master Thesis). ISCTE-IUL.
- Li, M., & Wong, D. (2017). Moving the Migration Frontier: A Chinese Qiaoxiang Migration Model?. *International Migration*, 56(1), 63-77. doi: 10.1111/imig.12407
- Li, Y. (2017). Constituting Co-Ethnic Exploitation: The Economic and Cultural Meanings of Cash-in-Hand Jobs for Ethnic Chinese Migrants in Australia. *Critical Sociology*, 43(6), 919–932. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920515606504>
- Li, Y. (2019). “It’s Not Discrimination”: Chinese Migrant Workers’ Perceptions of and Reactions to Racial Microaggressions in Australia. *Sociological Perspectives*, 62(4), 554-571. doi: 10.1177/0731121419826583.
- Mandjou, C. (2020) ‘Le coronavirus et la stigmatisation des Asiatiques’, Rfi, 29 February. <https://www.rfi.fr/fr/podcasts/20200229-coronavirus-stigmatisation-asiatiques>
- McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the Modern Racism Scale. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination and racism* (pp. 91–126). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Oliveira, C. R. (2021), *Requerentes e Beneficiários de Proteção Internacional em Portugal, Relatório Estatístico do Asilo 2021*, Coleção *Imigração em Números* do Observatório das Migrações, Lisboa: ACM.

- Oliveira, I., Ramos, M., Ferreira, A. C. & Gaspar, S. (2013). Estudantes estrangeiros em Portugal: evolução e dinâmicas recentes (2005/06 a 2012/2012). *Revista Estudos Demográficos*, 54, 39-55.
- Pandemia aumenta racismo contra chineses em Portugal. (2021, April 1). Executive Digest. Retrieved May 31, 2021, from <https://executivedigest.sapo.pt/pandemia-aumenta-racismo-contra-chineses-em-portugal/>.
- Pang, B. (2020), 'Beyond hypervisibility and fear: British Chinese communities leisure and health-related experiences in the time of Coronavirus', *Leisure Sciences*, 1–7.
- Pasiecznik, K. (2020). Putochinomaricon 'I am not a virus' on Madrid Fashion Week. Escreveu no peito que não é um vírus para lutar contra o racismo chinês. Retrieved November 13, 2022, from <https://www.nit.pt/compras/moda/escreveu-no-peito-nao-um-virus-lutar-racismo-chines>.
- Porter, J. (1993). The transformation of Macau. *Pacific Affairs*, 66(1), 7–20. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2760013>
- Racismo contra chineses que vivem em Portugal aumentou devido à pandemia. (2021, April 3). SIC Notícias. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from <https://sicnoticias.pt/especiais/coronavirus/2021-04-03-Racismo-contra-chineses-que-vivem-em-Portugal-aumentou-devido-a-pandemia-31e1ffb2>.
- Raposo, O., Alves, A. R., Varela, P., & Roldão, C. (2019). Negro drama. Racismo, segregação e violência policial nas periferias de Lisboa\*. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, (119), 5–28. <https://doi.org/10.4000/rccs.8937>
- Reilly A. (2015). Low-cost labour or cultural exchange? Reforming the Working Holiday visa programme. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 26(3), 474–489.
- Ren, J., & Feagin, J. (2020). Face mask symbolism in anti-Asian hate crimes. *Ethnic And Racial Studies*, 44(5), 746-758. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2020.1826553.
- Rodrigues, I. (2013). Flows of fortune: the economy of chinese migration to Portugal (PhD Thesis). University of Lisbon, Institute of Social Sciences.
- Rodrigues, I., & Gaspar, S. (2021). The Presence of China and the Chinese Diaspora in Portugal and Portuguese-Speaking Territories.
- Rumbaut, R. G. & A. Portes (ed.) (2001). *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press and Russel Sage Foundation.
- Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF). (2021). População Estrangeira Residente em Portugal em 2021. Portal de Estatística do SEF <https://sefstat.sef.pt/forms/distritos.aspx> (Access 14 November 2022)
- Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF). (2022). Autorização de Residência para Investimento. Portal de Estatística do SEF [https://www.sef.pt/pt/Documents/OUT\\_2022%20ARI.pdf](https://www.sef.pt/pt/Documents/OUT_2022%20ARI.pdf) (Access 20 November 2022)

- Sosa, A., & Brown, L. (2020, February 5). Woman wearing face mask attacked in possible coronavirus hate crime. *New York Post*. Retrieved November 12, 2022, from <https://nypost.com/2020/02/05/woman-wearing-face-mask-attacked-in-possible-coronavirus-hate-crime/>
- Solórzano, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate: The Experiences of African American College Students. *Journal of Negro Education*, 69(1/2), 60.
- Sue, D. (2004). Whiteness and Ethnocentric Monoculturalism: Making the "Invisible" Visible. *American Psychologist*, 59(8), 761-769. doi: 10.1037/0003-066x.59.8.761
- Sue, D. (2005). Racism and the Conspiracy of Silence. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 33(1), 100-114. doi: 10.1177/0011000004270686
- Sue, D., Capodilupo, C., Torino, G., Bucceri, J., Holder, A., Nadal, K., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist*, 62(4), 271-286. doi: 10.1037/0003-066x.62.4.271.
- Su, Z., McDonnell, D., Ahmad, J., Cheshmehzangi, A., Li, X., & Meyer, K. et al. (2020). Time to stop the use of 'Wuhan virus', 'China virus' or 'Chinese virus' across the scientific community. *BMJ Global Health*, 5(9), e003746. doi: 10.1136/bmjgh-2020-003746.
- Thunø, M. (2007). Introduction. Beyond 'Chinatown' Contemporary Chinese Migration. In M. Thunø (Ed.), *Beyond Chinatown: New Chinese Migration and the Global Expansion of China* (pp. 1-31).
- Toh, M., Cohen, M., & Cook, L. (2021, June 7). Attacked at work, rejected for jobs and harassed by colleagues. *CNN Business*. Retrieved May 3, 2022, from <https://edition.cnn.com/interactive/2021/06/business/asians-workplace-discrimination-covid/>.
- Tsekouras, P. (2020, April 10). 'it happened because I'm Asian': Toronto er nurse says she was spit on, verbally assaulted. *Toronto*. Retrieved November 12, 2022, from <https://toronto.ctvnews.ca/it-happened-because-i-m-asian-toronto-er-nurse-says-she-was-spit-on-verbally-assaulted-1.4890363>
- U.S. News Staff. (2021, April 13). Survey: U.S. Among 10 Worst Countries for Racial Equality. *U.S. News*. Retrieved October 28, 2022, from <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/articles/2021-04-13/us-is-one-of-the-10-worst-countries-for-racial-equality>.
- Viala-Gaudefroy, J., & Lindaman, D. (2020, April 21). Donald Trump's 'Chinese virus': the politics of naming. *The Conversation*. Retrieved May 31, 2021, from <https://theconversation.com/donald-trumps-chinese-virus-the-politics-of-naming-136796>.
- Wang, S., Chen, X., Li, Y., Luu, C., Yan, R., & Madrisotti, F. (2020). 'I'm more afraid of racism than of the virus!': racism awareness and resistance among Chinese migrants and their

- descendants in France during the Covid-19 pandemic. *European Societies*, 23(sup1), S721-S742. doi: 10.1080/14616696.2020.1836384.
- Wang, Y., Zong, L., & Li, H. (2012). Barriers to Social Integration for Chinese Immigrants in Canada, Then and Now: A Comparison, *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 8(2), 205-231. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/17932548-12341237>.
- Ward, C., Okura, Y., Kennedy, A., & Kojima, T. (1998). The U-curve on trial: A longitudinal study of psychological and sociocultural adjustment during Cross-Cultural Transition. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 22(3), 277–291. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0147-1767\(98\)00008-x](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0147-1767(98)00008-x)
- Ward, C., Stephen Bochner, S., & Furnham, A. (2001). *The Psychology of Culture Shock* (2nd ed.). Milton: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Wu, C., Qian, Y., & Wilkes, R. (2020). Anti-Asian discrimination and the Asian-white mental health gap during COVID-19. *Ethnic And Racial Studies*, 44(5), 819-835. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2020.1851739.
- Xu, B. (2020, June 13). Racism in Germany, face to face. *Dw.Com*. <https://www.dw.com/en/racism-in-germany-a-chinese-american-reckoning/a-53795247>
- Yiu, J. (2013), “Calibrated ambitions: low educational ambition as a form of strategic adaptation among Chinese youth in Spain”, *International Migration Review*, 47 (3), pp. 573-611. DOI : 10.1111/imre.12037
- Zhao, I. (2020, February 1). An overheard comment at the supermarket shows another threat has emerged from the coronavirus. *ABC News*. Retrieved November 12, 2022, from <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-02-01/coronavirus-has-sparked-racist-attacks-on-asian-australians/11918962>
- Zong, L., & Perry, B., (2011). Chinese Immigrants in Canada and Social Injustice: From Overt to Covert Racial Discrimination. In Barbara Perry (ed.), *Diversity, Crime and Justice in Canada*. Oxford University Press. Toronto: Oxford University Press. Pp. 106-124.





## ANNEXES

### A. INFORMED CONSENT

The present study is part of a research project taking place at **ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa**.

The study aims to analyse the manifestations of racism and microaggressions that the various types of Chinese immigrants suffered in Portugal before the COVID-19 pandemic, in its emergence and during it. Your participation in the study, which will be highly valued, and will contribute to the advancement of knowledge in this field of science, consists of attributing answers to questions regarding the process of establishment and adaptation of Chinese immigrants in Portugal.

ISCTE is responsible for the processing of your personal data, collected and processed exclusively for the purposes of the study, having your consent as a legal basis, and following the assumption in art. 6, no. 1, paragraph a) and art. 9, nº2, paragraph a) of the General Data Protection Regulation.

The study is carried out by Margarida Rosa ([margaridareis.rosa@gmail.com](mailto:margaridareis.rosa@gmail.com)), who you can contact if you want to clarify a doubt, share a comment or exercise your rights regarding the processing of your personal data. You may use the contact provided to request access, rectification, erasure, or limitation of the processing of your personal data.

Participation in this study is **confidential**. Your personal data will always be processed by authorized personnel bound by the duty of secrecy and confidentiality. ISCTE guarantees the use of appropriate techniques, organizational and security measures to protect personal information. All investigators are required to keep personal data confidential.

In addition to being confidential, participation in the study is strictly **voluntary**: you can freely choose to participate or not to participate. If you have chosen to participate, you can discontinue participation and withdraw your consent to the processing of your personal data at any time, without having to provide any justification. Withdrawal of consent does not affect the legality of treatments previously carried out on the basis of consent provided.

Your personal data will be treated in order to guarantee your anonymity in the results of the study, only divulged for statistical purposes, teaching, communication in meetings or scientific articles.

There are no expected significant risks associated with participation in the study.

ISCTE does not disclose or share information regarding your personal data with third parties.

ISCTE has a Data Protection Officer, contactable via email [dpo@iscte-iul.pt](mailto:dpo@iscte-iul.pt). If you consider it necessary, you also have the right to file a complaint with the competent supervisory authority – National Data Protection Commission.

**I declare** that I have understood the objectives of what was proposed to me and explained by the researcher, that I have been given the opportunity to ask all the questions about the present study and that I have obtained an enlightening answer for all of them. **I agree** to participate in the study and I consent to my personal data being used in accordance with the information provided to me.

Yes  No

\_\_\_\_\_ (place), \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_ (date)

**Name:**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Signature:**

\_\_\_\_\_

## **B. INTERVIEW GUIDE: DESCENDANTS**

Interview number:

Interview date:

Name:

Gender:

Interview location:

### **1. Interviewee Profile**

- 1.1 How old are you?
- 1.2 Where are you from?
- 1.3 Where were you born?
- 1.4 Where do you live (at the moment)?
- 1.5 What do you do for a living?
- 1.6 Did you grow up speaking Portuguese? How did you learn it?

### **2. Family Migration Path**

- 2.1 Where were your parents born?
- 2.2 How long have your parents been in Portugal? Why did they come?
- 2.3 Do you think their social integration here was easy? Why?
- 2.4 Did you already have family or friends in Portugal?
- 2.5 With whom do you live right now?
- 2.6 Parent/grandparent education level and profession – How much schooling did your mother and father receive? Do your parents work, are they unemployed, or what situation do they find themselves in? What are their professions? What about your grandparents?

### **3. School/university Experience**

- 3.1 What did/do you study in Portugal (secondary education and university)?
- 3.2 Was/is it a Bachelor's (Master's/PhD) degree program?
- 3.3 Did/do you like the program? Why?
- 3.4 Did you participate in extracurricular activities? Were they organized by the school/university/students? Did you like those activities?
- 3.5 What did/do you like the most about your school experience?
- 3.6 Do you think learning Portuguese (or not learning it) helped the social integration/exclusion process?

### **4. Work**

- 4.1 Have you ever had a job? (Are you working at the moment? Since when?)
- 4.2 What kind of job did/do you have?
- 4.3 What language did/do you speak at work?
- 4.4 Did/do you work with Portuguese people?
- 4.5 Did/do you like your working experience?

- 4.6 Is the work you are doing now related to your qualifications? How?
- 4.7 Did/does the job help you cover your expenses?
- 4.8 In the jobs you've had, have you felt any difference in treatment between you and your co-workers? If yes, what kind? Why do you think this happened?

## **5. Stigma and Discrimination Processes**

- 5.1 Do you think there is discrimination in Portugal? Why?
- 5.2 Before COVID-19, were you ever discriminated against? Why and how?
- 5.3 What about after the COVID-19 pandemic began? What was it like?
- 5.4 Where and with whom have you quarantined?
- 5.5 Did you have any help from family or friends from the Chinese or Portuguese community (getting supplies/food/etc.)?
- 5.6 Do you remember any incidence of discrimination that happened to you or to an acquaintance of yours (work/school/public transportation/stores/restaurants)? Was it before or after the COVID-19 pandemic started?
- 5.7 At any point during the pandemic have you felt insecure/judged for wearing a mask?
- 5.8 At any point during the pandemic, have you felt that people were afraid to come near you/your store/restaurant?
- 5.9 Do you think discrimination against Asian immigrants has increased with the advent of COVID-19?

## **6. Overall Experience**

- 6.1 Overall, do you like living in Portugal?
- 6.2 How was the social integration process growing up as a Chinese descendent?
- 6.3 Did you have any difficulties communicating with native Portuguese people?
- 6.4 What about communicating with people from other countries?
- 6.5 Did you make many friends in Portugal?
- 6.6 Were/are your friends mostly Chinese descendants or from other nationalities?

## **7. To Finish:**

- 7.1 What are your plans for the future?
- 7.2 Do you intend to stay in Portugal? Why?
- 7.3 Would you like to move to China? Why?
- 7.4 Would you like to move to another country in the EU? Why?

Thank you!

## C. INTERVIEW GUIDE: INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

Interview number:

Interview date:

Name:

Gender:

Interview location:

### 1. Interviewee Profile

- 1.7 How old are you?
- 1.8 Where are you from?
- 1.9 Where were you born?
- 1.10 Where do you live (at the moment)?
- 1.11 When did you come to Portugal?
- 1.12 How long did/will you stay in Portugal for?
- 1.13 Did/will you extend your stay?
- 1.14 Did/do you want to stay longer?
- 1.15 What did/do you do in Portugal (studied/worked/travelled)?
- 1.16 Why did you choose Portugal as a study destination?
- 1.17 Did you speak Portuguese before coming to Portugal?
- 1.18 Have you managed to learn Portuguese here?
- 1.19 How did you fund your stay in Portugal (savings/family help/scholarship/work)?

### 2. Family Migration Path

- 2.1 Where were your parents born?
- 2.2 Did you already have family or friends in Portugal?
- 2.3 Who do you live with right now?
- 2.4 Parent/grandparent education level and profession – How much schooling did your mother and father receive? Do your parents work, are they unemployed, or what situation do they find themselves in? What are their professions? What about your grandparents?

### 3. School/university Experience

- 3.2 What did/do you study in Portugal?
- 3.2 Was/is it a Bachelor's (Master's /PhD) degree program?
- 3.3 Did/do you like the program? Why?
- 3.4 Were/are the classes challenging?
- 3.5 Do you think the educational level at the Portuguese school/university where you studied/study was/is better or worse than the one(s) you could have applied for in China? Why?
- 3.6 Did/do you participate in extra-curricular activities? (Were/are they organized by the school/university/students? Did/do you like those activities?)
- 3.7 What did/do you like the most about your school experience?

3.8 Do you think learning Portuguese (or not learning it) helped the social integration/exclusion process?

#### **4. Work**

- 4.1 Did you work throughout your stay? (Are you working at the moment? Since when?)
- 4.2 What kind of job did/do you have?
- 4.3 What language did/do you speak at work?
- 4.4 Did/do you work with Portuguese people?
- 4.5 Did/do you like your working experience?
- 4.6 Is the work you are doing now related to your qualifications? How?
- 4.7 Did/does the job help you cover your expenses?
- 4.8 In the jobs you've had, have you felt any difference in treatment between you and your co-workers? If yes, what kind? Why do you think this happened?

#### **5. Stigma and Discrimination Processes**

- 5.1 Do you think there is discrimination in Portugal? Why?
- 5.2 Before COVID-19, were you ever discriminated against? Why and how?
- 5.3 What about after the COVID-19 pandemic began? What was it like?
- 5.4 Where and with whom have you quarantined?
- 5.5 Did you have any help from neighbors or friends from the Chinese or Portuguese community (getting supplies/food/etc.)?
- 5.6 Do you remember any incidence of discrimination that happened to you or to an acquaintance of yours (work/school/public transportation/stores/restaurants)? Was it before or after the COVID-19 pandemic started?
- 5.7 At any point during the pandemic have you felt insecure/judged for wearing a mask?
- 5.8 At any point during the pandemic, have you felt that people were afraid to come near you?
- 5.9 Do you think discrimination against Asian immigrants has increased with the advent of COVID-19?

#### **6. Overall Experience**

- 6.1 Overall, do you like living in Portugal?
- 6.2 Did/do you like it?
- 6.3 Was it difficult/easy to adapt? Why?
- 6.4 Would you recommend it to other people?
- 6.5 How was the social integration process?
- 6.6 Did you have any difficulties communicating with Portuguese people?
- 6.7 What about communicating with people from other countries?
- 6.8 Did you make many friends in Portugal?
- 6.9 Were/are your friends mostly from China or from other nationalities?

#### **7. To Finish:**

- 7.1 What are your plans for the future?
- 7.2 Do you plan to stay in/come back to Portugal?

- 7.3 Do you intend to go back to/stay in China?  
7.4 Would you like to move to another country in the EU? Why?  
Thank you!

## **D. INTERVIEW GUIDE: IMMIGRANTS**

Interview number:

Interview date:

Name:

Gender:

Interview location:

### **1. Interviewee Profile**

- 1.20 How old are you?  
1.21 Where are you from?  
1.22 Where were you born?  
1.23 Where do you live (at the moment)?  
1.24 When did you come to Portugal?  
1.25 How long did you stay in Portugal for? (How long are you going to stay in Portugal for?).  
1.26 Did/will you extend your stay?  
1.27 Did/do you want to stay longer?  
1.28 What did/do you do in Portugal (studied/worked/travelled)?  
1.29 Why did you choose Portugal as a (study/work/travel) destination?  
1.30 Did you speak Portuguese before coming to Portugal?  
1.31 Have you managed to learn Portuguese here?  
1.32 How did/do you fund your stay in Portugal? (savings/family help/scholarship/work)?

### **2. Family Migration Path**

- 2.1 Where were your parents born?  
2.2 How long have your parents been in Portugal? Why did they come?  
2.3 (If the parents don't live here): Why didn't they come to Portugal?  
2.4 Do you think their social integration here was easy? Why?  
2.5 Did you already have family or friends in Portugal?  
2.6 With whom do you live right now?  
2.7 Parent/grandparent education level and profession - How much schooling did your mother and father receive? Do your parents work, are they unemployed, or what situation do they find themselves in? What are their professions? What about your grandparents?

### **3. School/university Experience**

- 3.3 What did/do you study in Portugal/China?  
3.2 Was/is it a Bachelor's (Master's /PhD) degree program?  
3.3 Did/do you like the program? Why?



- 3.4 Were/are the classes challenging?
- 3.5 Do you think the educational level at the Portuguese school/university where you studied/study was/is better or worse than the one(s) you could have applied for in China? Why?
- 3.6 Did/do you participate in extra-curricular activities? (Were/are they organized by the school/university/students?) Did/do you like those activities?

#### **4. Work**

- 4.1 Did you work throughout your stay? (Are you working at the moment? Since when?)
- 4.2 What kind of job did/do you have?
- 4.3 What language did/do you speak at work?
- 4.4 Did/do you work with Portuguese people?
- 4.5 Did/do you like your working experience?
- 4.6 Is the work you are doing now related to your qualifications? How?
- 4.7 Did/does the job help you cover your expenses?
- 4.8 In the jobs you've had, have you felt any difference in treatment between you and your co-workers? If yes, what kind? Why do you think this happened?

#### **5. Stigma and Discrimination Processes**

- 5.1 Do you think there is discrimination in Portugal? Why?
- 5.2 Before COVID-19, were you ever discriminated against? Why and how?
- 5.3 What about after the COVID-19 pandemic began? What was it like?
- 5.4 Where and with whom have you quarantined?
- 5.5 Did you have any help from neighbors or friends from the Chinese or Portuguese community (getting supplies/food/etc.)?
- 5.6 Do you remember any incidence of discrimination that happened to you or to an acquaintance of yours (work/school/public transportation/stores/restaurants)? Was it before or after the COVID-19 pandemic started?
- 5.7 At any point during the pandemic have you felt insecure/judged for wearing a mask?
- 5.8 At any point during the pandemic, have you felt that people were afraid to come near you/your store/restaurant?
- 5.9 Do you think discrimination against Asian immigrants has increased with the advent of COVID-19?

#### **6. Overall Experience**

- 6.1 Overall, do you like living in Portugal?
- 6.2 Did you like it?
- 6.3 Was it difficult/easy to adapt? Why?
- 6.4 Would you recommend it to other people?
- 6.5 How was the social integration process?
- 6.6 Did you have any difficulties communicating with Portuguese people?
- 6.7 What about communicating with people from other countries?
- 6.8 Did you make many friends in Portugal?
- 6.9 Were/are your friends mostly from China or from other nationalities?

## 7. To Finish:

- 7.1 What are your plans for the future?
- 7.2 Do you plan to go back to China?
- 7.3 Do you intend to stay in Portugal?
- 7.4 Would you like to move to another country in the EU? Why?

Thank you!