Relationship between precarious work and racism for migrants in Brazil

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Abstract

Amid the growing global flow of goods, workers migrating in search of work face a major challenge of integration in destination countries. Issues of racism and discrimination emerge in the workplace, causing inequality of opportunity. This research aims to describe the relationship between precarious work, discrimination at work, and perception of racism by migrant workers. The preliminary analysis of scientific production on the subject in Brazil suggests that the racist social structure is a condition for the insertion of migrant workers in precarious working conditions, compromising their social insertion. A quantitative cross-sectional study was conducted through a survey of four ethnic groups from different Brazilian regions. The results confirm the influence of precarious work on the perception of racism, with discrimination at work being a moderating variable in this relationship.

Keywords: Discrimination at Work. Racism. Precarious work. Migrants.

Relação entre trabalho precário e racismo para migrantes no Brasil

Resumo

Em meio ao crescente fluxo global de mercadorias, os trabalhadores que migram em busca de trabalho enfrentam um grande desafio de integração nos países de destino. As questões de racismo e discriminação emergem no contexto laboral, causando desigualdades de oportunidades. Este estudo tem como objetivo descrever a relação entre trabalho precário, discriminação no trabalho e percepção de racismo para trabalhadores migrantes. A análise preliminar da produção científica sobre o assunto no Brasil sugere que a estrutura social racista é condicionante para a inserção dos trabalhadores migrantes em condições precárias de trabalho, comprometendo sua inserção social. Para tanto foi realizado um estudo quantitativo de corte transversal por meio de uma *survey* com quatro grupos étnicos de diferentes regiões brasileiras. Os resultados confirmam a influência do trabalho precário na percepção de racismo, sendo a discriminação no trabalho uma variável moderadora nessa relação.

Palavras-chave: Discriminação no Trabalho. Racismo. Trabalho precário. Migrantes.

Relación entre trabajo precario y racismo para migrantes en Brasil

Resumen

En medio del creciente flujo global de bienes, los trabajadores que migran en busca de trabajo enfrentan un gran desafío de integración en los países de destino. Cuestiones de racismo y discriminación surgen en el lugar de trabajo, causando desigualdades de oportunidades. Este estudio tiene como objetivo describir la relación entre el trabajo precario, la discriminación en el trabajo y la percepción de racismo para los trabajadores migrantes. El análisis preliminar de la producción científica sobre el tema en Brasil sugiere que la estructura social racista es un condicionante para la inserción de trabajadores migrantes en condiciones de trabajo precarias que compromete su inserción social. Con este fin, se realizó un estudio transversal cuantitativo a través de una encuesta de cuatro grupos étnicos de diferentes regiones brasileñas. Los resultados confirman la influencia del trabajo precario en la percepción del racismo, con la discriminación en el trabajo como una variable moderadora en esta relación.

Palabras clave: Discriminación en el trabajo. Racismo. Trabajo precario. Migrantes.

INTRODUCTION

The dynamics of migratory movements in society implies demographic, geographical, and social considerations. This growing mobility raises a socio-political debate on this topic, emphasizing the analysis of current migration policies in different countries, which has affected social (Tedesco, 2018) and economic expectations (Kerr & Kerr, 2010). In the Brazilian history, the migratory movement of foreign populations is almost constant. After the abolition of slavery, in 1888, the Brazilian constitution allowed immigrants to enter the country to contribute to the economic development process, through incentives for working on farms (Grzybovski & Pereira, 2013). Since the time of colonization, from slave immigration to contemporary immigration, Brazil has been the destination of amnestied people and a refuge for immigrants for different reasons, such as its territorial extension, international representation policies, and economic relevance in Latin America (Tedesco, 2019). Factors such as capital move and transnational policies (Sassen, 2011) also affect the movement of immigrants that seek new places to live and work, due to poverty, wars, and conflicts, or new work opportunities, which are a central issue among immigrants' intentions (Tedesco, 2018).

According to the World Migration Report, from the International Organization for Migration (IOM), there were about 272 million international migrants in the world in 2019, equivalent to 3.5% of the global population, and the majority of them (about 74%) were between 20 and 64 years old. The report also mentions that the latest available data on migrant workers, from 2017, estimated that they were approximately 164 million worldwide. In Brazil, immigrants between 20 and 49 years old accounted for 96% of the authorizations granted in 2018 (Cavalcanti, Oliveira & Macedo, 2019).

Brazil is going through a change in its demographic profile, with the elderly population tending to grow more than the young population (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística [IBGE], 2018). On the other hand, official data show that immigrants who recently came to the country are mostly young. This strengthens the idea that immigrants look for the labor market, which requires their integration in the society. International legislation on the theme of migration still needs greater insertion in the Brazilian legal system (Oliveira, 2017). To meet this demand, Law No. 13,445 was created in May 2017, replacing the former Foreigners' Statute, in force since 1980.

Still according to the 2019 World Migration Report, between 2011 and 2018, migrant workers increased their presence in the Brazilian formal labor market, from 66,595 to 136,193. Even with the country's economic crisis, as of 2015, which reduced formal jobs, the number of foreign workers formally registered continued to increase, due to the higher participation of workers from the American continent, mainly Haitian, and more recently, Venezuelans, who helped to recover the dynamism of migrant workers' movements in the labor market (Cavalcanti et al., 2019). These numbers show that immigrants' labor force is among the occupational groups that had a significant increase in the production of industrial goods and services, as well as in repair and maintenance services. Another aspect that may have encouraged the entry of migrant workers relates to the political and economic dynamics, through government actions (such as in Lula's government, between 2002 and 2010), with a favorable legislation for displacement and entry of foreigners in the Brazilian territory (Grzybovski & Pereira, 2013). However, this migrant workforce corresponds to less than 0.5% of the formal market workforce (Cavalcanti, 2015), and there is a high number of immigrants in informal occupations (Vilela & Noronha, 2018), for which there are no data, and both groups should be considered when we address labor insertion.

Immigrants leave their home countries to achieve their goals, and face different challenges, especially those related to identity, socialization, and integration in different cultures (Oliveira, 2015). Connected to groups and family, they dream of returning to their countries in better conditions, since for them migration is associated with the desire of mobility, of changing values and living conditions (Tedesco, 2018). The integration of immigrants, through a process of welcome at the host country, occurs through different social groups, mainly by working groups (Comin & Pauli, 2018). Thus, organizations should understand that immigrants' insertion in the world of labor is essential for them, and show their purposes, formal aspects, competencies, and mechanisms for supporting these workers (Connell & Burgess, 2009).

The literature addresses analyses of the process of constitution of the Brazilian society, and its relationship with migratory movements, but there is a research gap on social structure and the labor market, which is markedly racist (Biderman &

Guimarães, 2004; Santin, 2007; Vainer, 1995; Vilela, Collares & Noronha, 2015). This may result from the recent wave of migratory movements of workers, mainly from African countries (Cavalcanti, 2015; Dutra & Gayer, 2015; Mamed & Lima, 2015; Tedesco & Grzybovski, 2013).

There has been an interest in studies on migratory flows for decades, but they still need a better approach, either by the academy, through researchers who study the topic of migration or by regulatory bodies or those that support immigrant groups. To contribute to the debate on migratory flows and their relationship with the work process and racism in labor relations, this article describes the relationship between precarious work, discrimination at work, and migrant workers' perception of racism.

This study was based on a literature review, by searching databases of national and international journals, available on the web, using the search terms: migration, migrants, racism, and precariousness. We used "AND" to enable the integrated search of terms. Among the databases accessed, we identified the following: Capes journals, Science Direct (Elsevier), Academic Search Premier (EBSCO), SciELO, Sage Journals, Spell - Scientific Periodicals Electronic Library, JSTOR, Web of Science, and Scopus. The next section addresses the relevant studies related to the proposed topic, the migratory phenomenon. Next, we describe the research method, followed by the presentation of results. In the end, we discuss the results and present the final remarks.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Migrants, racial discrimination, and precarious work

From a conceptual point of view, migration refers to movements of entry and exit from territories, regardless of the length of stay (Anderson, 2010). The term, originated from Latin word *migratio*, means passage from one place to another. Currently, it is common to migrate more than once during life, establishing multiple bonds of belonging (Faist, 2008). According to the International Labor Organization (ILO, 2015), this migration occurs when individuals cross the borders of a country to enter the world of labor, either to fill an existing vacancy, or in search of an opportunity to survive, escaping from crises, wars, or other events, entering a new country with economic purposes.

The social mobility of immigrants in the labor market has been a topic of interest for researchers over several decades, strengthening the debate on population movements. The object of study "migrations" has been widely addressed and discussed over the years. These debates have evolved, as migratory flows assumed different characteristics, but still lacks approaches that handle the theme's complexity. Studies by Chiswick (1977, 1978), and Chiswick, Lee and Miller (2005) observe that migration is a process characterized by an initial decline of the immigrants' professional status, between their last job in the country of origin and the first job in the destination country, followed by the search for career progression in the new country.

The analysis of the process of immigrants' insertion in the labor market has become a key factor for targeting public policies for social mobility, with regard to the intensity and direction of that mobility (Cavalcanti, 2015), leading society to understand how to integrate and adapt different cultures and visions, and highlighting the issue of cultural diversity for organizations' management.

However, the main challenges for migration in Brazil are the elaboration of integrative policies for the insertion of immigrants in the world of work. One of them regards the integration of migratory policies with different norms of society's bodies, either public or NGOs, for better structuring the policies for immigrants' work, such as the recognition of their qualifications, when they arrive at the country. Many of them have higher education degrees; however, as they accept jobs that do not require qualification, those degrees are ignored by the national labor market (Comin & Pauli, 2018).

The integration of immigrants in the host country occurs through a process with different social groups, mainly working groups. Thus, understanding the insertion of immigrants in the world of labor is essential for organizations, and for the countries that employ them. Work organization takes different forms, regarding purposes, formality, competencies, and support mechanisms (Connell & Burgess, 2009); hence, it is important to understand it, and this market.

The decision to migrate is based on information on the availability of job opportunities (Kaestner & Kaushal, 2005) in the chosen country of destination. However, the social interaction of immigrants in insertion societies may have different forms of relationships that contribute to their access to the world of work. These relationships are also affected by migrants' interactions in the social context where they live, and are expressed by working in society, which allows them to act as human beings and citizens.

The expansion of global migration is still followed by factors such as increased xenophobia and racism, expressed by the national population's feeling that the immigrant is a threat to employment (Oliveira, 2015). Another relates to the living conditions faced by immigrants when they enter the country. Without available resources for food and housing, in addition to language difficulties, they cannot find jobs, which leads them to precarious living conditions.

In the Brazilian context, these conditions are not different, especially in the labor market. Brazil shows a scenario of racial inequalities in work access, with unequal opportunities for professional and social growth (Jaccoud, 2008). These inequalities reflect in the labor market through the occupation of positions and by carrying out activities that express different intellectual, social, and racial capacities.

When analyzing the daily functioning of institutions and organizations, we find different forms of relationship among its actors, and in many of them, the inequality between benefits and opportunities is noticed from a racial point of view. The racial issue, associated with the immigrant situation, leads these individuals to get a restricted position in labor activities, especially unskilled jobs, which may occur in a specific context and segmented by gender, status, citizenship, or religion (Arnold & Aung, 2011).

The anti-immigrant feeling is growing worldwide, due to terrorist attacks around the world, and migration is seen as a threat to host countries. Because of the small minority that spreads terrorism, these practices are increasingly present on social networks. Racist insults and crimes of racial, religious, and political discrimination show an increase of intolerance towards the differences, in a society considered global. Attributes such as skin color continue to differentiate the treatment of minority groups, leading to difficulties for their inclusion and identification with the majority society (Hellgren, 2018).

Race is as an important element for better understanding immigrants' disadvantages (Hellgren, 2018), and it remains a form of division and selection of the labor market in contemporary society. By preventing a significant part of the population from being permanently racialized, people assume their black identity as a way of reaffirming their humanity condition and their rights (Silverio, 2002). Negative differential treatment, based on the majority of the population, that is, discrimination, can hinder immigrants' access to quality jobs, participation in decision-making, access to housing and attractive places, to resources, and to social participation (Hellgren, 2018). Even after the increase in education rate, specialized work is still a few people's priority, and the block to professional advancement remains at a higher level, especially for the black population (Pochmann, 2006).

Racism is rooted in a system of dominance and power that creates white social privileges, in an adverse political reality for racial or ethnic minorities (Lewis, Cogburn & Williams, 2015). Individuals from racial ethnic minorities face persistent experiences of discrimination in their daily social life. The definition of racial discrimination is the unfair treatment due to racial or ethnic affiliation, as a way of excluding these minorities, based on beliefs of superiority of the members of dominant groups in society (Keum, Thai, Truong, Ahn & Lu, 2018). Ethnic racial discrimination occurs when individuals notice that their behavior is subject to negative evaluations due to their ethnicity or race (Pieterse, Nicolas & Monachino, 2017).

Understanding racism consists of a multiple approach to the definitions used in the literature. However, in this discussion we call it structural racism, because it refers to the different ways by which societies promote racial discrimination, through mutually reinforcing systems, such as housing, education, employment, income, benefits, credit, media, healthcare, and justice (Caldwell & Bledsoe, 2019).

For Lawrence and Keleher (2004), racism can be understood at two levels: at the individual level, which includes internalized or interpersonal racism, and at the systemic level, which includes institutions or structures. In this approach, racism at the individual level is commonly included in a personal discussion, and refers to private beliefs and prejudices on race and racism influenced by culture; thus, it happens between individuals. Institutional racism, on the other hand, is present in the development of institutions and structures that tend to divide, discriminate against, and increase racial inequalities, where individuals start to segregate inside institutions.

Structural racism arises from the alignment of these institutions, between society's systems and policies, with practices of consistent discrimination against and deprivation of citizens, at the expense of others. Thus, a relevant point for better understanding racism is the attention to institutional and structural determinants of inequality, which misuse tools to legitimize programs, policies, and institutions that lead to discrimination (Caldwell & Bledsoe, 2019).

As previously mentioned, when immigrants arrive to the Brazilian labor market, many of them are professionals with higher education degrees and technical qualification. However, they end up in low qualification positions, due to the lack of recognition of their educational background, showing even more the social and economic differences (Cavalcanti, 2015) between these workers and nationals.

Even in the face of significant changes in the contemporary social context, the approach to the concepts of inequality remains, and the uneven access to labor structures in higher corporate hierarchies between whites and blacks is still growing (Jaccoud, 2008). These inequalities point to a profile of immigrants in vulnerable conditions, occupying non-qualified jobs, in precarious work positions, confirming the continuity of an uneven society (Brasil, 2010). In a study carried out by Hellgren (2018), participants mentioned that the job market is a space of ethnic discrimination, because it affects in a tangible way the socioeconomic situation and the opportunities for social mobility.

The political and public debate on immigration, integration, and race seems increasingly uncertain and worrying, which is a serious challenge for intercultural policies' agendas (Hellgren, 2018). Due to the lack of coordination of migration policies in different countries, immigrants face difficulties to get the necessary documents and become legal. This "illegality" violates their rights in searching for a job. The lack of documentation submits immigrants to constant insecurity, often in abusive working conditions, forcing them to live in degrading living conditions.

When migrating to search opportunities, many put themselves in informal and precarious situations, due to their vulnerability (Anderson, 2010; Arnold & Bongiovi, 2013), which is a result of the transformations in the work context, related to the worsening of the global economic crisis, besides the lack of efficient migration and refuge policies. Therefore, immigrants accept precarious jobs, which may be segmented by gender, status, citizenship, or religion (Arnold & Aung, 2011), from obstacles related to the structure and organization of work, and from professional social networks they associate with (Turchick Hakak & Al Ariss, 2013).

Consequently, this precariousness is not equal for white and black people. There is a trend for black immigrants to experience a much stronger exploitation or discrimination in labor relations (Pochmann, 2006). The racial issue leads to the insertion of workers in primary occupations, in the least dynamic and attractive sectors of society (Hasenbalg, 2005). These situations sometimes drive the immigrant to informal activities, or little regulated by law, showing more and more the inequalities at work that continue in their lives, and consequently, in their community.

The concept of precariousness refers to the availability of unstable capacity and working conditions (Robinson, 2010). It affects all dimensions of society, directly or indirectly, and especially the most vulnerable individuals, who are more likely to accept

precarious jobs, such as women, racial and ethnic minorities, and immigrant groups, as shown by several studies (Fuller & Vosko, 2008; Teelucksingh & Galabuzi, 2005). There is a concentration of immigrants in this type of work, for reasons that include language ignorance, illegality or irregularity, and non-recognition of their qualifications. In this scenario, immigrants tend to perform basic activities, without the opportunity for career advancement. Often, they see this job as a temporary position, which results in higher geographical mobility, and the possibility of being available for unpredictable and flexible jobs, selling their workforce and contributing to the illegal condition (Antunes, 2014).

These situations get worse when countries go through an economic recession, as Brazil is currently facing. According to the Observatory of International Migration's (OBMigra) 2016 Annual Report, the insertion of immigrants in the Brazilian labor market, from October 2015 to June 2016, had a negative balance, and the number of layoffs exceeded admissions (Cavalcanti, Oliveira & Tonhati, 2016). These data show that, with the economic crisis, immigrants suffered from unemployment. In the first half of 2016, 19,734 immigrants were hired and 24,965 fired. Economic sectors such as civil construction and the agribusiness production chain, which employed many immigrants, began to dismiss on a large scale.

The work increase in the informal sector occurs both for the atypical labor, without a regulatory framework, and for hired workers, including diarists, agents, temporary workers, freelancers, and migrants. These activities have low productivity and low income, just for survival. Informality, according to Chang (2009), is a process of the global economy that created informal and unregulated work, an attribute of the capitalist work. As a result, work outsourcing emerged in companies, mainly in those that use temporary labor.

Research on precarious migrant work in different contexts shows that work racialization contributes to the vulnerability of immigrants in the face of forms of labor exploitation (Chan, Ramírez & Stefoni, 2019). With the crisis and unemployment situation, many immigrants searched new occupations in Brazil's neighboring countries, and in typical situations. This vulnerability extends to their families, who have just changed to the destination country, and are again looking for new survival horizons.

In this scenario, the characteristics of work organization chose the following terms to explain the phenomenon of changes that occur in the world of work, in different empirical contexts (Druck, 2011): precarious work, precarious working conditions, insertion in the precarious job market, and social precariousness (Alves, 2011). These terms sometimes degrade labor relations through situations considered unsafe, unstable, and flexible. In the face of such conditions, insecurity becomes the main cause of social vulnerability and loss of bonds and insertion references (Castel, 1998). These extend beyond the labor field, and reach the social sphere, exposing these immigrants to discrimination and vulnerability of their rights as human beings, in a process of social exclusion due to their income level, and mainly to their cultural and social differences.

Among the different approaches to precariousness, studies agree that precarious work is "uncertain, unpredictable, and risky from the worker's point of view" (Kalleberg, 2009), shaping the different areas of individuals' lives, treating workers differently, according to ethnicity, race, and their migration status (Chan et al., 2019). One of the assumptions in the research on precarious work in contemporary times is economy's structural changes. The characteristics of flexible work in contemporary society result in greater work fragility. The threat of job loss and the condition of unemployed lead to the loss of bond and the perspective of individual and collective identity, resulting in feelings of exclusion and worker devaluation (Druck, 2011), in the case of the migrant worker. Immigrants, mostly black, end up entering in Brazil's racist social structure.

We highlight the deepening of the relationship between racial issues and the work precariousness, especially because immigrants' trajectory in the labor market is historically associated with racial discrimination. For the immigrants, in their new social status, work expresses not only a form of subsistence, as an instrument, but also an opportunity to develop relationships, as well as the recognition of what they do as useful to society, in addition to the bonds created in that society.

With this background, we developed two hypotheses:

- H1: Precarious work significantly affects immigrants' perception of racism.

- H2: Discrimination at work moderates the relationship between precarious work and immigrants' perception of racism.

Figure 1 presents the theoretical model of the research.

Figure 1
Theoretical model of the research
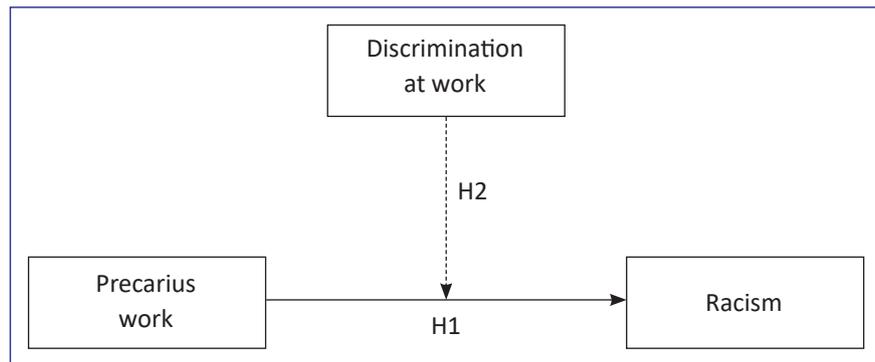
Source: Elaborated by the authors.

METHODOLOGY

This study is a descriptive research, since it describes a relationship between two variables, with a quantitative and cross-sectional approach, because we collected data within a defined period. The target audience were immigrants of different nationalities, who chose Brazil to live. For this purpose, the sample comprised 274 individuals selected by a non-probabilistic sampling technique, by convenience, as it was not possible to know all the elements that make up the population, in order to select respondents at random. We collected data in the cities of Passo Fundo and Erechim, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, and in Boa Vista, in the state of Roraima; thus, data represent two different Brazilian regions. The starting point for collection was researchers' personal contacts, and some were reached through religious entities such as Caritas, and NGOs, and by the indication of other immigrants (snowball sampling).

The study objective was to check the relationship between precarious working conditions (independent variable) and racism (dependent variable), and the moderating effect of discrimination at work (moderating variable) on the main relationship. We collected data through a structured questionnaire built from existing scales, validated in previous studies, and divided in four blocks: in the first one, participants answered general questions in multiple-choice format, such as country of origin, age, race, religion, marital status, work, type of employment bond, length of service in the company, position, and economic activity. In the second part, we used the Employment Precariousness Scale (EPRES) (Vives et al., 2010), adapted from Vives, González, Moncada, Llorens and Benach (2015).

Next, in the third section of the instrument, we used the Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS) (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996), a Portuguese version adapted by Bezerra (2014). We measured these variables by using a five-point Likert scale (1 for strongly disagree, and 5 for totally agree; and 1 for rarely and 5 for very frequently). Because the scales were in English, we translated them by the systematic method (Dias, 2016), and collaborative and interactive translation (Douglas & Craig, 2007). We carried out a pre-test with 20 migrant workers to check the questions' quality.

For data processing, we used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). For the analysis of variables, we used descriptive statistics for each group. The reliability test (Cronbach's alpha) of the adopted scales was done to compare means. To check the relationship between precarious work and racism, we did a regression analysis to assess the effect of

the independent variable (precarious work) on the dependent (racism). The effect size was achieved by using standardized regression coefficients, calculated for each model (Hair, Black, Babin, Anderson & Tatham, 2005). In addition, we conducted a moderation test of the variable 'discrimination at work' on the relationship between precarious work and racism (Hypothesis 2), by using macro PROCESS for the SPSS software (Hayes, 2013).

We collected data from October to December 2019, through printed questionnaires delivered to 274 immigrants in different locations, according to their convenience. The questionnaires were sent to immigrants from Venezuela, Haiti, Bangladesh, and Senegal, countries with a significant number of migrant workers in Brazil. Data were collected in Rio Grande do Sul and Roraima.

RESULTS

Sample profile

Of the 274 individuals that participated in the research, 74% were male, and aged between 26 and 40 years old. Thus, the majority of immigrants belong to the youth group, a moment when professional insertion in the job market is worrying and challenging. Studies on professional insertion in the Brazilian labor market (Moraes, Bucco & Rocha-de-Oliveira, 2019) show that it is not homogeneous, differing by gender, race, age, parents' education, qualification, and origin.

If for Brazilians it is not homogeneous, therefore unequal, for immigrants it is worse, given the ethnicity factor, which hinders their entry in the Brazilian labor market. In a group of migrants, qualifications and occupations are different; even coming from the same country, when arriving at the destination country they become equal, since insertion in the new labor market goes through issues of prejudice, racial discrimination, and xenophobia towards these new workers, characterizing racism. Chiswick (1977, 1978), Chiswick et al. (2005), and Chiswick and Miller (2014) already showed the decline in immigrants' professional status, between their last job in the home country and the first job in the destination country, although they look for career progression.

Most of them (33%) came from Venezuela, others from Haiti, Bangladesh, and Senegal; 73% consider themselves black, 57% completed high school, and 23% have a higher education degree. 93% of them currently work in Brazil, the majority (75%) with a formal contract; they left their home country for environmental reasons (52%), and 47% due to the economic crisis (poverty). The displacement of black people in the world always existed. Slavery has put them in a constant move and intense flow, keeping inequality for centuries. Regarding education, immigrants that took part in this research arrived in Brazil with a low qualification, when compared to many Brazilians, since the number of graduates from local higher education institutions has increased in recent years, a result of government's high investments (Moraes et al., 2019).

Regarding the means for arrival in Brazil, 52% said they came on their own, and 47% through a network of friends. Considering the position they hold in the company, 66% work in functions that require semi-qualified workers, in trade and service sector (46%) and industry (23%). The predominant religion is Catholic (54%), followed by Muslim (40%); as for marital status, 50% are married and 50% are single. Despite belonging to networks, they fear exploitation, sometimes called solidarity. This happens in Portugal, regarding the exploitation among Brazilians, a phenomenon that Oltramari (2019) called a counter-network.

At the same time, if we look more closely at the issue of solitary insertion upon arrival in Brazil, it is never completely solitary. In one way or another, there is always support from the network: for buying an airline ticket, for renting a property or a room, at a welcoming reception. The network can be very close, which depends on a topographic logic, or relatively close, which regards the exchange of information through the computer network (Lencioni, 2010).

In addition, the origin of migrants may be associated with the network: the majority (41.6%) comes from their cities' metropolitan regions. In general, information, support houses, and host groups are located in metropolitan regions; therefore, information

and support may be easier and more intense in these regions, facilitating migration and mobility for those who live there. Most of the immigrants were engaged in commercial activities (45.6%) in Brazil. This should lead to an increase in public policies for teaching the Portuguese language, because in this sector and in services, speech is a working tool.

Descriptive Statistics

The first part of the questionnaire sought to measure working conditions, with reference to the factors of Vulnerability, Wages, Perceived Rights and Exercise of Rights. Regarding the type of employment contract, 75.5% had a permanent job, while 24.5% were temporary workers. Of the total, 20.1% have been in their current job for three months, 22.3% for a year, 18.6% for two years, and 39.1% for more than three years. As for the workday, 85.3% work eight hours a day, 9.1% work six hours a day, 5.2% work only on weekends, and 4% are freelancers. The frequency analysis also showed that 64% had access to compensation for accidents at work, maternity leave, and unemployment insurance. Table 1 presents the main results regarding the working conditions of migrant workers.

Table 1
Working conditions

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Feels able to demand better working conditions.	2.62	1.378
Feels helpless about unfair treatment from his superiors.	1.99	1.409
Feels that would be fired for not doing everything demanded.	2.15	1.579
Feels that is treated in an authoritarian manner.	2.23	1.469
Feels that can easily be replaced.	2.46	1.594
The current salary allows covering basic needs.	2.41	1.293
The current salary allows covering unexpected expenses.	2.40	1.225
You have permission for a holiday and weekend rest.	3.62	1.529
You have permission to go to a doctor regularly.	3.49	1.678
You ask for a day off for personal reasons, when needed.	3.20	1.555
You ask for a day off for family issues, when needed.	3.03	1.531

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

The second part of the questionnaire was on discrimination at work. Results show (Table 2) that the highest means regarded the following statements: "You feel like someone who doesn't fit Brazilian standards" (M = 2.56); "People said bad things about you, behind your back" (M = 3,06); "People who speak a different language made you feel like a stranger" (M = 2.74); "Someone ignored you or paid no attention to you" (M = 3.55); and "Someone suggested that you are not reliable" (M = 2.02). These results show lack of consideration for foreigners.

Table 2
Discrimination at work

	Mean	Std. Deviation
I have been unfairly treated by bosses, directors, or colleagues at my workplace.	1.88	1.223
You have already thought that other people think you cannot do your job well.	1.92	1.311
I have been treated unfairly by co-workers.	1.91	1.227
Some boss or supervisor was unfair to you.	1.91	1.352
Someone has already threatened to hurt you physically, or others wanted to hit you.	1.41	.852
Someone really tried to hurt you, or physically assaulted you.	1.34	.752
Someone has threatened to damage your property or residence.	1.46	.877
Your house or property has already been damaged.	1.31	.952
You feel like someone who doesn't fit Brazilian standards.	2.56	1.382
People said bad things about you, behind your back.	3.06	1.274
People who speak a different language made you feel like a stranger.	2.74	1.574
Someone ignored you or paid no attention to you.	3.55	1.545
Someone has already suggested that you are dishonest or unreliable.	2.02	1.371
Someone has already suggested that you are not clean to go to a certain place.	1.93	1.314
You believe that people don't trust you.	1.94	1.380
Someone has already suggested that you are lazy.	1.74	1.200

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Table 3 shows racism perception by migrant workers. The items with the highest means were: "You realize that crimes committed by blacks or people of other ethnicities are seen as more violent than crimes committed by whites" (M = 3.00); "white people have already looked at you as if you shouldn't be in the same place as them, for example, in a restaurant, theater, or other similar places" (M = 2.80); "You have heard racist comments about blacks or immigrants" (M = 3.36); "You have seen situations where black migrants have been mistreated or wronged" (M = 3.32); and " You feel that media gives more relevance to crimes involving blacks or immigrants "(M = 3.39). These results show that immigrant workers went through situations considered as serious racism in their social relationships. It is important to take into account that the questionnaire asked about episodes of their social life, therefore outside the work environment. It is also relevant that most items of the questionnaire had values close to 2, showing that racism is a widespread experience for migrant workers.

Table 3
Discrimination perception by migrant workers

	Mean	Std. Deviation
You realize that crimes committed by blacks or people of other ethnicities are seen as more violent than crimes committed by white people.	3.00	1.451
You believe that salesmen or employees generally treat blacks or people of other ethnicities worse than they treat white people.	2.20	1.267
You have been the target of aggression (physical or verbal) because of your color or ethnicity.	2.26	1.311
You think that white children are better treated at school and by society in general than black children or other ethnicities.	2.74	1.288
You rarely hear anything positive about blacks or people of other ethnicities on radio and TV.	2.28	1.462
You feel the prejudice when buying a product in a store.	2.24	1.380
You were treated with less respect or politeness compared to whites in a store, restaurant, or other business establishment.	2.62	1.428
You think immigrants may be treated unfairly at work, losing chances of professional success, because of their color or ethnicity.	2.72	1.506
You were left out (ignored) in some job, even though you were more qualified and skilled than a white competitor.	2.31	1.397
White people have already looked at you as if you shouldn't be in the same place as them, for example, in a restaurant, theater, or other similar places.	2.80	1.586
You have been the target of racist jokes or ethnic discrimination by white people.	2.43	1.494
You have heard racist comments about blacks or immigrants.	3.36	1.347
You have seen situations where black migrants have been mistreated or wronged.	3.32	1.518
You feel that media gives more relevance to crimes involving blacks or immigrants.	3.19	1.540
You have already noticed that black immigrants are the target of jokes in Brazil.	2.76	1.414
You have worked more, or been in less prestigious positions at your workplace than white people.	2.09	1.472
You have seen or heard that immigrants express the wish to be white or to have whites' attributes because they don't like being black.	2.10	1.408
You have felt treated as if you were less intelligent than white people.	2.14	1.385
You have been or felt rejected at someone's home because of your color or ethnicity.	2.06	1.347

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Study variables

For the three variables of this study (racism, precarious work, and discrimination at work), the values of the alpha coefficients were satisfactory, attesting the reliability of the adopted instrument. In addition, data went through two normality tests: the Shapiro-Wilk test, which attested that a normal distribution, and the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, which showed that the sample came from a normal population. Table 4 presents the reliability of the scales.

Table 4
Scales' reliability

Variables	Means	Standard Deviation	Cronbach's alpha
Racism	2.56	0.935	0.929
Precarious work	2.32	1.043	0.838
Discrimination at work	2.04	1.013	0.910

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Regression analysis

The results of the regression analysis show the explanatory power of precarious work on racism perception. The observed results allowed us to analyze the research hypotheses and check if the relationship is significant or not.

The results suggest a positive and significant effect of the independent variable (precarious work) on racism (dependent variable), showing that the more precarious the work, the greater the perception of racism, either due to the skin color or ethnicity. Specifically, the results of the model indicate that precarious work (β = 2.044; t = 7.815; p <0.001) has a positive and significant impact on the perception of racism. In addition, based on this background (precarious work), the model explains 41% of the variations in racism perception. Table 5 shows the relationship between the variables.

Table 5
Relationship between the variables

| Independent variable	Beta	t	Sig.	R^2
Precarious work	2.044	7.815	0.000	0.406
a. Dependent variable: racism				

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Moderation test

To test the second hypothesis, that discrimination at work moderates the relationship between precarious work and immigrants' perception of racism, the variable 'discrimination at work' was the moderating variable, while precarious work was a predictor. Figure 2 shows the effect of this moderation. The results allow the acceptance of H2.

Figure 2
Moderating effect (corrigir Discrimination at work e Beta Value)
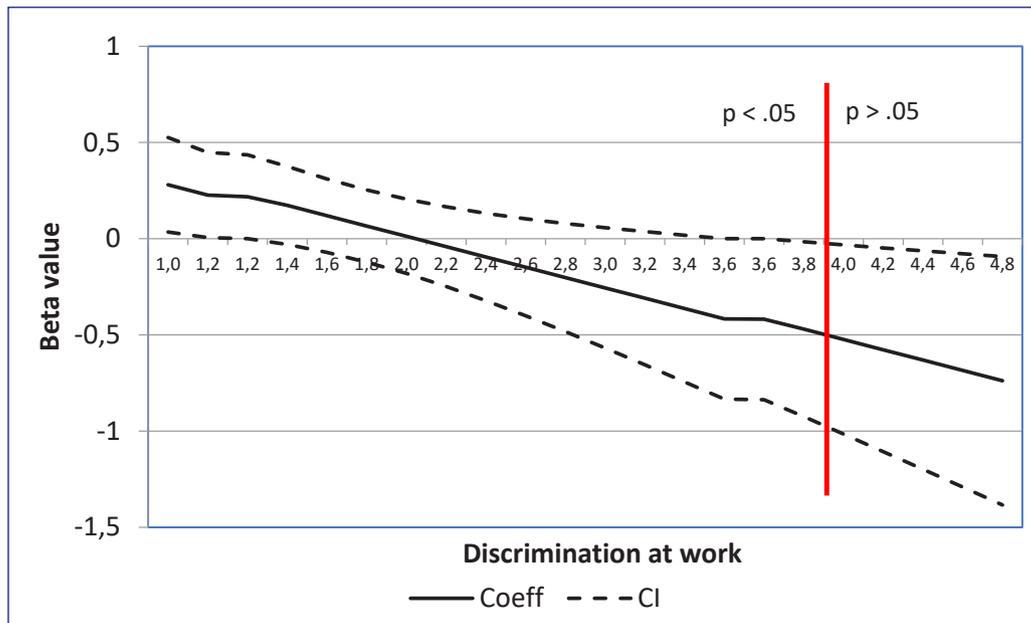
Source: Elaborated by the authors.

As shown in Figure 2, the relationship between precarious work and perception of racism is significant for levels of discrimination at work above 3.6, confirming the moderating effect of discrimination at work on the relationship between precarious work and perceived racism. Figure 2 shows the indirect effect of the independent variable Precarious Work on the perception of racism, moderated by discrimination at work. The significance region is between the dashed lines, within a 95% confidence (CI) of bootstrapping. The model presented values of F = 6.680 and p = 0.010. In other words, we can infer that, as the levels of discrimination at work increase, the effect of precarious work on the perception of racism also increases. These results allow establishing an explanatory model of racism based on the association between precarious work and discrimination suffered by these workers, indicating that some working conditions also comprise racial and ethnic discrimination attitudes toward these workers, regarding their labor insertion in the Brazilian context.

DISCUSSION

Migration is a dynamic phenomenon in contemporary societies, and implies a series of demographic, geographical, and social questions. Amid this growing flow of people and goods, migrants face a great challenge for interacting with the new society; and without a legal apparatus that guarantees their rights and duties, migrants and their families face cultural and social obstacles, such as racial issues and ethnic discrimination, also causing inequalities for their insertion at work.

The decision to migrate is based on information about the availability of job opportunities in the chosen destiny countries (Kaestner & Kaushal, 2005). The social interaction of immigrants in the societies where they are represents different forms of relationships that contribute to their access to the world of work.

Brazil has received migratory movements throughout its history, and they are the predominant factor of its ethnic and racial constitution. These movements intensified in the industrialization process, at the beginning of the 20th century, and resumed in the 2000s, when the country began to stand out in the international economic scenario (Sassen, 2011). Even if the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil establishes equality between nationals and foreigners, preventing discrimination, the established normative acts and migration policies are still not sufficient to restrict the violation of human rights through discrimination, underemployment, inequalities of rights, among other issues related to human dignity and citizenship (Santos, 2013).

The results achieved in this study show that the more precarious the work, the higher the perception of racial and ethnic discrimination. This relationship increases through the perception of discrimination at the work environment. Discrimination at work is a moderator of the relationship between work precariousness and racial and ethnic discrimination. The more migrants are exposed to discrimination at work, the more they tend to perceive discrimination, since work is not just the means for labor insertion (Cavalcanti et al., 2016), but also for social insertion of immigrants in Brazil (Lencioni, 2010).

Some statements supported such conclusions, such as "people are good, but they said bad things about you behind your back", with an average of 3.06; and "someone ignored you or didn't pay attention to you", with an average of 3.55, on a scale of 1 to 5, where five means "frequently". Attributes such as skin color still differentiate the treatment of minority groups, with consequences for their inclusion and identification with the majority society (Hellgren, 2018). In addition, we observed that migrant workers and their behavior are subject to negative evaluations due to their ethnicity or race, characterizing racism and confirming conclusions of previous studies (Chiswick & Miller, 2014; Pieterse et al., 2017).

Aside from that, Anderson (2010) already referred to migrants' precariousness, especially when pointing to racism suffered by "foreigners", from those who consider themselves superior because they are "not foreigners". Such precariousness was a reality for illegal immigrants and "low-paid workers". One of the attacks concerns, in particular, the taxes paid by those who have regularized the work and are "non-foreigners". Those who were not born outside the country wish that immigrants go back to their home country as soon as possible. Such wish is expressed usually in a very subtle way through xenophobic speeches disguised as playful jokes.

We understand that these are issues related to institutional racism in daily work. Giving visibility to these issues that generate oppression shows serious problems of institutional racism and daily segregation at the workplace in Brazil. Therefore, there is a daily survival of the precariousness related to work and life (Oltramari, 2019). The results showed that as discrimination at work increases, so does the perception of racism. It is important to highlight that the dependent variable sought to capture the perceived racism in the social relationships that immigrants establish outside work, through the way they are treated in their daily activities, expressed by verbal aggressions, jokes, and different treatment in their consumption practices.

When racism is present, either because of the skin color or of ethnicity, elements such as dispute over territory, relationships established through networks, and aversion towards foreigners emerge. By territory, we mean space, a system of proximity, distance and scales; territory is also the appropriation of both practices and symbolic and cultural representations (Santos, 2007). In this symbolic space of the territory that the association between them takes place, it is where information, people, and messages cannot exempt the territorial base.

Therefore, we understand that in the territory and in the collective identities established in the networks, we feel the aversion to foreigners. This aversion can result either from the fear of being involved with foreigners, or by denying the existence of the other – this other being women, blacks, Indians, homosexuals, and all the "minorities" that Pelbart (2003) refers to, and that the white supremacy oppresses and makes invisible. This "other", for Pelbart (2003), is represented outside, while for Iannini and Tavares (2019), when giving synonyms to the translation of Freud's "uncanny", say that this other, sinister, strange, disturbing, refers to the unconscious and, therefore, is not outside, but absolutely inside each one: what we cannot recognize inside us, we project on the other.

Aversion to foreigners and discrimination by Brazilians were already present in the studies by Vilela et al. (2015). The authors show that minority groups of immigrants and refugees in Brazil are at a disadvantage in the labor market in relation to the majority group, that is, Brazilians. However, what draws more attention is the existence of discrimination towards international migrants in favor of black Brazilians. There is a better situation for the black Brazilian interstate migrant, than for the Latin immigrant in the local market.

This research shows that these issues still need further discussion, in order to expand the social understanding of the current intense migratory movement throughout the world. Although we are still discussing the issue of acceptance and tolerance, movements in different countries encourage immigrants to join societies with specific work goals.

Debates on immigration and integration represent challenges for the countries' intercultural political agenda (Hellgren, 2018). The racialization of work increased the vulnerability of immigrants to forms of labor exploitation (Chan et al., 2019). Considering the mobility of the workforce in different parts of the world, it seems that the discussion still has an impact on the aspects of difference, not because of qualifications or preparations for immigration, but because of the long-term impact on society. The general debate does not seem to have progressed, which hinders the creation of jobs that ensure income and dignity, regardless of race or ethnicity.

FINAL REMARKS

The migratory movement has been increasing in the last 30 years, not only migration from the southern e to the northern hemisphere, but also inversely, and within the continent, as is the case of South America. In this study, we focused on migrations associated to work. Through our data collection, we identified racism, both due to skin color and ethnicity, derived from precarious work.

This research emphasizes the idea that segregation is still present in Brazil, which further aggravates the idea that research is necessary to identify predictive factors and their impact on associations, social and commercial. It is important to propose public policies for social mobility in Brazil, including migrant workers.

The increase in job insecurity is directly related to people's greater understanding of racism and social discrimination. The issue that this study adds to the existing debate is the moderating role of discrimination in the growth of racial and ethnic discrimination at work. In other words, in addition to engaging in unstable jobs, discrimination is constant in the lives of migrant workers.

In Brazil, there is also an anti-migratory movement, both in relation to skin color and ethnicity. We noticed this aversion to foreigners (Appadurai, 2009; Pelbart, 2003) through our quantitative analysis. The segregation movement is strong in Brazil. Thus, it is important to propose public policies for social mobility, racial inclusion, and migration. For this purpose, associating the increase of work precariousness directly to a higher perception of racism serves as a warning for organizations, managers and non-profit organizations to understand when segregation takes place.

Slavery in Brazil still leaves marks, social inequalities, and precarious working conditions and relations. It also validates white supremacy as a way of segregating and mistreating any foreigner who wishes, as a right, to migrate. When analyzing precarious work as an independent variable, the study reverses a traditional analysis that relates the recognition of skin color and race with precarious work. This study defines racial and ethnic discrimination as a dependent variable, by considering the workforce that lives in unstable working conditions, and shows that this form of insertion at work is characterized by discriminatory behaviors, which increases the perception of social discrimination.

Among the study's limitations is the lack of analyses to find significant differences between ethnicities, which would bring information on potential differences between these groups, under the perception of racial and ethnic discrimination. In addition, the study was carried out in Rio Grande do Sul, with workers mainly in the industrial sector, and in Roraima, where most of them have informal jobs. Although these two states concentrate a large number of immigrants, future studies could extend this analysis to other contexts and economic sectors, besides to other ethnicities.

Another suggestion for a future study is to examine the relationship between the reason for migration and the way of entry in Brazil, with precarious work and perception of racial and ethnic discrimination. Studies of this nature could contribute to investigate the role of organizations that support immigrants for an appropriate insertion and socialization, ensuring access to the same constitutional rights provided to Brazilian workers.

In addition, the same research instrument could be applied in different countries, for a comparative study; that is, to understand how institutional racism takes place in some European countries, for example, when receiving Latin American and African immigrants. We also believe that the research limitation was the sample. Access to immigrants was difficult, and language was a barrier.

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