

**The production and negotiation of difference in a
world on the move: Brazilian migration to London**

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I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

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Abstract

Through the lived experiences and narratives of Brazilian migrants in London, this thesis explores the intersections between processes of social differentiation and international migration. By examining the diverse journeys of Brazilians, I provide an in-depth ethnographic examination of the multivalent ways in which difference contours Brazilian migration. I argue that the group is diverse, comprised of individuals from different class backgrounds, regions, and genders, which shapes both their decisions to migrate as well as the distinct ways in which they live their lives in London. These migrants are continuously re-inventing, producing and negotiating 'cultural', class, and regional differences - often intersected by gender, 'race' and immigration status. By focusing on how these differences, rooted in the colonial and postcolonial history of Brazil, become reconstituted in new processes of social-differentiation and racialisation in the receiving society, this thesis analyses the ways in which these migrants construct ties of affinity as well as exclusions, through bodies and spaces. This includes the bodies with whom they relate and the spaces in which they circulate, as well as those they explicitly avoid. The empirical research draws on a mixed methods approach, which combines an 18-month ethnography in places of leisure with 33 in-depth interviews with Brazilians in London. Problematising widespread assumptions in the literature that ethnic commonalities result in the constitution of migrant communities based on solidarity, this thesis makes important empirical and theoretical contributions to studies of migration through its focus on how the continuous production and negotiation of difference affects the way migrants live in a global world.

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Introduction

Cycling in London has a specific logic; the quicker you understand it the easier it is for you. You need to know a few basic things like, where to stay [in the cycling lane] to not bother others, show with your arm when you are going to turn, when to stop, when to go. And, there are also divisions and hierarchies among the bikers in the lane that you need to know. It's just like Brazilians here [London].

I mean, it's not something official, but you learn after you've been cycling and living here for a while [laugh]. There's a kind of division among the bikers, and it's a similar logic with Brazilians in London. There are those with bad, less powerful bikes, who aren't able to cycle that fast or sometimes don't know how to cycle very well. They might stay in the middle of the lane and hold people back. You can see they're struggling, but they're cycling. Then, there are those with very powerful bikes, who have already been cycling for a while, so they understand the logic very well. These guys will come wearing cycling clothes, acting like professional cyclists. But they have to share the lane with those who don't have nice bikes and don't go that fast. So, the bikers with good bikes get pissed because they don't want to share the lane with them, as if only they had the right to cycle. They complain that the others are going slow or that they don't understand the logic and get in their way. Then, they over take the slow ones, showing off their nice bikes and equipment, looking down on the others. But you also have those who don't have very good bikes, but they have been cycling for a while, so they understand the logic a bit more. They also get pissed with those who don't have a good bike and stay in their way. These guys, they make a huge effort to cycle at the same speed as the ones with the nice bikes. They try to be like them. But there is problem there, for everyone. The guys with the very good bikes can dress up and act like professional cyclists, but they aren't and will never be treated as professionals. The same with those who know the logic a bit more and are also pissed with the ones with shit bikes going slow; they make a huge effort to be like the ones with the nice bikes, but they are always left behind, because they don't have the same bikes. It's the same with Brazilians here [in London]. You have the middle-class, pissed and complaining that it is full of Brazilian workers, but they will never be fully English. Then, you have those who are workers as well who also complain about Brazilians in London, but they aren't like the middle-class. They are here for

different reasons and they live different lives in London¹ (Guilherme, June 2014).

Guilherme highlights divisions among the Brazilian population in London. He echoes the experience of many Brazilian migrants and reveals some of the ways in which migration and continuous processes of social differentiation are closely intertwined. Discussing the different ways in which people cycle, understand the cycle lane and the different types of bikes people have, Guilherme makes a connection with how Brazilians live and negotiate social hierarchies in London. For him, the different ways of cycling/living in London also equate to the constitution of hierarchies within the lane/among the Brazilian population. Those with powerful bikes cycle as if they were professional cyclists - in his analogy, these cyclists would represent the Brazilian middle class trying to live like 'English people'. In the cycle lane, this group of cyclists become annoyed with the presence of, and look down on, those who do not have powerful bikes, reminiscent of the way in which the Brazilian middle class look down on the Brazilian working-class in London.

However, these divisions are neither simple nor straightforward, but full of problems and contradictions. For Guilherme, it does not mean that those with less powerful bikes interact with each other in the lane. Some try to be like those with powerful bikes, looking down to those who cycle slower. This is illustrative of how some of the Brazilian working class also attempt to relate to each other in a hierarchical way. Moreover, Guilherme states that despite having a powerful bike and making an effort to look professional, these cyclists will never be treated as such. In effect, the Brazilian middle class will never become fully English, despite their efforts. This is, he says, the same for those cyclists who make an effort to follow the powerful bikes: they are always left behind. In a similar manner, the working class cannot always attain the lifestyle of the middle class in London, no matter how hard some may try.

Through the lived experiences and narratives of Brazilian migrants in London, this thesis explores the intersections between processes of social differentiation and international migration. Studies on globalisation have increasingly analysed how, since the 1970's, improvements in communication and transport systems have

¹ Fieldwork note: conversation with Guilherme, 34 year-old Brazilian working-class male, arrived in London in 2008.

facilitated the development and management of multiple forms of interconnection of networking activities across the world (Castells 1996; Urry, 2000). It has been noted how intense mobilities of people, objects, images, information and waste materials have been crossing national borders in a context of continual uprooting and displacement in which people and things *flow*, in a ‘world on the move’ (Urry, 2000; 2008). Following this, migration studies have begun to consider, for example, the transnational nature of migration phenomena, and the multiple social and economic factors that influence these transnational *flows* that connect the local to the global through the interaction of multiple ties (Vertovec, 1999). In discussions of ethnicity, nationality and the formation of ‘ethnic community’ abroad (Light and Gold, 2000), migration studies often far too easily celebrate the ‘ethnic commonality’ constituting ties of affinity. Studies therefore overlook how people are constantly managing difference in a world on the move. The very ways in which differences are rearticulated in the everyday making of the global world, I argue, is a lacuna which needs to be addressed in migration studies.

This thesis therefore makes important empirical and theoretical contributions to studies of migration through its focus on how the continuous production and negotiation of difference affects the way migrants live in a global world. By examining the diverse journeys of Brazilians, this thesis provides an in-depth ethnographic examination of the multivalent ways in which difference contours Brazilian migration. I argue that the group is diverse, comprised of individuals from different class backgrounds, regions, and genders, which shapes both their decisions to migrate as well as the distinct ways in which they live their lives in London. These migrants are continuously re-inventing, producing and negotiating ‘cultural’², class, and regional differences - often intersected by gender, ‘race’ and immigration status. By focusing on how these differences often result in processes of social-differentiation and racialisation³, I analyse the ways in which these migrants construct

² I put ‘culture’ in speech marks since I take culture as a dynamic and diverse process, which is in permanent construction (Brah, 1996). Yet, when I talk about the production and negotiation of difference through ‘culture’, I am talking about essentialised and deterministic representations of culture, which have historically been produced and re-signified in the construction of hierarchies between nations and ethnic groups.

³ When I refer to the process of racialisation or racialised boundaries, I mean that racism cannot be seen as derivative of ethnic phenomena but needs to be understood with reference to the discourses and practices by which ethnic groups (through their ‘culture’) are inferiorized, excluded and subordinated. These processes cannot be understood without considering their interconnections with ethnicity,

ties of affinity as well as exclusions (Bourdieu, 1984), through bodies and spaces. This includes the bodies with whom they relate and the spaces in which they circulate, as well as those they explicitly avoid.

Bodies, spaces and their intersections are central to this thesis, since they carry the markers of “otherness” in the production of racialised and classed difference. The architecture, stories, smell, and sounds of a place as well as the style and clothing of bodies, their skin colour, habits and manner of occupying or moving through space are all equally important aesthetic designators of ‘racial’, ethnic and classed difference in the city (Bourdieu, 1984; Sibley, 1995; Knowles, 2003; Sayad, 2004; Puwar, 2004; Taylor, 2010). These factors feed the generation of attachments to as well as repudiations of some bodies and spaces, among migrants themselves.

Embarking on Researching Brazilians in London

Migration represents an important issue within contemporary British society. In the last decades, Britain experienced dramatic changes in the nature and quantity of migration (Vertovec, 2007; Schain, 2012). As noted by Carlos Vargas-Silva and Yvonne Markaki (2016), since the 1990s ‘overall net migration to the UK has always been positive’, meaning that the ‘inflow of people to the UK has been greater than the outflow’ (3). They show, for instance, that in 2015, 333,000 more immigrants arrived in the country than emigrants left (*idem*). As noted by Steven Vertovec (2007), this continuous increase of arrivals has resulted, particularly in London, in a (super) diversification of the migrant population. He writes that in the city there are now:

more migrants from more places entailing more socio-cultural differences going through more migration channels leading to more, as well as more significantly stratified, legal categories (which themselves have acted to internally diversify various groups), and who maintain more intensely an array of links with places of origin and diasporas elsewhere. (1043)

nationalism, class, gender and the state (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992). In this study, I am also examining processes of ‘inferiorization’ through social differentiation of class, region, gender and documental status.

Yet, this increase in and diversification of migration has been met with homogenizing narratives, which often stigmatise and criminalise migrants and ‘migrant communities’ (Tyler, 2013; Anderson, 2013). As Imogen Tyler (2013) notes, British politicians and elements of the British media have been reproducing narratives against migrants by proliferating ‘fears about border controls and terror threats, as well as economic insecurity and labour precariousness’ (9). This has increased in the past few years as the figure of ‘the migrant’ has been used as one of the scapegoats for the 2008 financial crisis. The migrant is often framed as ‘the other’ who does not share British values and who migrated for economic gain, and is thus ‘imagined to be a parasitical drain and threat to scarce national resources’ (idem). Within this context, in order to problematise and transcend homogenizing stereotypes of migrants, I argue that it is necessary to provide detailed analyses on the different ways in which migrants actually imagine and make their lives in London.

Brazilians represent one of the new migrant groups in London, whose presence has increased in the last decades, contributing to the extensive diversification of the migrant population in the city (McIlwaine et al. 2011). The British Census (2011), for instance, indicates that there are 50,000 Brazilians living in the UK. Analysts and organizations suggest that this number is much larger, estimating that there are about 200,000 Brazilians throughout the country. In London, estimates vary between 130,000 and 160,000 (Cwerner, 2001; Kubal et al, 2011). Brazilians are spread across different areas of the city, though some districts and boroughs are known for having higher concentrations, such as Brent, Willesden Junction, Bayswater and Stockwell (Evans et al, 2011). Recent qualitative studies have been undertaken on Brazilians in London (Brightwell, 2012; Sheringham, 2011), focusing on different aspects of their everyday lives. Yet, there is a lack of understanding on how class, gender and regional differences shape Brazilians’ desires, social relations and strategies for building new lives in London.

Beginning the journey of researching Brazilians in London

The decision to study Brazilians in London, paying attention to processes of differentiation, through bodies and spaces, stems from my own experience of living and working as a Brazilian migrant in London during 2008 and 2009. My experience alerted me to how profoundly the fragmented experiences of Brazilians in the city

contradicted the homogenising representations of migrants often reproduced in the media as well as migration studies. In December of 2008, wanting to experience living abroad and to learn English, I came to live in London for one year. In my first week in London, I realised how big and diverse the Brazilian population was. When I arrived in London, the majority of people that I interacted with were Brazilians. It was through the contacts that I built with these Brazilians that I learnt how to move in the city and obtain information about job opportunities.

After experiencing difficulties linked to the process of arriving and settling in a new society, and realising how important social contacts were in making this process easier, specific sociological questions emerged from my lived experience. On my return to Brazil in 2010, I decided to research Brazilians in London for my Masters thesis (see Martins Jr, 2014). By conducting participant observation (Wacquant, 2004) – as a cleaner, kitchen porter and waiter - and living with them, it was possible to analyse the precarious and informal working practices and conditions of Brazilians working in the service sector in London.

In addition in 2011, I conducted in-depth interviews with 17 men and 13 women, analysing the trajectories of a group of Brazilians working in the service sector. I considered their lives before leaving Brazil, the process of displacement (arrival and adaptation), the search for work and prospects for the future. This enabled me to question my initial theoretical framework. As is the case with many of us, I had previously always imagined ‘the migrant’ as a poor worker who moves to a richer country or region in search of better conditions of employment. Initially, when carrying out bibliographical research concerning global migration, I used a theoretical framework, which analyses contemporary migration from the global south to the global north as the result of global economic disparities (Sassen, 1988). This theoretical framework was broadly used by some early studies which analysed Brazilian migration in the late 1980’s to the U.S, Japan and European countries (Margolis, 1994; Sales, 1995).

Yet, my experiences in London and the research findings from my master’s degree fieldwork pointed to something that went beyond the issue of employment, which made me go back and reflexively reengage with the theoretical debate on migration. It is true that many Brazilians have moved from a less developed country to a developed country where they carry out various types of work considered unskilled. However, I found that there were Brazilians from different social classes

performing these jobs and that their work maintained diverse lifestyles, which were being continuously negotiated and redefined. Their reasons for migrating were not the same and were not confined to economic issues, for instance (Martins Jr, 2014).

Thus, my MA fieldwork deconstructed my initial assumptions about migration, pushing me to consider more complex processes than the economic categories and discourses that had previously been used to examine the subject. This questioning of my initial theoretical assumptions led me to begin a dialogue with literature on transnationalism and social networks, which started at the end of my MA and which I further critically developed during my PhD.

Mapping the PhD Research Questions

In the 1990s, transnational scholars (Vertovec, 1999; Levitt 2001) began to analyse the role of social ties in producing transnational connections⁴ linking people in different places. This analysis moved beyond understanding migration merely as the result of global economic disparities by considering, for instance, how the settlements of migrants in determined places of destination influence, facilitate or even predict the arrival of new migrants (Tilly, 1990; Massey, 1990, Levitt 2001). Through their emphasis on the constitution of transnational ties, transnational scholars have also problematised framing migration as a process of movement from one socially bounded entity to another, paying attention, instead, to complex and multidirectional processes, places, and people (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Levitt, 2004). Scholars such as Peggy Levitt (2004: no pagination), for instance, argue for the need to frame transnationalism ‘outside the national-state box’. By doing so, it became possible to recognize the ‘multi-faceted interactions between wider socio-political contexts and concrete changes in people’s everyday lives’ (Sheringham, 2011: 15; see also Faist, 1998).

Yet when analysing the mobility of people through the constitution of transnational social ties, studies on transnationalism often follow Robert Putnam’s

⁴ Scholars have examined the production of such transnational connections through the analysis of: social ties connecting different people and places around the globe (Levitt, 2001); economic ties, such as migrants’ remittances (see Datta, 2009); political ties, such as the constitution of transmigrants’ political practices and its consequences for citizenship (see Bermudez, 2010); and the role of the new informational technologies and transport developments in the constitution and reproduction of ‘transnational communities’, such as cheap communication devices and cheap airfares (Appadurai, 1996).

(1995) idea of social capital. Putnam (1995) defines social capital as ‘the characteristics of the social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit’ (67). In this perspective, rather than being understood as a resource in the social struggles that are carried out in different arenas or fields, as defined by Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), the notion of social capital expresses ‘the sociological essence of communal vitality’ (Siisiäinen, 2000: no pagination). In other words, transnational studies frame social capital as:

the web of connections, loyalties, investments, and mutual obligations that develop among people, both as part of their regular interactions in which intra-group connections are strengthened (bonding capital) and new links are forged and exploited (bridging capital). (Padilla, 2006a: 5)

Thus, taking Putnam’s analysis to the international migration debate, scholars have argued that these social ties connecting the societies of emigration and immigration would supply migrants with support. This would influence not only their decision to migrate, but also the choice of destination (Tilly, 1990; Padilla, 2006; Portes, 1995), since ‘the risks and costs of movement for subsequent migrants are lower because there is a group of “experts” already in the receiving country to greet newcomers and serve as their guides’ (Levitt, 2001: 8). This privileged information and support would be motivated/justified by ‘ethnic solidarity’ (Light and Gold, 2000; Portes, 1995), a feeling of camaraderie forged in shared experiences, which has also been referred to as ‘bounded solidarity’ (Portes, 1995). As Portes (1995: 15) argues, the bounded solidarity among co-ethnics is altruistically motivated and results in ‘transferring resources to others because of identification with in-group needs and goals’. Thus, ‘a sense of belonging to a common “culture”’ (Djelic and Quack, 2010: xix), would result in the formation of transnational communities composed by ‘migrants who help each other emotionally, who undertake all kinds of leisure activities together, who share information on various aspects of life in the receiving society, and who help each other find jobs’ (Roggeveen and Van Meeteren, 2013: 1079).

Brazilian migration studies began following the transnational approach from the late 1990s, analysing the constitution of Brazilian communities in the U.S, Japan,

and European countries. This includes recent work on Brazilians in London which looks at the role of food (Brightwell, 2012) and religion (Sheringham, 2011) in helping to build transnational ties between Brazil and London. The constitution of transnational networks proved to be important for these studies, and for my previous research (Martins Jr., 2014). Yet, despite the important insights provided by transnationalism, what is notably absent in such discussions is the consideration of how the global (mobile) present still produces ‘racial’ and ethnic hierarchies, constructed in connection to the global legacies of the colonial past (Gilroy, 1993; Bhabra, 2013; Grosfoguel et al, 2014). In addition, they do not consider how migrants’ social differences - such as class, religion, caste - do not simply disappear in the constitution of ‘ethnic community’. However, differences are often being re-signified and reinvented in the constitution of ties of affinity in a new context (Sayad, 2004; Brah, 1996). In my MA research, for instance, I was not concerned with reflecting on the factors that can result in relations of solidarity or exclusion among Brazilians. Yet, on many occasions, while living in London and during my interviews, it was common to hear Brazilians criticizing other Brazilians, saying that they were uneducated, uncivilised and unreliable. Their explanations of these perceived qualities ranged from blaming ‘the uncivilised’ Brazilian ‘culture’⁵ to citing issues of class and region. Critical accounts of ‘Brazilians in London’ were also often followed by critiques of places where a large number of Brazilians circulated, such as Brazilian nightclubs and neighbourhoods. From this, I decided to develop my PhD research focusing on the processes of differentiation that Brazilians in London engage in through bodies and spaces.

Thus, moving the discussion on transnationalism forward by examining migratory experiences in relation to colonial legacies and to the multiple distinctions that exist among migrants, I pay attention in this dissertation to the everyday making of the global world through the diverse experience of Brazilians in London. What happens when dissonant bodies encounter each other in a world on the move? How do they negotiate and re-make historically entrenched national, ‘racial’ and ethnic hierarchies? What happens when co-nationals are placed in new classed and regional

⁵ In her work on food and Brazilians in London, Maria Brightwell (2012) notes that Brazilian food was ‘a way of giving form to diasporic culture and a means to “transport” consumers “home”’ (70). But, she also encountered - but without further problematizing - Brazilians in London who displayed precisely the opposite attitude, avoiding and distancing themselves from the consumption of Brazilian food and culture.

exposures abroad? In the specific case of Brazilian migrants, these dissonant bodies are distinguished along historical lines of nation, ethnicity and 'race', as well as through intra-national differentiations cut across multiple axes of class, gender and region (Brah, 1996).

In order to achieve the broad aim of my research, to examine how the continuous production and negotiation of difference affects the way in which Brazilian migrants in London construct affinities and divisions through their bodies and spaces of routine operation, my research questions are as follows:

1. What are the factors that differently impact Brazilians' decisions to migrate as well as how they differently construct their lives in London?
2. How do they talk about and interact with other national, racial and ethnic groups in London?
3. How do they talk about and interact with their co-nationals in London?
4. How do they negotiate difference through the ways in which they inhabit and classify places in London?

Empirically, this thesis adopts a mixed methods approach, which resulted in 180 pages of ethnographic notes, generated over 18 months (from July 2013 to January 2015), as well as 33 in-depth interviews with Brazilians in London. Some of the interviewees are also people that I followed more closely using ethnographic methods in moments of leisure – at bars, nightclubs, barbecues, weddings, and birthday parties. I also interviewed people whom I met when doing ethnography in places of leisure frequented by Brazilians in London, such as Brazilian nightclubs. Utilizing a range of qualitative methods allowed me to examine the research questions from numerous angles, seeing not only how people speak about but also engage with difference in their everyday lives.

In order to examine struggles in which multiple social hierarchies are being reproduced in complex ways, I have drawn on a range of theoretical traditions. These include feminist, post and de-colonial theory, and, most centrally, the work of Pierre Bourdieu, analytically developed in migration studies by Abdemalek Sayad. Moreover, it is important to highlight that my research focuses on the different forms of socialities established by these migrants, seeking to understand how they are

developing practices of inclusion and exclusion through their ‘mobile’ experience. Dialoguing with Kira Kosnick (2009), I use the concept ‘sociality’ here in a wide sense to denote all forms of social engagement in which people are involved in dynamic processes of affiliation and ‘de-affiliation’. Thus, in order to understand the complexity of the ‘world on the move’, exploring the precise nature of the mechanisms that connect us and our immediate environment with the ‘global order of things’ (Knowles, 2003: 3), I shift attention from the problem of identity (Martes, 2003) to one of sociality, highlighting the complexity of fluctuating affiliations and interactions. Moreover, in this thesis, I use the term ‘migrant’ when making references to Brazilians in London. Following Nicholas De Genova (2004:161), I treat ‘migrant’ as ‘a category of analysis that disrupts the implicit teleology of the more conventional term “immigrant”’, which ‘can only be posited from the standpoint of the (migrant-receiving) nation-state’. The next section outlines the theoretical tools used in this thesis.

Framing the production and negotiation of difference

In order to understand the production and negotiation of difference in a world on the move, as Avtar Brah (1996:225) notes, we need to analyse the concept ‘difference’ through ‘the variety of ways in which specific discourses of difference are constituted, contested, reproduced or re-signified’. In other words, difference is not always a marker of hierarchy and oppression, but is contextually contingent. In this thesis, I pay attention to the circumstances that enable ‘difference’ to be organised hierarchically, rather than laterally – in other words, when ‘difference’ itself ‘becomes the modality which domination articulates’ (1996: 173), thus, resulting in the production and negotiation of hierarchies. Yet, as Brah further argues, in order to understand these processes, we need a conceptual framework that does not privilege either the macro - or the micro-level of analysis, or a specific axis of differentiation, such as class. Rather, we need to theoretically account for how articulating historically embedded discourses and practices inscribe social relations, subject positions and subjectivities through multiple axes of differentiation. In order to do this, in the next section I show how the thesis theoretically draws on post(de)-colonial and

feminist studies as well as the work of Pierre Bourdieu. I then frame the dynamic production of social representations in the continuous struggle over classification, in order to discuss how I take body and space as analytical tools to read and analyse the ongoing propagation of difference.

Racialising and differentiating through multiple (intersected) axes

Post- and de-colonial studies assert that the racial/ethnic hierarchy of the European/non-European divide constructed during colonisation has been continuously re-signified since then, justifying global inequalities by racialising bodies and spaces as physically, intellectually and morally inferior, to non-civilised lifestyles (Grosfoguel, 2013; Said, 1979; Gilroy, 1993). This process of racialisation has imputed allegedly fundamental characteristics to people, ‘writing those character qualities onto their bodies, into their genes and their essential nature’ (Spickard, 2013: 14), based on their membership of racial/ethnic groups. Historically, justifications to racialise non-European bodies/spaces moved from explanations based on ‘religion’ (not having a soul) to ‘race’ (not having the ‘right biology’) and, contemporarily, to ‘ethnicity’ (not having the ‘right culture’) (Grosfoguel, 2013: 83-84). The latter, ‘ethnicism’, imposes stereotypic notions of ‘common culture’ defining the experience of racialised groups primarily in ‘culturalist’ terms (Brah, 1996). I draw on post- and de-colonial discussions to understand how Brazilians re-signify and negotiate racialised representations of ‘the Brazilian culture’ as exotic and uncivilised in comparison to ‘Western European culture’.

I mark Brazilian (and Western European) ‘culture’ with speech marks when culture is taken as an essentialised feature that homogenously determines the behaviour of those who share it. Following Brah (1996), I take ‘national culture’ as a diverse and dynamic process which is in permanent construction. And, Brazil, for instance, is a big and diverse country, with stark regional differences. When doing my interviews, I found many ‘Brazils’ and many versions of ‘its culture’ constructed in different regional and classed accounts. However, when I analyse ‘the Brazilian culture’, in this thesis, I am analysing an essentialised representation often present in European and Brazilian imaginations. For instance, it is often assumed that Brazil has an exotic, mixed culture, which does not allow it to become a modern civilised country. I trace the historical construction of this representation in the next chapter.

I am not suggesting, however, that there is no such a thing as cultural differences between Brazilians and Europeans. ‘Culture is essentially a process, but this does not mean that we cannot talk about cultural’ specificities and artifacts - such as ‘customs, traditions and values’ (Brah 1996:231). Culture, as noted by Omar Lizardo (2010:19) dialoguing with Bourdieu (1996), is also a system of action and perception that is acquired in a tacit state through tacit mechanisms along the individual’s trajectory. It composes all that marks, ‘which is at once hidden and displayed, inscribed on the body, on gesture, postures, ways of carrying (porter) one’s body and behaving with one’s body’ (Sayad, 2004: 261). Yet, such cultural specificities do not necessarily constitute social divisions. Neither are cultural differences just the outcome of a simple process of differentiation. In fact, cultural difference can be the basis of racialising imperatives when such “‘difference” is constructed within the interstices of socio-political and economic relations’, in which social groups (and their “cultures”) ‘with differential access to wealth, power and privilege are ranked in relation to one another’ (Brah, 1996: 19) – as it is the case with Brazilians and Western Europeans.

Yet, post-, de-colonial and black feminists have shown how process of racialisation are also constituted by other markers of differentiation, not only by ‘race’ or ‘culture’. In the late 1980’s, such scholars published critical texts about gender relations, which sought to think through male domination outside white Western logic (Collins, 2000 [1990]; Crenshaw 1989; Mohanty, 1988). The black feminist movement argued for the necessity of understanding the process of gender racialisation, as black women experienced a different and more intense kind of oppression from that of white women (Davis, 1981; Collins, 2000).

The concept of intersectionality was borne out of the discussions of black feminists, border theorists and subaltern studies. It refers to the idea that cultural patterns of oppression are bound together and shaped through intersecting systems of social division, such as class, gender, and ethnicity (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw 1991; Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992). Following the work of Brah (1996), Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis (1992) and Nirmal Puwar (2004), I argue that the concept of intersectionality should not be understood to describe independent structures with links between them, but rather, should be used to analyse how linkages are inbuilt from the start. Following this, the concept of intersectionality has become fundamental to contemporary discussions which seek to provide analytical tools to

comprehend the articulation of multiple differences and inequalities in specific contexts. The concept has been applied to the study of many other social relationships of power beyond gender and 'race', including sexuality, disability, nation, state and class (Harjunen, 2008; Brah and Phoenix, 2004; Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992). As a consequence, it has influenced not only feminist but also post(de)-colonial debates.

Post – and de-colonial studies (Shohat, 1992; McClintock, 1995; Collins, 2004), for instance, drew attention to the need to articulate gender not only with sexuality, 'race' and class, but also with religion and nationality, stating that 'race' and colonialism have equally been central to the formation of (imperial) public masculinity and femininity. Within a similar vein, Latin American de-colonial scholars conceptualize the present world system as a historical-structural heterogeneous totality with a specific power matrix that is referred to as a 'colonial power matrix' (Quijano, 2000). As I further discuss in the next chapter, this 'matrix of power' was constituted during European colonisation, dividing the world population between Europeans (conceptualised in terms of mind/reason) and de-valued non-European (conceptualised in terms of body/nature). Yet, this division has been continuously re-produced and re-signified since colonisation, racialising bodies and spaces as morally and intellectually inferior through the intersections of 'race', ethnicity, gender, class, sexuality, spirituality, and epistemology (Grosfoguel, 2002).

The theorizing of intersectionality and the coloniality of power provides me with a framework which encompasses different axes of social differentiation and racialisation, emphasizing that 'different dimensions of social life cannot be separated out into pure and discrete strands' (Brah and Phoenix, 2004: 76; see also Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992). In my thesis, I draw on these studies to discuss how gender plays an important role, intersecting with 'culture', when Brazilians reproduce and negotiate the racialised representation of 'Brazilians' as non-modern bodies. Moreover, I also draw on discussions of intersectionality throughout this thesis to discuss how Brazilians in London also constantly produce and navigate social differentiation among themselves using intersected axes of differentiation - class, gender, immigration status, region and 'race'. Within these negotiations, Brazilians often display how 'classes are always gendered and racialised and gender is always classed and racialised and so on' (Anthias, 2012:106). Intersectionality allows me to analyse how Brazilians negotiate divisions among the population, through all my chapters, not only by using social markers that compound each other, but also by

using some social markers to compensate for or ‘cancel out’ others (Brah, 1996; Puwar, 2004). I discuss, for instance, how region and ‘culture’ can be used by the Brazilian working class to compensate for their stigmatised class positioning in London. It is important to highlight that in examining the dynamic character of these negotiations, I treat these social markers and their boundaries as social categories that ‘are not fixed’: their ‘social and political meanings can vary in different historical contexts as well as being continually challenged and restructured both individually and socially’ (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 201; see also Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992). In this sense, following Anthias (2012), I frame intersectionality ‘as a process’, rather than as ‘an interplay in peoples’ group identities of class, gender, ethnicity, racialisation and so on’ (107). In so doing, I consider how these different intersected markers produce ‘contradictory locations’ in which actors are placed ‘as subordinate in some times and places and more dominant in others’ (idem).

Nevertheless, there are two theoretical and analytical considerations regarding intersectionality that I take into account. Firstly, as Beverley Skeggs and Helen Wood (2011) have argued, it is difficult and complex to think through the systems or logics that produce how we live these social markers, all together, in everyday experience. Hence, for the purposes of this thesis, I analyse the intersection of ‘culture’, class and region in how Brazilians re-signify difference in London. Yet, in many circumstances, during my research, these three markers were intersected by gender, ‘race’ and documented status in the production of divisions among Brazilians themselves and in between Brazilians and other national/ethnic groups. Secondly, foundational work on intersectionality uses varied theoretical approaches, such as Foucault, Gramsci and psychosocial analyses (Crenshaw 1991; MacClintock, 1995; Brah, 1996) to understand the articulation of power, domination and resistance through different axes of differentiation. My thesis dialogues with these studies, especially with the work of Avtar Brah (1996) and with Latin American de-colonial literature. However, I argue that the work of Pierre Bourdieu, which takes into account social forces such as the state, class domination and the production of power relations through social practice, helps me to empirically address how differences are (re)produced on a daily basis in a world on the move.

According to Bourdieu, ‘the question with which all sociology ought to begin’ is ‘that of the existence ... and mode of existence of collectives’ (Bourdieu 1991: 250). For Bourdieu, the construction of the modes of social existence of collectivities

occurs with social and symbolic boundaries⁶ being simultaneously constructed through ‘social practices, rather than theoretical conjecture’ (Weininger, 2005: 85). I argue that Bourdieu’s science of practice, and the ‘correlative critique of domination in its manifold manifestations’, based on ‘the historicization of the agent (habitus and capital) and the world (social space and fields)’ (Wacquant, 2016: 64-65) allows us to empirically address how power and domination are produced through different axes of differentiation. Even though Bourdieu’s early work tends to privilege class in the process of ‘social grouping’, I will now discuss how my research draws on a revised, more flexible and multi-varied Bourdieusian approach, which also takes into account the primary role of other markers - gender, ‘race’ and ethnicity – not only in individuals practices (actions and attitudes), but also in the constitution of collectivities.

Framing class as embodied lifestyle: the legitimate culture

Bourdieu frames class as a combination of economic and social cultural factors (Bourdieu, 1984), which link one’s class situation to a particular lifestyle. This lifestyle constructs objective ties of solidarity, on the one hand, and prejudice on the other, as it is part of a symbolic system that ranks valued and non-valued lifestyles. This allows me to understand the complexity of migration beyond the idea of solidarity and homogenous ‘ethnic community’, since differences of class (lifestyles) affect the everyday experience of migrants in respect to the ways in which they relate to each other and to the city.

For Bourdieu (1987a), social groupings (such as social classes) do not exist anteriorly; what exists is a social space, ‘a space of differences’ (3), in which classes exist in a type of virtual state, not as a given but as something to be constructed (see also Bourdieu, 1991). Social space is organized by cross-cutting principles of

⁶ On symbolic and social boundaries, Michele Lamont and Virág Molnár write: ‘Symbolic boundaries are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality...Social boundaries are objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities. Only when symbolic boundaries are widely agreed upon can they take on a constraining character and pattern social interaction in important ways’ (Lamont and Molnár, 2002: 168-9).

differentiation and capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Capital, for Bourdieu (1986), is any ‘resource effective in a given social arena that enables one to appropriate the specific profits arising out of participation and contest in it’ (Wacquant, 2008: 268). As summed by Wacquant (2008), there are four dimensions of capital: ‘economic (material and financial assets), cultural (scarce symbolic goods, skills, and titles) and social (resources accrued by virtue of membership in a group)’ (268). These three resources become socially effective, and their ownership is legitimized through the mediation of symbolic capital, the fourth dimension (Bourdieu, 1984). The position of an agent in social space is, then, relationally defined by the volume (quantity), composition (type) and trajectory (the change or stability an agent experienced over time with the volume and composition of their capital) of capital (Bourdieu, 1990b; Weininger, 2005; Wacquant, 2008). The latter (trajectory), differently position the agents in the social space within class fractions (Bourdieu, 1984).

The position of an agent in social space has, for Bourdieu (1987a; 1990b), an indirect causal link with the practices of an agent, which is structured by their habitus. Habitus is a set of internalized pre-reflexive dispositions that are acquired through lasting exposure to particular social conditions and conditionings (Bourdieu, 1977a). These conditions and conditioning, which the agents are exposed to, are generated by the economic wealth (economic capital) and accumulated culture (cultural capital), which differentiate the spaces to be occupied by the agents. Habitus, however, also has a continuous dimension, being a principle of both social continuity (‘it stores social forces into the individual organism and transports them across time and space’) and discontinuity (‘it can be modified through the acquisition of new dispositions’) (Wacquant, 2008: 268). In other words, habitus captures ‘the permanent internalisation of the social order in the human body’ (Eriksen and Nielsen, 2001:130) at the same time that it recognises the agent’s practice - their ‘capacity for invention and improvisation’ (Bourdieu 1990a: 13).

Thus, the incorporation of *habitus* or cultural dispositions - which is related to the position of the agents in social spaces – results in specific aesthetic sensibilities that orients the agents’ everyday choices and lifestyles (Bourdieu, 1984). Tastes in clothing, music, art, food and sport, as well as trivial everyday behaviours inscribed on the body – such as posture and accent -, work as vehicles through which agents symbolize their social similarity and differences with/from one another (Bourdieu 1984; Weininger, 2005). As a consequence, cultural practices might have unconscious

classificatory effects that shape social positions by defining (social) class boundaries through struggles over classification. As Weininger (2005:98) notes, these are struggles to impose the superiority of the dominant group's worldview and lifestyle as hegemonic, valued or 'the norm'. They are developed within 'fields' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 16), specific arenas in which 'networks of social relations are structured around competition over various stakes, such as academic, artistic, and literary prestige' (Lamont and Molnár, 2002: 173).

In his classic study *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu shows how the logic of class struggle is extended to the field of taste and lifestyle, in which symbolic classifications become key to the reproduction of class privileges. He argues that dominant groups generally succeed in legitimizing their own culture and ways (lifestyles/tastes) as superior to those of lower classes. The 'lower classes' or the working-class are constructed as the antithesis of dominant middle- and upper-classes through oppositions such as distinguished/vulgar, aesthetic/practical, pure/impure, quality/quantity, and manners/matter (Bourdieu, 1984: 245; Lamont and Molnár, 2002). In such binary constructions, aesthetics are translated into morality, since those positioned as lacking 'taste' are also positioned as morally lacking (Bourdieu, 1984; Lawler, 2005). Thus, taste/lifestyle and morality work as important markers in constructing objective ties of solidarity, on the one hand, and prejudice on the other (see also Souza, 2003).

Therefore, as Weininger (2005) argues, within the struggles between classes and between class fractions over the power inside a field, there is an important 'symbolic component' (136). When imposing a specific meaning as legitimate while concealing the power relations that are the basis of its force (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990), the dominant group exercises symbolic violence, which helps in reproducing social inequalities. They use 'their legitimate culture to mark cultural distance and proximity, to monopolize privileges, and to exclude and recruit new occupants to high status positions' (Lamont and Molnár, 2002: 172), denying the structural power relations, which produce the divisions (through the differential access to cultural and economic capital) in social space. It is through these constant and reciprocal acts of social classification that social collectivities are continuously produced. As Weininger (2005) asserts, analysing the work of Bourdieu (1984; 1990b), 'bounded social groups are the result of practices that seek to symbolically delimit 'regions' of social space' (99). Thus, the symbolic is a 'separative power' which draws 'discrete units out of

indivisible continuities, difference out of the undifferentiated' (Bourdieu 1984: 479). In other words, any social collectivity is 'the result of the combined symbolic acts of self-classification and classification by others that are applied to its members' and also, as a consequence, to 'those who are excluded' (Weininger, 2005:99).

Nevertheless, the composition of the legitimate culture is permanently being played out within the field, as it is the object of a perpetual struggle (Weininger, 2005). This allows Bourdieu to state that the boundaries between social classes are 'flames whose edges are in constant movement' (Bourdieu, 1987a:13). As the boundaries constructed through taste and lifestyle arise from practices that are thematically oriented to different ends (that is, to food, art, fashion), these boundaries are 'necessarily indeterminate and fuzzy', existing only 'in the flux of on-going practices' (Weininger, 2005: 101). Thus, they are porous and not permanent boundaries, which are open for negotiation.

Yet, even though the boundaries are open for negotiation, their narratives are also a product of a set of relations between socially determined positions within a field, and not only a particular relationship to be materialised at a given place and time (Sayad, 2004). As Puwar (2004) highlights in her engagement with Bourdieu, practice is not simply the result of agents' conscious and deliberate intentions; 'it is part of a process of improvisation, which in turn is structured by cultural orientations, personal trajectories and the ability to play the game of social interactions' (125). In this sense, Bourdieu's discussion of practices, and their constitutive elements, such as capital, field and habitus, play an important role, I argue, in understanding how the Brazilian middle-class re-make class boundaries in London. In my thesis, I dialogue with Torresan's (2012) work on Brazilians in Portugal, which draws on the Bourdeusian work of Maureen O'Dougherty (2002) on class in Brazil. As Torresan (2012) has argued, when defining Brazilian middle-class boundaries, despite occupation and income being important, there were other attributes that go beyond position in the job market. Middle-classness in Brazil:

involved having a good education that would lead to a stable job with a salary sufficient to acquire a car, save for a house (and eventually buy one), travel, and purchase clothes, and other domestic goods. It was also important to partake in casual and frequent entertainment that would provide some cultural capital and a sense of 'educated' taste with which people could distinguish their situation within the flexible boundaries of the middle class. (Torresan, 2012: 115)

Moving the definition of class beyond economic income and occupation helps us to understand how the Brazilian middle-class in London are able to play cultural (and moral) markers, in order to re-construct class boundaries between them and ‘the other Brazilian migrants’, those considered to be from the ‘lower-classes’. Cultural capital and a sense of educated taste, I argue in my thesis, become especially important for people’s subjective experience of their social location within a context in which migration resulted, for many middle-class Brazilians, in a situation of new class exposure as well as economic/occupational downgrade. As highlighted by (Reay, 1997), Bourdieu's concept of habitus (and the interaction within the field, I would add) enables an analysis of social class as complex sociological and psychological processes that encompass far more than materiality and social location, since habitus also takes ‘a power of adaptation’ (227). In this sense, I bring to Bourdieu’s theoretical innovations an empirical analysis of how such adaptation is more evident in a transnational context, in which the Brazilian middle class often need to rely on their cultural capital in order to try to re-establish class boundaries after going through a process of economic downgrade. This power of adaptation, however, is multidimensional, since the construction of habitus and, by consequence, practice and social differentiation, is not only affected by class. This is another contribution that my work offers to Bourdieusian studies, as I discuss below.

Intersected fragmented habitus and multiple social differentiation

Critical literature has identified many difficulties with the understanding of the concept of habitus in *Distinction* (see Crossley, 2001; Bennett et al, 2009), which contrasts with Bourdieu’s later work in which habitus is defined in open, loose and flexible terms (Bourdieu, 1990a). As Bennett et al (2009) state, in *Distinction*, Bourdieu insists on the ‘necessary unity of the habitus, anchoring that unity in the conditions of existence, which supply any particular habitus with its determining ground’ (25). This would deny the autonomous force of cultural training related to ‘gender, ethnicity and religion, and provides small scale for the capacity of transnational cultural flows to dismantle habitus that are defined in terms of their relations to classes within a purely national conception of the social’ (27).

As I am not only analysing class in a context of transnational migration, in which class boundaries are re-made and negotiated in a new context, but also how

other social marks intersect with class in producing divisions among the Brazilians in London, I advance Bourdieu's work in *Distinction* by drawing upon a more flexible Bourdesian perspective. In this perspective, habitus is framed with a level of plasticity that is derived from its intrinsic multi-dimensional and intersectional character, as purposed by feminists and other scholars (Silva, 2016; Puwar, 2004; Reay, 1997; Skeggs, 1997; Wacquant, 2016). In *Distinction*, the factors deriving from location in the social space are identified as 'primary', and the demographic characteristics (including gender, age, region and ethnicity) are designated as 'secondary' factors (Bourdieu, 1984). As Weininger (2005) highlights, in his later work Bourdieu abandoned the assumption that the 'life conditions' associated with a location in social space are the fundamental determinants of habitus, also giving an independent role in structuring practice (in a 'multivariate'/intersected logic) to what he had previously called secondary factors, such as gender.

Whatever their position in social space, women have in common the fact that they are separated from men by a negative symbolic coefficient which, like skin color for blacks, or any other sign of membership in a stigmatized group, negatively affects everything that they are and do, and which is the source of a systematic set of homologous differences: despite the vast distance between them, there is something in common between a woman managing director...and the woman production line worker. (Bourdieu, 2001: 93)

Thus, taking habitus in an intersected or multi-varied logic, not only reformulates the logic of practice beyond class, but it also results in a revision of 'the existence and mode of existence of collectives', since 'social class, as a symbolic principle of vision and division' has to compete with 'other principles (including gender) in the classificatory struggle through which collectivities are constituted' (Weininger, 2005: 112-13). This is the approach that feminists and other scholars have been theoretically developing and empirically applying. With a revised and more flexible Bourdesian theory, they have shown how habitus can be used to uncover how class, 'race' and gender are embodied, played out in individuals' actions and attitudes, as well as in a whole range of bodily gestures (Reay, 1997; Puwar, 2004; Skeggs, 1997). Structures of class, 'race', and gender shape the continuous construction of the 'bodily habitus' (Wacquant, 2004; Craig, 2014). As a consequence, scholars have focused on how a gendered/ racialised/classed habitus is used to

understand the ways in which the socially advantaged and disadvantaged perform attitudes - ingrained in their habitus- of cultural superiority and inferiority in daily interactions (Reay, 1997). Such a playing out is also possible because the habitus is not only multi-varied, but also fragmented.

Elizabeth Silva (2016), for instance, emphasises the fragmented aspect of habitus, in which ‘the habitus incorporates differences and is transformed as the person relates to various fields’ simultaneously and over time (170). She argues that ‘to capture the complex relationalities of the contemporary individual’ – often engaged in unconnected multiple relational matrices – a notion of fragmented habitus is more adequate (178). In my work, I draw on the intersected and fragmented constitution of habitus resulting in an intersected and flexible approach to practice and to the formation of social collectivities. It allows me to, on one hand, discuss how the intersection of (an essentialised notion of) ‘culture’ with gender, class with gender, and region with class (and ‘race’ and gender) are used in the construction of hierarchies among Brazilians in London, based on valued (‘moral’) and dis-valued (‘immoral’) lifestyles/taste. On the other hand, it also allows me to verify how, when dealing with classed, gendered, regional or ‘cultural’ stigmatised representation, Brazilians in London play with their multiple relational matrices as a means of managing the stigma and its symbolic violence. Yet, such construction of symbolic boundaries also takes the form of objectified classification with the state production of legal categories.

Institutionalising categories and divisions

The state and social institutions also play an important role in the production of difference. As argued by Weininger (2005), Bourdieu’s theory shows how the fluctuating symbolic boundaries, generated through the play of consumption practices (lifestyle), discussed above, might progressively constitute classifications ‘through processes of discursive identification and collective mobilization’ that codify the collectivities, by making clear cuts, establishing firm frontiers (151). Such constitution of codified frontiers occurs as soon as any collectivity - and the boundary that separates it from other(s) - assents to the level of discourse. As Bourdieu highlights, ‘any predicative statement with “the working class” as its subject conceals an existential statement (there is a working class)’ (Bourdieu, 1991: 250). Thus, here

we can see how differences existing in the ‘practical state’ become transformed into objectified ‘frontiers’ through the linguistic designation of the collective, the name (social label and/or social representation) (Bourdieu 1984: 480). The linguistic designation of a category carries feelings of ‘affinity or incompatibility engendered by similarities or differences of lifestyle - a relatively ‘serial’ state of existence’ (Weininger, 2005: 103). Thus, as Weininger (2005) points out, the verbal designation of the collectivity (‘I am middle-class’) ‘enables an explicit recognition of the membership status of oneself and others’ (103). Yet, social institutions may act beyond the elementary codification that discourses produce, as they have the power to instate and regulate constitutive boundaries characterized by a higher degree of solidity and permanence. This is the case with the educational system, which Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) analyse, as it has the power to issue credentials and certificates. Social categories such as ‘skilled manual workers’, for instance, are constrained by the educational system’s authority to award credentials and to differentiate between types of credentials (‘technical certificates’ or ‘higher degrees’).

Yet, the frontiers demarcating collectivities from one another take their highest level of objectification when they are inscribed into law, produced by the state (Bourdieu, 2014). For Bourdieu (2014), the state, as well as the judiciary, have the power to create social divisions and to reproduce ethno-national ‘social identities’. Through its dominant discourse, categorizations and judgments, the state divides the population between citizens and non-citizens, nationals and non-nationals, economic migrants and asylum seekers (Loyal, 2014; Bourdieu, 2014). Nevertheless, as Villegas (2004) writes, such a process is made alongside cognitive schemas and classifications, which express the power to impose a legitimate vision of the social world, in other words, ‘the power to (re)make reality by establishing, preserving, or altering the binary categories through which agents comprehend and construct that world – as legal/illegal, just/false, moral/immoral, state/individual, citizen/alien etc’ (Villegas, 2004: 60). Thus, far from being only legal categories, these categories are part of a symbolic system, which imbues them with (moral) values and functions based on representations (signs and objects) that are both subjective (mental) and objective (Bourdieu, 2014).

Within this system, the law consecrates the established order by consecrating the vision of that order which is held by the State, ‘being centrally involved in the (re)production of symbolic domination and symbolic violence’ (Loyal, 2014:3). Thus,

the law helps to reproduce arbitrary relations of power, which are masked by the naturalized process of naming and categorizing (Bourdieu, 1987b; Loyal, 2014). However, following Bourdieu (1987b), the law, as well as the state, is a social field – a set of objective and historical relations between positions of social actors and institutions who struggle over the appropriation of symbolic power. In other words, the state is a social space organized around the conversion of direct conflict and struggle between parties, professionals and groups (Villegas, 2004). This approach opens a space for discussing the blurriness within the state itself and its institutions and categories – like the ones produced by immigration laws, which always needs to be de-naturalised and framed within specific contextual power struggles. It is by drawing on this discussion that I am able to analyse, firstly, the blurred institutionalised production of the ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ migrant and secondly, the material and symbolic consequences of the production of this institutionalised divide on how Brazilians live and structure their lives in London. Finally, as these legal categories are also representations based on cognitive schemas and classifications, I also analyse how Brazilians negotiate the stigmatised representation of the migrant (particularly the so called ‘illegal’) through other axes of differentiation, such as class. Therefore, another important theoretical frame for this thesis is how these symbolic and institutionalised processes of classification produce - and are produced by - dynamic representations, which are both objective and subjective, being open for negotiation.

Framing the dynamic representations

As Sayad (2004) argues, social representations are subjective since they are ‘translated into acts of perception and evaluation, cognition and recognition’ – a whole series of ‘acts in which agents invest their material and symbolic interests, their social prejudice, their presuppositions, their whole social being’ (284). Social representations are also objective, due to the fact that ‘all external signs/markers, features and characteristics can become objects of the manipulative symbolic strategies’ (285) we use in the struggle over classification to determine the (mental) representations that others have of those properties.

As Bourdieu (1991) notes, struggles over classifications, such as ‘racial’ and ethnic representations, are struggles over ‘the monopoly of power to make people see

and believe, to get them to know and recognize, to impose the legitimate definition of the divisions of the social world and, thereby, to make and unmake groups' (221). Thus, these representations become part of the maintenance of social and symbolic order by 'setting up frontiers between "us" and "them", the "normal" and the "deviant"/"pathological", "insiders" and "outsiders"' (Hall, 1997a: 258). However, despite being taken as supposedly obvious and natural 'types', scholars have shown how they are social categories that are highly unstable and always incomplete and that the processes in which they are produced need to be constantly repeated – via images, narratives, discourses and practices (Hall, 1997a; Ali, 2005; Bourdieu, 1991).

This instability and open-endedness make room for a series of symbolic strategies in which the subjects try to impose the definition of representation which flatters them the most (Sayad, 2004; Bourdieu, 1991). These representations are both objective and subjective: they incorporate the 'racial'/ethnic, classed and gendered cultural markers of difference including language, clothing, religious practice, eating habits – all the material properties, stigmata or emblems linked with the place of origin and its durable associated marks, such as accents, or colour, which have historically been hierarchically classified (Ali, 2005; Bourdieu, 1991). In other words, on the one hand, they are inscribed in the very being of subjects, in their bodies, habitus and their ways of structuring the social world. On the other hand, they are part of the outside world in which one has to operate, where the representations have an emblematic value and function as they are placed under positive and negative values (Sayad, 2004).

Thus, as Sayad (2004) has argued, the field is open for a whole series of manipulations designed to impose particular representations of oneself and the representation others should have both of the characteristics we agree to regard as distinctive, as well as of those who bear those same differential marks, whether 'racial', classed or gendered. This allows the agents to try to impose the definition or (mental) representation that is in their best social interests by using the properties (external signs, features and characteristics) at their disposal in symbolic manoeuvres aimed at shaping the (mental) representations that others have of those properties. Thus, representation might be understood as something which is not only imposed or ascribed but which is also as a matter of negotiation, connection and imagination - where power can be imposed as well as resisted (Hall, 1997a; 1991; Brah, 1996), depending on the context and on the properties/signals that the subject has at their

disposal. As Bourdieu (1991) argues, ‘symbolic properties, even the most negative, can be used strategically according to the material and symbolic interests of their bearer’ (221). Throughout this thesis, I analyse how Brazilians are constantly negotiating stigmatised representations of the migrant and ‘the community’. Sometimes they contest the stigmatised representations, sometimes they help to reproduce it by re-signifying these stigmatised representations through markers of class, ‘culture’, region (intersected with gender, ‘race’ and documental status) which are inscribed on people’s bodies and spaces. Thus, the main way in which I read the production and negotiation of difference is through bodies and space.

Analysing difference through two forms of matter: Body and Space

Throughout this thesis, I argue that it is mainly through intersecting two forms of ‘matter’ (material substances), the body and space (Alexander and Knowles, 2005; De Genova, 2005) that Brazilians try to re-signify, produce and negotiate stigmatised representation of Brazilians themselves, as well as representations of the migrant and their places.⁷ The migrants’ bodies as well as the places they occupy, I argue in this thesis, carry all the historically racialised/classed/gendered markers of otherness.

The body, as Sayad (2004) argues, in dialogue with Bourdieu, is ‘the object of representation and presentation of the self’ (179). It inhabits the entire group that lives inside of us (habitus), ‘being both a physical individuality and a social product’ (260) that is the locus which carries ‘the markers of a ‘culture’ (261). In other words, the incorporated structures (habitus), live in our bodies and are activated through our practices ‘in the most automatic gesture or the apparently most significant techniques of the body-ways of walking or blowing one’s nose, ways of eating or talking’ (Bourdieu, 1984:466). In this sense, as Skeggs (1997) writes, bodies are ‘the physical

⁷ As highlighted by Knowles (2003), drawing on the work of Doreen Massey (1994), ‘space’ and ‘place’ are not the same. ‘Space is the general category from which places are made’ (Knowles, 2003: 80). Space is a more general category, ‘like personhood, which supplies the basic material from which identity is made, while place have identities’ (80). In other words, ‘space acquires social significance only in a symbiotic relationship with the people using it, and the social categories and their meaning, through which those people are understood and understand themselves’ (80). ‘It is the meaning, use and character of space that makes place’ (96).

sites where the relations of class, gender, 'race', sexuality and age come together and are embodied and practised' (82). As a consequence, the body becomes the node in the articulation of morality and power that produces 'racial'/'ethnic', gendered and classed hierarchies through 'cultural signs' (Wacquant, 2004; Skeggs, 1997; Puwar, 2004). As Puwar (2004) notes, these subtle codes (signs) marked on the body are central to the discriminatory practices by which the dominant group enforce their codes of social differences, making groups through bodied frontiers. This discussion is important for my thesis since it allows me to analyse how Brazilians continuously produce and negotiate difference through (stigmatised) racialised, classed and gendered embodied marks and codes in London.

Difference is also read through space. 'Race'-, ethnicity-, class- and gender-making also takes a spatial practice as a number of social mechanisms, including stories, representations, architecture, smell, sounds and other aesthetic markers connect bodies and spaces (Knowles, 2003). Thus, space contains important information about 'racial', ethnic, gender and classed grammar as forms of social practice (Sibley, 1995; Goldberg, 1996; Knowles, 2003; Puwar, 2004; De Genova, 2005; Gidley and Rooke, 2010). In this sense, systems of racialisation and differentiation can be observed in the social organisation of physical space. Enduring images of 'other' people and 'other' places are combined in the construction of geographies of belonging and exclusion (Sibley, 1995; Levine-Rasky, 2016). As David Sibley (1995) argues, social difference is controlled within the organisation of geographic space, as lines of exclusion are drawn around deviant groups, a parallel process with stereotyping, racialisation, and representations of defilement. Yet, as Dwyer and Jones (2000) point out, physical space can be analysed in terms of its various dimensions: scale (nation, region, locality, neighbourhood), boundaries (of nation, home/workplace, public/private), and extensivity (distance, direction, connectivity, mobility) (212). Cynthia Levine-Rasky (2016), for instance, states that

'race'/space distinctions apply to the 'West'/'East' distinction on a regional scale, the shifting of borders in colonialism and war, and to urban life on a local level. It manufactures social and material boundaries defining exclusion and inclusion for different categories of residents. (62)

By taking into account how racialised and classed images of ‘other’ people and ‘other’ places are symbolically configured through various spatial dimension, I am able to analyse, for instance, how Brazilians produce and mediate, in the neighbourhoods of London, not only racialised representations of the ‘West’/ ‘Rest’ distinction, but also classed and regional Brazilian differences (often intersected by gender and ‘race’). This includes how they classify neighbourhoods as desirable to live in or as being necessary to avoid, as well as how they similarly classify places of leisure such as bars and nightclubs.

Looking Forward

This thesis seek to examine how these migrants are placed in complex relations of production, signification and power in which they are constantly producing and managing difference as a means of legitimating themselves. It is divided into ten chapters. This initial chapter has presented an overview of the study and framed the diverse theoretical perspectives upon which it draws.

Chapter 2 reviews the key literature and theoretical approaches to the themes investigated in this thesis by historically exploring Brazilian migration and how, since colonisation, certain bodies and spaces have been hierarchically constructed through multiple axes of differentiation. I demonstrate how my study draws on previous research on Brazilian migration and also offers an important new contribution to this literature by framing migration in relation to its colonial legacies and to the multiple distinctions existing among migrants. I then demonstrate how bodies and spaces have been produced as inferior and superior, through narratives of physical, intellectual and moral difference, on a global level, within postcolonial Western societies as well as within Brazil.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodological framework that has been adopted for this study. This chapter explains how my research is based on a mixed methods approach, using ethnography and in-depth interviews. I begin by considering the theoretical debates that underpin the various methods chosen, as well as the debate that surrounds researching transnational migrants. I then outline the two specific methodological frameworks chosen to address my research questions, explaining the

rationale behind the approaches and a description of the development of data collection in these two distinct phases. I then move on to reflection on my own positionality in relation to my fieldwork and the research process as well as to problems connected to the practice of carrying out the research. I conclude by reflecting on the ethical considerations related to my research.

Chapter 4 illustrates some of the diversity existing amongst Brazilians in London. By focusing on their lives before migrating, their reasons for leaving Brazil, as well as processes of displacement and working and living as a migrant in London, I argue that the 'Brazilian population' in London is diverse, comprised of individuals belonging to different social strata of Brazil, with different reasons for being in London, performing different kinds of jobs and living in different areas. A varied range of social markers impact both their decisions to migrate and the ways in which their journeys are performed.

Chapter 5 explores the role of the state in the production and negotiation of difference in a world on the move, through the institutionalised production of the 'legal' and 'illegal' migrant. I argue that despite being a blurred divide, the production of '(i)legality' has differential consequences, at both the material and symbolic level, for how Brazilians live and structure their lives in London. Yet, it is this very blurriness that allows Brazilians to reproduce social differentiations among themselves by overlaying representations of documental status with those of class and/or region.

Chapter 6 moves the analysis to the role of 'culture' (as well as 'race' and ethnicity) in the production and negotiation of difference in a globalised world. Focusing on body and space, I argue that Brazilians in London are constantly re-signifying and contesting cultural (as well as 'racial' and ethnic) representations, often intersected with gender, when speaking of and relating to each other as well as to other groups and 'their places', including British people and other migrant groups.

Chapters 7 and 8 also focus on bodies and spaces, but in discussing the production of difference through class. Chapter 7 analyses how the Brazilian middle-class in London speaks of class differences, resulting in divisions among the population. I argue that the Brazilian middle-class reconstitute divisions within the population by distancing themselves from the representation of the 'Brazilian (economic) migrant' and 'the community' through class terms. They invest their energy into invoking every marker – economic, cultural, moral and spatial - that can

be used to define themselves as a (classed) distinguished ‘Brazilian group in London’. Chapter 8 then discusses how the Brazilian working-class also speaks of class division within the ‘Brazilian population’ in London. Yet, this does not result in accounts of a ‘Brazilian working-class community’ in London. I argue that the Brazilian working class are also constantly generating difference through social markers such as ‘culture’ and region, as a way to distance themselves from the stigmatized representation of ‘the migrant worker living within the community’.

Chapter 9 analyses how regional Brazilian differences are re-inscribed and re-signified in the British context, resulting in divisions among the population. Regionalism, I argue, is taken as the main marker in the materialization of the (inferior) Brazilian migrant body – the *Goiano* - for both middle and working-class. Yet, the representation of the Goiano, literally a person from the Brazilian state of Goiás, is in a constant process of production and negotiation, in which both Goianos and non-Goianos participate. Regionalism is also constructed through the interaction with other marker, including class, ‘race’ and gender. Chapter 10 returns to the empirical questions and considers the main findings, highlighting how difference and processes of social differentiation are important for understanding how Brazilians live, make and reinvent their lives in London. It reviews the empirical and theoretical contributions of the study, briefly outlining how some of the main findings of the study can fruitfully be taken forward in future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

In this chapter, I review the key literature and theoretical approaches to the themes investigated in this thesis by historically exploring Brazilian migration and the post- and de-colonial discussion of the racialisation of bodies and spaces through multiple axes of power. I outline how my study critically engages with previous research on Brazilian migration as well as the contribution it offers to this literature in examining migration in the context of its colonial legacies and the complex divisions among migrants. I demonstrate the gap existing in transnational and Brazilian studies in relation to colonial legacies and intra-migrant distinctions. In addressing this gap, I further the literature by drawing on post- and de-colonial studies to present a historical account of how bodies and spaces have been hierarchically produced and re-signified as ‘inferior’ and ‘superior’ since colonisation. It is only by taking these historical processes into account, I argue, that we can fully begin to understand the nuances of migration processes beyond generic (homogenising) typologies as well as how people on the move produce affinities and/or aversions to bodies and spaces.

Framing Brazilian emigration

This section will not only give an account of how Brazilian studies have theoretically framed Brazilian migration phenomena since the 1980s, but also stress some of the limitations of and gaps within this literature. In doing so, I show how my research dialogues with and extends these discussions. Highlighting the shift from within the literature from a macro-economic approach to an approach that emphasizes the formation of transnational networks and Brazilian communities abroad, I argue in this section that these discussions often fail to take into account the diversified experience of Brazilians abroad. They therefore fail to understand important differences in the ways in which Brazilians think about and live their migrant lives.

In contrast, my study demonstrates that Brazilian migrants are in fact a diverse group, composed of people from different classes, regions, genders, who have different reasons for migrating. This diversity transcends the image of the Brazilian migrant as a worker flowing through networks of solidarity, receiving help from the migrant community. Therefore, informed by Knowles's (2014) discussion of journey and mindful of the conflicts and divisions inside migrant populations (Amit and Rapport, 2002; Amin, 2012; Martes, 2011), I argue that studies on transnational (and Brazilian) migration can produce fuller and more complex accounts of migrant life by examining how difference and processes of differentiation interact with migration processes. The concept of journey, as I discuss in this section, gives special attention to how migrants do not simply 'flow' in a uniform manner from country of origin to receiving country, but, constantly negotiate, produce and reinvent their everyday lives in a global world. An examination of these processes, I argue, must also take into account the ways in which different social markers shape transnational migration journeys. In so doing, my study opens the possibility of reading migrants lives from a perspective that is both theoretically informed and empirically grounded.

Brazilian (first wave of) migration beyond the economic

According to the Ministry of Foreign Relations (MRE), in 2012, there were over 2.5 million Brazilians living abroad, in which the main destinations were the United States (1,066,559), Japan (210,032), Paraguay (201,527) and European countries such as Portugal (140,426), Spain (128,238) and the United Kingdom (118,000) (MRE, 2012). Increasing and diversifying since the 1980s Brazilian emigration has often been divided into two different waves.

It was from a context of social, economic and political change⁸ during the 1980s that the first Brazilian wave of migration departed. It is estimated that between

⁸ The 1980s is known as the 'lost decade' or the 'triennium of disillusionment' in Brazil (Sales, 2000). In contrast to the 1970s, when the country experienced an economic growth of 10% per year, the following decade was marked by hyper-inflation, unemployment, low salaries and foreign debt (Toressan, 2012; Leite, 2009). A series of neoliberal policies promoted the opening of domestic markets to imported products, the closure of industrial units, the extinction of secure jobs and an increase in socially informal labour (Leite, 2009). Brazilian unemployment continuously increased from the late 1980s (4.5%) through the early 2000s (10.4%) among individuals between 18 and 59 years old living in urban areas (Reis and Camargo, 2007). This had an impact on the overall standard of living and increasing levels of inequality, which resulted in a general pessimism that Brazil would not become a 'modern country' (Torresan, 2012).

the late 1980s and middle 1990s Brazil experienced a negative net migration of 1.5 million people (Oliveira, 1996). Influenced by macro-economic perspectives (Sassen; 1988; Urry, 2000) that connect international migration to the powerful economic processes of contemporary globalisation, early studies on Brazilian migration focused on the economic instability in Brazil as being the major ‘push’ factor in the flow of Brazilians to the United States, Japan, and European countries (see Margolis, 1994; Sales, 1995; Sasaki, 1995). Brazilian migration was framed as the temporary movement of young middle-class urban individuals to the industrialised Global North to perform jobs that were considered ‘unskilled’ for their qualifications, due to the absence of a dynamic job market for skilled workers in their countries (Margolis 1994; Tsuda 2003). Margolis, for instance, stressed that the population of Brazilians she studied in New York in the 1990s did not fit into the stereotype of the poor and destitute migrants held in the American imagination. They were, she argues:

economic refugees fleeing from a chaotic economy back home [...] They view themselves as sojourners in this country, as temporary visitors here to work for a sliver of the American economic pie to take back with them to Brazil. (1994: xx)

Likewise, studies on Brazilians in Japan also demonstrated that the migrants in that country were single male sojourners with Japanese ancestry who declared an intention to work in ‘unskilled’ menial jobs for a short period of time and then return to Brazil with their savings (Ocada, 2000; Tsuda, 2003). Even though these jobs were classified as ‘dangerous’, ‘dirty’ and ‘difficult’, they would earn, argues Tsuda, ‘five to ten times their Brazilian income’ (2003: xi). Studies on Brazilian migration to Portugal also defined Brazilian migrants from the first wave as a high-skilled group. However, in contrast to their counterparts in the U.S and Japan, middle-class Brazilians in Lisbon would not take on menial jobs and forgo the social status associated with their previous occupation (or education) in Brazil (Malheiros, 2007; Torresan, 2012). As Angela Torresan highlights, with the introduction of Brazilian capital, companies, commodities and cultural symbols in Portugal in the late 1980s, Brazilians in Portugal became ‘a conspicuous population who claimed their rights to be legal immigrants and to carve a privileged place for themselves in the host society’ (2012:113).

Nevertheless, despite broadly proposing that Brazilian migration was generated primarily through economic factors, a few of the early studies on Brazilian migration also questioned the focus on purely economic explanations (Torresan, 1994; Beserra, 2000). The pioneering study by Torresan (1994) on Brazilians in London, as well as her work on Brazilians in Portugal (2012), for instance, shows that migration was a means for middle-class young people to maintain or improve their social class status in a context of crisis, as well as to expand their life experiences and to play with and invent ‘new identities’ (Torresan, 1994: 5). By examining how personal reasons for leaving Brazil intermingled with the effects of the crisis, Torresan (2012) importantly frames the process of migration with meanings and opportunities that were not solely located as narrowly defined economic push factors. She argues:

Leaving their parents’ home, gaining independence from the family, being able to travel, having access to entertainment, being able to consume quality goods, and being able to live in a country without intense social inequality, where they would be entitled to a sense of citizenship and personal safety: these were the important issues to people escaping not only from relative economic hardship but from a class position that was in collusion with a political and economic system they regarded as corrupt [...] International migration was a project of personal emancipation and a political response to the sense of estrangement produced by the interruption of their assumed natural middle-class cycle, the misrepresentation of democracy, and the skewed modernity of the 1980s and 1990s. (2012:126)

Also trying to go beyond purely economic explanations, Bernadete Beserra (2000) suggests that studies on Brazilian migration to the United States must consider the ways in which American imperialist ideologies have penetrated Brazilian society. Studying Brazilians in Los Angeles, Beserra argues that migration ‘needs to be examined as a social, cultural and political product’ (Beserra, 2000: 22). Using Bourdieu’s notion of different forms of capital, Beserra analyses migration as a means of acquiring not only economic but also cultural, social and symbolic capital, for instance, through learning another language or having a cultural experience. Moreover, she is concerned with how within narratives of ‘improving lives’ or ‘reinventing identities’ lies a very particular ideology that must be unveiled in order to allow a deeper understanding of the migration process from the perspective of the migrant. She notes:

American ideologies diffuse new standards of consumption and new ways of understanding life and happiness across the globe. This is so much the case that the dreams that brought and keep bringing Brazilians to the United States are particularly connected with the impossibility of accomplishing at home the ideals of material and cultural consumption promoted by the United States. (2000:23)

Similarly, Margolis (2013) considers the widespread ideology in Brazil that ‘all that is “modern” is located abroad – in the United States and in Western Europe.’ ‘Thus,’ she writes, ‘Brazilians can achieve such transition [to becoming modern] only by moving to an industrialized country, that is, relocating away from what is “Brazilian”’ (18).

Moving beyond the premise that migration from the Global South to the North is a solely economic phenomenon, as Torresan’s and Beserra’s have done, is central to my conceptual approach in analyzing the movement of Brazilians to London. I deepen the analysis by undertaking nuanced ethnography to consider how macro- and micro-contexts intermingle in the impetus to migrate. For instance, like Beserra, I also pay close attention to how migrants’ ideas of ‘improving their lives’ are often linked with aspirations of obtaining what they imagine as a Western way of life (Appadurai, 1996). However, my analysis goes further by arguing that their images, desires and possibilities of having a particular Western lifestyle are differently shaped by social markers, such as class and gender. Taking into account these social markers has become even more important as the Brazilian population abroad has become more diverse in terms of class, as well as regional background and gender. I will discuss this below.

Brazilian second wave of migration and transnational ties

In the effort to complicate purely economic perspectives on Brazilian migration, studies in the late 1990s and 2000s (Soares 2002, Siqueira 2009; Assis et al 2010) began to engage with transnational analysis (Vertovec, 1999; Levitt 2001). These studies took the processes of return and settlement produced by the first wave of Brazilian migration as the main grounds from which to explain why a new trajectory of Brazilian migration gained force from the late 1990s. They argued that many migrants from the 1980s not only did not return to Brazil, but also settled and

invested in businesses and services for Brazilians in the host societies, such as Brazilian restaurants, shops, non-government organizations and churches. This further established 'Brazilians communities' abroad and attracted new waves of migrants (Margolis, 1994; Sasaki, 2006; Kubal et al 2011). As Margolis argues, Brazilians settled in New York, and 'as more and more immigrants go through this process, a community of sojourners is transformed into a community of settlers' (1994:275). Moreover, many people who returned to Brazil used their own 'success story' to incentivise others to migrate and thus profit from their own experience abroad. According to Sasaki (2006), when the first generation of Japanese Brazilian migrants returned from Japan, many of them opened agencies specializing in connecting Brazilian workers with Japanese companies.

Therefore, studies on Brazilians abroad have demonstrated how social network analysis helps in understanding what motivates Brazilians to emigrate and their reasons for choosing particular destinations; how Brazilians articulate themselves when they arrive in the host country; and how social ties create both community facilities and personal profits during the displacement process (Fusco, 2002; Padilla, 2006; Siqueira 2009, Sheringham 2011). As Peixoto (2002) notes, informal social networks have an important effect on Brazilian migration as 'they help to spread information, they act as economic and social support for movements, and they can even instill a culture of mobility (penetrating individual decisions)' (2002:485).

In addition, studies carried out in the receiving countries also highlight the existent connections between specific Brazilian and receiving cities/regions. Some Brazilian cities – such as Governador Valadares and Criciúma – have created transnational links, 'sending' people to specific regions of the U.S. (Fusco, 2002; Soares, 2002); other Brazilian regions have similar links to locations in Portugal (Machado, 2005), Spain (Solé et al., 2011), Japan (Sasaki, 2006) and Ireland (Sheringham, 2009). Olivia Sheringham, for instance, highlights how six pioneer Brazilian migrants from the city of Anápolis in the central state of Goiás 'helped to give rise to a migratory flow to the small Irish town of Gort' (2009:96). Although this network expanded and diversified the Brazilian population in Gort, Sheringham argues that 'the majority [of Brazilians] engage in practices that reflect the forging of a common sense of Brazilian identity in the town and facilitate the maintenance of ties to people and places in Brazil' (*ibid*: 101).

Yet, the constitution of these networks was additionally enabled by other structural elements, such as credit facilities and cheaper air fares (Padilla, 2006). This was intensified with the positive economic conditions Brazil experienced from the mid 2000s. With a nominal GDP of \$2.48 trillion, Brazil was ranked as the sixth largest economy in 2011, and unemployment rates fell from around 13% in 2003, to 4.6% in 2012 (IMF, 2012). Social policies were aimed at reducing social inequalities, at the same time, increasing the power of consumption of the population in general. A significant part of the population began having access to goods and services that would have been previously unimaginable – such as facilities to travel (see Dias, 2016). Thus, the greater economic stability that Brazil experienced in the late 2000s did not stall levels of emigration. Rather, the numbers of Brazilians living abroad has increased over the last twelve years. As Margolis (2008: 342) writes of the 2000s, ‘emigration has become a national phenomenon in Brazil.’

This so-called second wave of migration, as noted, diversified the Brazilian population abroad in terms of social class, gender and regional origin (Ribeiro, 1998; Martes, 2011). Before the 2000s most Brazilian migrants had been portrayed as young, male, middle-class and predominantly from Southern and Southeastern states - the richest part of the country. After 2000, migration from the less privileged Central and Northeastern regions started to increase as well as the numbers of working-class Brazilian migrants (Ribeiro, 1998; Martes, 2011; Torresan, 2012). In order to understand and contextualise the migration of Brazilians into London, it is worth paying attention to how the so-called second wave diversified the experiences of Brazilians abroad. In my thesis, I show how this diversification impacts how Brazilians live their lives in London as well as how they relate to each other and to the city.

However the consequences of this diversification are neglected in the majority of the studies mentioned above, which tend to broadly analyse the image of the Brazilian migrant as a worker utilizing networks of ethnic solidarity in search of better economic opportunities (Fusco, 2002; Goza, 2003; Sasaki, 2006). My theoretical approach conversely refuses to see the Brazilian migrant as a homogenous category in terms of its social composition or motivations for migrating. Rather, my study is informed by and adds to recent research on Brazilians that has begun to take into account the fragmented experience and diverse host-country lifestyles of migrant populations. The migrant experiences of women, transgender people, and children

have been explored in recent literature (see Assis and Kosminsky, 2008; Piscitelli et al., 2011). In these studies, the social markers of gender and sexuality are taken into account not only in the analysis of the individuals' decisions to migrate, but also in their distinct experiences abroad. Among these studies, gender in particular becomes an important focal point.

As Padilla (2006) argues, even though migration scholars (Hagan 1998, Menjivar 1998) have identified the importance of considering gender differences in migration and in the use of networks, early work on Brazilian migration failed to do so, tending to by-pass women as migrants in general. Findings on Brazilian women suggest that men and women may have different motivations for migrating, face different risks in doing so, and use different types of networks and resources. Additionally, women may face more opposition than men when trying to migrate (Beserra, 2000; Assis 2002; Padilla 2006). Gender, I argue in my thesis, also has an important role in differently shaping how Brazilians' lives are structured in London. My study further adds to scholarly discussions by showing the importance of paying attention to the intersection of class and gender. My data demonstrates that Brazilian women's experiences of the migration process are sharply differentiated by their economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital.

Studies have also focused on the intersection of gender and sexuality in shaping the lives of Brazilian women abroad (Beserra, 2000; Malheiros and Padilla, 2014). Beserra's (2000) work on Brazilians in Los Angeles as well as Jorge Malheiros and Beatris Padilla's (2014) work on Brazilians in Portugal show how Brazilian women constantly need to deal with the stigmatised and sexualised image of Brazilian women abroad. Beserra (2000), for instance, discusses how the everyday life of Brazilian women in the US is constrained by the myth of the Brazilian woman as exotic, sensual and beautiful. Behind this exoticisation of Brazilian women lies the notion of a hyper-sexualised body that carries the symbolic markers of 'primitiveness'. My data on Brazilians in London brings similar findings to the fore, highlighting how women, as well as men, must frequently negotiate such sexualised and exoticised representations in particular contexts. Yet, my data also shows that this negotiation is shaped in distinct ways by the individual's class (and often 'racial') positioning.

Thus, my thesis engages with and adds to recent transnational studies that challenge the conceptualisation of Brazilian migration as a unidirectional mobility

from sending to host societies, and which recognizes the diverse experiences among the group. Besides taking into account the connection built between the sending and receiving societies when analysing and theorising migration processes, I frame Brazilian migrants as a diverse group, composed of people from different classes, regions, genders and motivated by different ambitions. Martes (2011) writes that when conducting her research, it was very difficult for her to speak of ‘the Brazilian migrant’ in Massachusetts, since the Brazilian population there is so heterogeneous; the reasons Brazilians relocated were varied and the ways they lived were equally differentiated. In order to fully analyse the similarly heterogeneous Brazilian population in London, in my research I examine Brazilian migration through the use of Caroline Knowles’ (2014) concept of journey⁹, as I will discuss in more detail in the Methodology chapter. For Knowles, people and objects do not simply flow through migrant networks, as some migration studies have suggested (Urry, 2000; Sassen, 1988; Tilly, 1990). Rather, they ‘bump awkwardly along the pathways they create, backtrack, grate, [and] move off in new directions, propelled by different intersecting logics’ (Knowles, 2014:7). Paying attention to the connections and contexts of both sending and receiving societies, as well as the diversity existing within the Brazilian population abroad, and drawing on Knowles’ concept of journey allows me to give a nuanced analysis of how the experiences of Brazilians in London are directly shaped by the intersection of multiple social markers. In addition to discussing how these social markers differently shape their journeys, I argue throughout this thesis that the ways in which migrants themselves constantly reproduce and contest them problematize assumptions about ‘communities’ of ‘ethnic solidarity’. This is discussed below.

Migration beyond ‘ethnic community’

As Amit and Raport (2002) observe, transnational studies have a tendency to conflate social networks and communities, sharing a presupposition that transnational processes and practices involve, necessarily, the production of ethnic collectivities across the borders of the nation state. Theoretically, the concept of community in

⁹ Knowles writes: ‘Journey is a thinking tool with which we can make sense of a world on the move ... the concept of journeys describes the matrix of people’s coming and going in ways that lend them to cartography’ (Knowles, 2014: 9)

earlier studies related to interacting groupings of people in a particular place. The main example is Tonnies's (1957) classical approach, which treated the *Gemeinschaft* (community) in opposition to *Gesellschaft* (society), with the former being perceived as the place that has a feeling of togetherness and mutual bonds. Community is conceptualised as a cohesive social group, while society is conceptualised as a group in which individuals are motivated to take part purely by self-interest. In other words, since its beginning, the concept has carried with it ideological baggage. The idea of community was taken by Tonnies (1957) and other classical sociologists, such as Weber (1991), as a pre-modern/non-capitalist 'organic' form of social grouping, used to 'understand' (and divide) 'Western-European societies' and 'non-European communities'. In these classic studies, as Kosnick (2009) argues, community is distinguished by its tight-knit bonds, shared genealogy, clearly defined membership, temporal continuity and lack of individual autonomy.

In contemporary social theory, the concept of community has been re-signified through the discussion of the creation of the nation as an 'imagined' political community (Anderson, 1983). According to Benedict Anderson (1983), the nation is 'imagined' because members of a nation 'may never know most of their fellow-members', although, 'in the minds of each, lives the image of their communion' (6). Thus, this approach opens the possibility of examining the sense of commonality and mutual identification that can develop among large dispersed populations. This notion 'releases' the concept of community from Tonnies's traditional face-to-face collectivity of consociates bound in harmony. Thus, as Amit and Rapport (2002) note, in contrast to the earlier anthropological/sociological focus on actual interaction, the idea of community has now been incorporated into work on migration, social networks and transnational connections. These transnational communities are usually defined as:

social groups emerging from mutual interaction across national boundaries, oriented around a common project and/or 'imagined' identity which is constructed and sustained through the active engagement and involvement of at least some of its members [...] transnational communities imply transnational networks, but they are more than that since the notion of community connotes a sense of belonging to a common 'culture' in the broadest sense. (Djelic and Quack, 2010: xix)

Thus, the notion of belonging to a common ‘culture’ would construct the transnational community as a locus of ethnic solidarity (Light, 2007). It is important to highlight that the idea that belonging to a ‘common culture’ produces community as a homogenous whole bounded by ethnic solidarity has been historically questioned (Silverman 1979; Alexander, 2012; Back, 2009). By paying attention to the situational constructedness of community, Claire Alexander (2012: 443), for instance, calls our attention to the argument that membership cannot simply be taken for granted on the grounds of perceived racial, ethnic or religious affiliation. Yet, as Martes and Fazito (2010) argue, transnational scholars tend to take solidarity among migrants of the same national group as a given and not as an object of research. This is often the case in the majority of literature on Brazilians in the late 1990s and 2000s (Soares, 2002; Goza, 2003; Assis et al, 2010). These studies often overlook the conflicts, competitions and processes of social differentiation within the ‘Brazilian community’ they analyse. As Martes (2011: 31) argues, ‘taking ethnic solidarity as a presupposed reference mitigates relationships based on power, conflict, and competition in favour of positive relationships of reciprocity within the group’. Therefore, I argue that by celebrating ‘ethnic commonality’, transnational studies often silence how people are constantly both producing difference and subject to processes of differentiation (Kosnick, 2009; Amin, 2012). In doing so, as Ash Amin (2012) points out, these studies ignore how negative feelings - such as anger, terror, suspicion, delusion and betrayal - are produced in the spaces of everyday affiliation by circulating images, words, things and bodies. These feelings result in the constitution of binaries, such as friends/enemies, home/outside.

Therefore, in dialogue with Amit and Rapport (2002), Amin (2012), Martes (2011) and Kosnic (2009), I argue that despite the importance of social ties during the processes of displacement and settlement, the direct links of social networks and migrant communities need to be questioned and further problematized to ensure that our analyses do not take institutions and collectivities for granted. Scholars have shown, for instance, how networks formed through co-nationality, kinship and/or friendships can reproduce relations of subordination in the host society (Portes, 1998; Sydow, 2003). With this in mind, my study transcends pre-assumptions of ‘ethnic solidarity’ by also considering the conflicts and divisions within London’s Brazilian population. Besides highlighting how social networks can also reproduce relations of subordination and exploitation, my thesis also pays attention to processes of social

differentiation within the population. Therefore, how differences are integral to the context of both journeys and ‘community making’ in tension (or lack thereof) is central to my research focus and contribution.

When social scientists refer to communities abroad, I argue, it is important to understand the composition of the group in question and to observe how social differences can result in processes of social differentiation. Drawing upon Martes and Fazito (2010), I argue in this thesis that given the diversification of the population abroad, Brazilian migration is an interesting case in terms of problematising the limits of ethnic solidarity. Research on Brazilians in the US, for instance, has highlighted conflicts and narratives of a lack of solidarity (Margolis, 2003; Martes, 2003). In her work on Brazilians in New York in the early 90s, Margolis (1994:195-219) notes that despite migrants structuring their lives with the help of other Brazilians, there was a sense of lack of community among them. She argues that one of the reasons for this was that they saw themselves as sojourners and not as migrants. As such, they would not, for example, spend their time engaging with community organisations. Yet, as Martes (2011) subsequently highlights in her work on Brazilians in Massachusetts, many migrants, whether or not they viewed their migration project as temporary, were reluctant to put themselves in the category of ‘migrant’. Rather, they tended to speak of themselves as ‘people living in another country’. Importantly, the desire to avoid being classified as a migrant as well as the lack of a sense of community were accompanied in migrant accounts by negative images of other Brazilians. Brazilians in these studies were described as not helping each other and only thinking about making money (Margolis, 2003; Martes, 2003).

Similarly, Beserra (2000), noticed that many Brazilians in Los Angeles refused to publicly associate or admit an association with other Brazilians. This dissociation seemed to be an important requirement for those who believed in the necessity of their ‘assimilation’ into American society. Relatedly, Martes’ research on Brazilians in Boston (2011) shows that while they had a generally positive attitude towards Americans, the same did not extend with the same intensity to their own co-nationals. She concludes that ‘having Brazilian nationality is not always enough for people to identify, associate and socialise with each other’ (163).

Yet, Martes (2003) also argues that ethnic identification has an instrumental nature among Brazilians. At the same time that Brazilians tend to have a positive attitude to Americans and to avoid Brazilians, narratives of a valued ‘Brazilian

identity' emerge when they try to construct an identity in opposition to Hispanics. In New York (Margolis, 2003) as well as in Boston (Martes, 2003), Brazilians assert their identity through a discourse of not being 'like Hispanics', seen as the 'inferior other' and represented as poorer and less educated than Brazilians. Conversely, as Martes (*idem*) states, no matter how undesirable the Hispanic category is often perceived to be, it does not mean that Brazilians will not adopt this identification in specific circumstances and in an instrumental way: when they can benefit from a quota system, for instance. This is the case with Brazilians in Miami (Oliveira, 2003) where the 'Hispanic community' is politically well-organized so that classifying oneself as Hispanic may be advantageous. Thus, continuous processes of differentiation and dis-identification are central to the ways in which Brazilian migrants make and negotiate their lives abroad. My ethnography gives much needed consideration to these processes in the British context, enriching our knowledge of Brazilian migration overall and opening future opportunities for transnational comparisons.

Migration studies in the US also show how the diversity within Brazilian populations abroad can result in processes of social differentiation. Brazilians in some cities of the US produce internal divisions amongst themselves through narratives of 'us vs. them', constructing a 'superior Brazilian' opposed to an 'inferior' one, who is 'morally dirty' - rude, ignorant, and uncivilised (Margolis, 2003; Martes, 2003; Oliveira, 2003). Instead of ethnic solidarity, prejudice and discrimination emerge among Brazilians. Brazilian regional differences, social class, the type of job they perform in the host society as well as documental status are the main markers used in narratives of social differentiation and spatial segmentation among Brazilians living in some cities of the US. (Margolis, 2003; Martes, 2003; Oliveira, 2003). Oliveira's research (2003), for instance, shows that in Florida, the inferior other is imagined as the figure of the '*Mineiro*', from Minas Gerais state, who lives in the city of Pompano Beach in the US. The Mineiro is seen as an 'outsider' who fits with the image of the economic migrant - the one who performs 'dirty and unskilled' work - in contrast to the 'established' Brazilian middle class who live in Miami-Dade, many being small traders. The 'established' Brazilian is usually described as being *Paulista*, from São Paulo state, or *Cariocas*, from Rio de Janeiro state. The 'established' claim they would not mix with the Brazilians from 'Pompano Beach' as the latter are regarded as untrustworthy and seen as being 'illegal migrants'. Similar divisions between the

‘legal’ middle class and the ‘illegal’ lower classes have also been shown in research on Brazilians in Amsterdam (Roggeveen and Meeteren, 2013).

Brazilians in London, my data shows, are also reluctant to identify themselves as migrants and they often speak of divisions and conflicts among the population, instead of being part of a community. However, whilst in dialogue with the studies outlined above, my analytical discussion moves beyond them by raising further questions about how and why Brazilians construct affinities and exclusions. The studies mentioned above often do not consider, for instance, how the categories that Brazilians avoid identifying with – such as ‘Brazilian’, ‘migrant’, ‘illegal’ – come to be loaded with racialised and classed stigma. By failing to do so, they do not consider how migrants’ re-construction of class and regional differences in their new context might be strategies to deal with stigmatised representations of migrants and their communities, or how these processes are bound up with the historical inscription of Brazilian bodies and spaces as ‘inferior’ and uncivilised. As Les Back (2009) argues, the categories through which community is named need to be interrogated for how they are implicated in ethnic and racial ontology, which are historical creations. In this sense, my thesis puts Back’s argument in place by taking into account not only the historically racialised composition of community and its categories, but also its relationship to class.

As I have begun to suggest, in order for me to understand the experiences of Brazilian migrants, and the divisions between them, it was necessary to understand how categories of difference in the present continue to reproduce restructured hierarchical relationships constructed in the colonial and post-colonial era. I came to this realisation when my fieldwork threw up things that I was not expecting, such as when participants would evoke racialised colonial representations of bodies and spaces to describe how they think about and live their lives in London. As Bhabra (2013) notes, ‘any theory that seeks to address the question of “how we live in the world” cannot treat as irrelevant the historical configuration of that world’ (307). It is only by taking into account the constitution of the colonial global, and its ‘others’, that we can understand how the global (mobile) present, and its ‘others’, came to be constituted as such. Such an analysis is largely absent from both transnational and Brazilian migration studies (see Beserra, 2000 and Malheiros and Padilla, 2014 for notable exceptions). Examining colonial legacies allowed me to develop a multi-dimensional analysis of the ways in which migrants create attachments and

disassociations, as well as to further problematize the generic representations of migrants often reproduced in transnational studies.

As discussed above, transnational literature has provided important insights for the study of migration, such as taking into account migrants' more complex and multidirectional interactions between countries of origin and arrival, thus allowing for a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of 'race', class and gender. Yet, like Grosfoguel et al (2014), I argue that there is a lack of understanding of the transnationalist migratory experience in relation to colonial legacies and to the multiple distinctions existing among and between migrants. These absences enable the reproduction of generic representations of migration as 'the immigrant analogy from the South (from below)' present in transnational studies. The transnational migrant is, implicitly, a generic 'Third World migrant who circulates between two nation-states and whose political, cultural and identity allegiances are divided between two nations' (Grosfoguel, 2013:644). This particular generic type of migration is formulated in contradistinction to the 'immigrant analogy from the North' (Grosfoguel, 2013), which can be seen, I argue, in the idea of 'lifestyle migration'. Scholars' differentiation of the migration process from the Global North as a 'lifestyle migration' illustrates how these two generic types are still implicit in migration studies. Lifestyle migration (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Knowles and Harper, 2009) is a generic term used to discuss relatively affluent individuals of all ages from the Global North, who choose to migrate to places they believe offer them the potential of a better quality of life (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009). Understood as transcending purely economic factors, their motivations are seen to involve 'the (re)negotiation of the work – life balance, the pursuit of a good quality of life and freedom from prior constraints' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009:2). Thus, migrating for lifestyle reasons is identified as a distinct feature of 'Global North migration'. In opposition, 'Global South migration' is still (implicitly) generically mapped as dependent upon 'push' and 'pull' factors. My research contributes to this discussion by empirically demonstrating that such clear-cut representations can only be constructed if the colonial legacies present in migration processes and the diverse and multiple complexities of migrants' lives are disregarded. Post- and de-colonial discussions have thus been essential to my analysis, since my data shows that Brazilians unconsciously draw on some of these framings when articulating their lives in London.

Therefore, in the next section I draw on the de-colonial concept of 'coloniality

of power' to examine how bodies and spaces have been hierarchically produced and re-signified since colonisation outside and within the Western world. This discussion will allow me to develop a more nuanced understanding of migration processes beyond generic typologies as well as how people on the move relate to bodies and spaces beyond assumptions of 'ethnic commonality'.

Racialised bodies and spaces

There is often a gap between recent studies of migration and the scholarship on 'race' and post-colonial studies, even though much of migration scholarship has looked at the different contexts and journeys of people on the move. Post and de-colonial studies have argued for the need to take into account the histories of colonialism and empire in the understandings of the contemporary global world (Bhambra, 2013; Hall, 1989; Gilroy, 1993; Grosfoguel et al, 2014). Drawing on these insights, I argue that we cannot properly understand how Brazilians' diverse journeys in London without understanding how bodies and spaces have been constructed as 'inferior' and 'superior', through the designation of moral, physical and intellectual differences, both outside and within Western societies since colonialism.

Using the de-colonial concept of 'coloniality power', in this section I provide a historical account of how 'migrant' and 'community' become the racialised other/space within postcolonial Western societies; how Brazil and its inhabitants have been constructed as having an exotic non-modern culture; and how bodies and spaces within Brazil have been represented as inferior through the intersection of class, 'race', region and gender. My thesis brings to the fore the importance of reading migrants' everyday social relations within historical processes of the (re)production of power on a global level.

Racialising 'the West' and 'the rest'

Latin American de-colonial scholars (see the work of Quijano, 2000; Grosfoguel, 2013) conceptualize the present world system as a historical-structural

heterogeneous totality with a specific power matrix. The so-called ‘colonial power matrix’ (Quijano, 2000) is understood to be the result of the intersection of multiple and heterogeneous global hierarchies, where the racial/ethnic European/non-European divide transversally reconfigures all other global power structures (Grosfoguel, 2011; Quijano, 2000). As Grosfoguel (2011: no pagination) argues, what arrived in the Americas in the 16th century was not only an economic system of capital and labour; ‘it was a complex world-system’ and “‘race”, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and epistemology were an integral, entangled and constitutive part of its “broad package”’. This colonial package, which Grosfoguel refers to as ‘the European modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world-system’, marked a strict divide between Europeans and ‘others’ through racialised narratives of moral, physical and intellectual hierarchies. As Anibal Quijano (2000) argues, one of the fundamental axes of the colonial model of power was the Eurocentric social classification of the world’s population around the idea of ‘race’. This production of racialised hierarchies has been constructed and marked in diverse ways, depending on the local/colonial history. As Grosfoguel et al state, racialisation does not only occur through the marking of bodies by skin colours, but also ‘through ethnic, linguistic, religious or cultural markers’ (2014:637). For instance, when Columbus arrived in America, he stated that he found people without religion or souls. According to this framing, they were not considered human but animal-like and could therefore be killed and enslaved (Grosfoguel, 2013). This logic led to the homogenization of heterogeneous groups - Incas, Aztecs, Mayas. All became known as ‘Indians’, just as diverse ethnic groups in different African countries became known as ‘Blacks’. These processes of racialisation produced the European body as physically, intellectually and morally superior to ‘Indians’ and ‘Blacks’ (Quijano, 2000; Grosfoguel, 2013).

Even though the racialised divide of European / ‘others’ was initially based on religious differences, the marker of religion was slowly replaced by colour racism with the advance of the so-called modern sciences (Grosfoguel, 2013). As Mills (1997) highlights, in the 17th century the broad distinction made between Europeans and all others was imbued with a philosophical/scientific explanation, being constructed in connection to the formation of the ‘liberal/modern social pact’ and its ‘rational’ Universal Man (also see McClintock, 1995). The so-called liberal social pact/contract was based on the ideas of the Enlightenment movement of the late 17th and 18th centuries which, by emphasizing reason and individualism rather than tradition,

analysed the history of human civilization as a trajectory that ‘departed from a state of nature and culminated in Europe’ (Quijano, 2000:542). As a consequence, this liberal modern philosophical assumption has been highly influential in modern Westernized projects of knowledge production and domination (Grosfoguel, 2013; McClintock, 1995). For instance, Descartes’ (1999 [1637]) most famous phrase, ‘I think, therefore I am’ (*Cogito ergo sum*) is based on the claim that ‘the mind is of a different substance from the body, which allows for the mind to be undetermined, unconditioned by the body’ (Grosfoguel, 2013:75). This claim was the essence of the enlightenment idea of the formation of the modern universal humanity, in which the rational (European) man was seen as able to control the body (nature): an ability that non-Europeans bodies were marked as not possessing. Yet, the Cartesians’ ‘rational Universal Man’ was figured not only in racialised but also gendered and classed terms, which in turn were used to justify ‘racial’, gender, and class inequities (McClintock, 1995; Frost, 2011). The image of the ‘universal man’ was a white Western upper-class man (the civilised mind). Those bodies and spaces which did not fit into this particular ‘intersected category’ (white, Western, upper-class man) were not included in the ‘liberal/modern social pact’, justifying their social inequality and domination by pointing to their alleged moral and intellectual inferiority (Mills, 1997; McClintock, 1995).

Thus, post- and de- colonial scholars have shown at the same time that modern science and knowledge were revolutionary, they were also reactionary, being used as instruments to control those populations seen as ‘body and not mind’ (Hardt and Negri, 2000; Grosfoguel, 2007; Gilroy, 2000). In this context, the racialised explanation of ‘not having a soul’ was re-signified by the racial sciences to ‘not having the [correct] human biology’, justifying racist domination in the European colonies (Grosfoguel, 2013: 83-84; also see Gilroy, 2000). As Puwar (2004) discusses, in this modern scientific process of racialisation, non-European bodies were represented as savage and uncivilized and non- European spaces as wildernesses, both in need of taming, while white bodies were associated with spirit and mind. Thus, the process of racialisation of groups was interlinked with the creation of racialised spaces.

As Knowles (2003) outlines, there is a spatial dimension of ‘race’ making. ‘Race’ and ethnicity become attached, through a number of social mechanisms, including stories, to physical space or territory. Since colonisation, stories connecting

'race' and spaces have carried a history of imaginary geographies on a global scale, in which spatial and cultural boundaries have been drawn between 'civilization' and various uncivilized, deviant 'others' (Sibley, 1995). In this process, space was used to establish a hierarchy, which distinguished civilized Europeans from uncivilized native peoples (Levine-Rasky, 2016; Sibley, 1995; De Genova, 2005). As Sibley argues, the world colonial map, with civilization in the centre and the grotesque adorning the periphery, illustrated that while there was a 'fascination with non-European cultures...there were both moral and economic arguments for representing these cultures as less than human, a part of nature, or monstrous' (1995: 52).

Such racialised and spatialised division did not come to an end with the discrediting of the racial sciences in the 20th century. Rather, people and spaces continued to be ranked through allegedly superior and inferior cultural habits (Grosfoguel, 2002; Goldberg and Giroux, 2014; Brah, 1996). As Brah (1996) argues, this new form of racism 'combines the disavowal of biological superiority or inferiority with a focus on "a way of life", on cultural difference, as the "natural" basis for feelings of antagonism towards outsiders' (163), who are constructed through a variety of axes such as gender, religion, language, caste or class. Thus, the colonial matrix of power has been continually restructured and re-signified through different markers, even after the process of 'de-colonization' (Quijano, 2000; Grosfoguel, 2013). This emphasis on culture instead of biology, as Grosfoguel writes, has been legitimized by 'academic approaches that portray high poverty rates among people of color in terms of their traditional, inadequate, under-developed, and inferior cultural values' (2002: 213). The way in which Brazil and its population have been stigmatised as 'non-modern', exotic and uncivilized in comparison to 'modern' Western Europe and later the US is an example of this, as I will discuss below. Understanding such historical processes and representations, I argue, allows me to develop a more multi-faceted analysis of, for instance, the desires of Brazilians to migrate to the 'Western world' as well as to understand how they speak of their co-nationals in London in racialised terms.

Racialising Brazil and Brazilians

Brazil, in colonial and post-colonial times, has been tied to the racial project of leaving behind its alleged exoticness and lack of civilization to become a modern,

civilised country. Since the arrival of Portuguese colonisers, Brazil and the bodies of Brazilians have been continuously constructed in sexualised and racialised terms. As Beserra (2007; 2000) shows, the initial exotic image of Brazil was shaped by the European belief that there was no sin below the equatorial tropic: the practically unknown territory was imagined as a paradise on earth, without laws, suffering, work or punishment. However, such images and fantasies projected by Europeans onto the 'rest of the world' have always been constructed around the idea that primitivism has already been overcome in the 'civilised countries'. As Said (1978) illustrates, 'primitive', 'savage', 'immoral', are terms that always place 'the exotic' in a position which requires intervention, help or domination from the civilised. This representation, which became widespread in Europe in the 17th century, has been continuously reproduced and re-signified through the centuries, also being reinforced by Brazilians themselves, in their pursuit, undertaken since independence in 1822, to become a modern nation.

Although the Brazilian Empire (1823-1889) kept colonial links with Portugal after independence, the so-called Brazilian First Republic (1889-1929) sought to 'civilise' Brazil through the adoption of new institutions, the Europeanization of habits (Freyre, 1969) and the implementation of programs incentivising European immigration (Seyferth, 1990; Schwarcz, 1993). As Portugal and Spain had already lost their position as central powers in the colonial world system to the 'modern' Great Britain, the First Republic tried to distance Brazil from its Portuguese colonial heritage as an attempt to become a modern 'civilised nation'. On the one hand, Brazilians tried to be closer to, and to imitate, French and British costumes and habits (Guimarães, 2002), as the Portuguese had become stereotyped and ridiculed as dim-witted and traditional. On the other hand, influenced by eugenic racial assumptions, Brazilian scientists believed that bringing white Europeans – preferably non-Iberians - to Brazil would help to improve the nation's mixed 'blood'. Making Brazil 'whiter' would, by consequence, help to develop Brazil as a civilised nation. Yet, discourses of race and racial mixedness in Brazil shifted considerably from the early 20th century (see Guimarães, 2002).

In the 1930s, the decade considered to be central to Brazilian modernisation and industrialization, the state, intellectuals and artists tried to create a new idea of the nation for Brazil. Brazilian people would live in, and be the product of, a racial democracy, a hybrid society (Freyre, 1969). Yet, the notion of hybrid 'race'/culture

was also the basis from which Brazil and Brazilians continued to be racialised as non-modern (Guimarães, 2002; Souza, 2012). The old myth of the tropical paradise from the 17th century shaped and inspired the creation of new myths, in which Brazil, now a cultural hybrid country and a racial democracy, became a place of happiness, cordiality and sensuality (Beserra, 2007). As Beserra (2007) comments, this image is strongly represented in what later became the symbols of 'Brazilian national identity' - football, carnival and samba. However, such symbols are not only connected to primitivism, but work to commodify the supposedly primitive body, place and 'culture', in the form of music, dance, sex and food.

Moreover, this exotic hybridity has also been used by intellectuals to explain the perceived vestiges of traditional forms of organising society and politics in Brazil, such as the notion of personalism (Holanda, 1995) and its institutional dimension, patrimonialism (Faoro, 1998). In this discourse, having a hybrid culture means that the 'traditional' Portuguese cultural heritage is still in Brazilian bodies and political institutions, thus resulting in the determinism of personal relations in the ways Brazilians structure their social (personalism) and political (patrimonialism) lives. As Jessé Souza (2004) argues, these 'remnants' of 'pre-modern' features have been used and re-signified by intellectuals to explain permanent inequality and exclusion in 'the peripheral world'. The classic theory of modernisation from the 1950s and 1960s (Bernstein, 1971) is the main base for this discussion.

As Souza (2004) discusses, the sociological tradition of modernization, influenced by Weberian and neo-Weberian analyses, assumes that non-Western societies either repeat the steps of central Western societies through similitudes of the Protestant revolution or they are condemned to pre-modernism. Weber (1930) perceived the 'revolution of consciousness' of aesthetic Protestantism as pivotal to the explanation of the singular development of capitalism in the West. Thus, neo-Weberian comparative sociology was marked by the search for 'substitutes for the Protestant ethic' to identify both processes of modernization with potential for success, as well as those destined for failure. This analytical strategy maintains the presumption of 'essentialist culturalism', in which culture is perceived as homogeneous, totalizing, and undifferentiated. As Souza (2004) argues, much theoretical work on Latin America, were/are still explicitly or implicitly marked by this presumption (see Luhmann, 1995; DaMatta, 1981).

Souza (2012) demonstrates how, by conjoining modern terminologies with traditional culturalistic explanations, the scholar Niklas Luhmann (1995), for instance, supposes the existence in supposedly un-developed societies of networks of relations that oblige everyone to take part in them, with those who are excluded transformed into ‘un-persons’. DaMatta (1981), one of the most influential anthropologists in Brazil, follows a similar logic constructing the opposition person/non-person, in which the person – due to their personal relations – can do whatever they want, even being above the law, while the non-person, the individual, does not have privileges in society and is excluded due to their lack of personal relations (Souza, 2012). These networks of personal relations are seen to be central to the famous ‘*jeitinho Brasileiro*’, or the ‘Brazilian little way’ of dealing with issues related to, for example, the law and bureaucracy, which is dependent upon ‘who knows who’. The *jeitinho brasileiro* was often pointed to by the Brazilians I spoke to in London as an illustration of Brazil and Brazilians not being a modern civilised country/people in comparison to the civilised Western country and its inhabitants, illustrating the importance of utilizing post- and de-colonial frameworks in my study.

However, the coloniality of power and its processes of racialising space and place have not only been used to distinguish North and South on a global scale, but also to racialise regions within the North and South. This is the case within Western cities, especially with the constitution of post-colonial migrant ‘communities’ in the 20th century. Thus, below, I demonstrate how bodies and spaces have been hierarchically produced within the Western world through markers of class, ‘race’ and gender. This discussion is important for my thesis since it allows for a better understanding of how Brazilians produce and negotiate essentialised notions of ‘cultural’ differences when relating to people and spaces in London.

Racialised, classed and gendered bodies and spaces in ‘the West’

As Boa Ventura de Souza Santos (2010) argues, the constitutive nature of colonialism – based on the hierarchical relationship between acceptable and unacceptable moralities and lifestyles - in modernity underscores its importance for understanding not only the non-Western societies that were victimized by colonialism, but also the Western societies themselves, especially with regards to the patterns of social discrimination within them. As outlined above, the dichotomy between body

(nature) and mind (reason) has also been mapped onto gender and class. This, despite being racialised as superior beings through the racial axis, white Europeans can be subjected to class, gender and/or sexual oppression through the divide between body and mind (Grosfoguel et al, 2014). As Puwar (2004) argues, logic and rationality have been historically portrayed as male features, while women are linked to emotion and body. She writes: ‘Women are their bodies, but men are not, and women are therefore destined to inferiority in all spheres requiring rationality’ (16). A similar logic also works in class terms.

Historically, the poor and the disvalued places they inhabit have been associated with the material and the embodied in contraposition to the rational upper-classes and their distinct places (Bourdieu, 1986; Sibley, 1995; Reay, 1997 Taylor, 2010). In the 19th century, the white working class and working class areas in the UK and in the U.S were marked by stigmas of incivility, sexual immorality, bodily excess, excessive decoration and disordered space. They were seen as not being ‘white enough’ (Young, 1995; Gidley, 2000; Lawler, 2005), ‘as almost less than human and in need of cultural reform and civilization’ (Gidley and Rooke, 2010: 99). As Sibley (1995) notes in this context, capitalist cities were marked by a ‘moralizing geography which linked the poor with dirty and deviant behavior’ (57). Such class-based geographies of defilement have continued to be regularly re-signified and put in practice (Lawler, 2005; Gidley and Rooke, 2010). As Gidley and Rooke (2010) argue, the continuous moral stigma against the working class as bodily excessive and disorderly constitutes a form of symbolic violence which serves ‘to fix working-class people in space symbolically and socially’ (112). This social and symbolic fixing of working-class people through moral hierarchies also has a gendered feature, as working-class women’s bodies have been historically (re)constructed as lacking the good morals and values of the ‘respectable’ middle-class woman (see the work of Skeggs, 1997; Gidley and Rooke, 2010; Hall et al, 2000).

Nevertheless, such intersected classed, gendered and spatial moral hierarchies in Western countries are even more prominent with the presence of the ‘racial’ other. Even though the white working class is subjected to class, gender and sexual oppression, they live with racial privilege (Grosfoguel et al, 2014). Post- and de-colonial and feminist scholars have highlighted the continuation of the coloniality of power through the axis of ‘race’, which produces racialised bodies inside of the

former European metropolises (Gilroy 1993; Brah, 1996; Malheiros and Padilla, 2014). As Grosfoguel et al argue:

Migrants do not arrive in an empty or neutral space, but in metropolitan spaces that are already ‘polluted’ by racial power relations with a long colonial history, colonial imaginary, colonial knowledge and racial/ethnic hierarchies linking to a history of empire; in other words, migrants arrive in a space of power relations that is already informed and constituted by coloniality. (2014: 641)

Thus, when arriving in the cities of the former colonial empires, racialised migrants¹⁰ frequently have to deal with the colonial imaginary which marks their bodies in a new form of racism, one which, as outlined above, emphasizes inferiority of culture rather than biology. Malheiros and Padilla (2014), for instance show how the legacy of the Portuguese colonial imaginary, such as the representation of Creole women being full of sensuality and promiscuity, still shapes the everyday experiences of Brazilian women in Portugal.

Yet, it is not only migrant bodies which are racialised in the Western world, but also their spaces. In order to understand Brazilian migration in London we need to think about the racial logics of space. Urban and migration researchers have long analysed how post-colonial migration has challenged homogeneous notions of place, identity and knowledge in Western cities with the aesthetic markers of ethnic presence (Park, 1967; Gilroy 1993; Back, 1994; Knowles, 2003). As Puwar (2004) notes, the arrival of postcolonials has transformed the urban landscapes of the West with new sounds, foods and smells. In this context, the classical urban works of the Chicago School began to be concerned with social disintegration and the ‘social pathology’ of crime and delinquency resulting from an urban environment composed of a racially and ethnically diverse population not fully integrated into the local

¹⁰ When arriving in a country these imaginaries also differently shape the migrants’ positions and experiences in the country. Grosfoguel separates groups of migrants between ‘colonial/racial subjects of empire’, ‘colonial immigrants’ and ‘immigrants’ (2014: 642). Colonial subjects of empire are those who had a long colonial history, thus the metropolitan colonial imaginary, racial/ethnic hierarchies and racist discourses are frequently constructed in relation to these subjects. ‘Colonial immigrants’ are those coming from peripheral locations who were not directly colonised by the metropolitan country they migrate to, but can be racialised in similar ways to the ‘colonial/racial subjects of empire’. The ‘immigrants’ – European migrants or migrants coming from other regions of the world but of European origin - do not suffer racial oppression, as they are taken as ‘white’.

society (Park, 1967). The problem of segregation or isolation of specific migrant communities in the inner city – ‘ghettoization’ - became one of the main themes debated by scholars of the Chicago School during the 1920s and 1930s. During this period, social scientists believed that after living in the host society, the migrant would become acquainted with the cultural codes of these new societies by being inserted in the society’s pre-existing economic and socio-cultural structures (Park and Burgess, 1921). As Knowles (2003) observes, although the British experience with racialised patterns of residential segregation is much older than the 20th century, the situation in US cities, with their racialised urban ‘ghettos’, is taken ‘as a warning in Britain of the can of worms that can be opened by immigration-without-dispersal-policies’ (85).

At the end of the 20th century, however, migration scholars (Porter and Jensen, 1992; Guarnizo and Diaz, 1999) started to re-think the real possibilities of processes of assimilation/integration, as well as the need for the migrant to assimilate in order to have a ‘successful life’. They began to focus on the ‘success’ of transnational communities abroad, as I previously discussed, as well as on the formation of ethnic enclaves¹¹ (Porter and Jensen, 1992; Light, 2007). As Light (2007) argues, the success and growth of transnational communities and ethnic enclaves are justified because the transnational migrants ‘do not assimilate’, but rather maintain their mother tongue and build links with more than one country. Yet, despite the positive contemporary aspects attributed to transnational communities and ethnic enclaves, the racialisation of the spaces and places occupied by racialised groups is not eliminated.

As Knowles (2003) states, aesthetic markers – the look of ethnic occupation - sustain popular images attendant upon place. These ethnic markers can make a once ‘foreign territory’ a ‘comfort zone for the migrant who lives there’. Yet, the same markers of ethnic difference can also make ‘the once unnoticed and familiar becomes “foreign” territory for those whose lives are *not* expressed through these’ (88) markers. Representing the places occupied by migrants as ‘foreign territory’ frames ‘migrant communities’ as the ‘non-modern, uncivilized wilderness’ inside the ‘modern civilised world’ (Stocking, 1982; Kosnick, 2009), resulting in policies and practices of spatial segregation. As Levine-Rasky (2016) argues, for instance, the

¹¹ Ethnic enclave is a space with ethnic concentration, be it a residential or work area, which is culturally distinct from the larger receiving society. Their success and growth depends on self-sufficiency, and is coupled with economic prosperity (Porter and Jensen, 1992).

white suburbs are maintained as safe and stable, whereas the ‘inner-city’, with its racialised residents, is regarded as inviting disorder and violence. This division, she argues, is not only accomplished through ‘physical barriers of distance, but also emotional barriers of fear of an imagined fundamental difference’ (63). Such fear often comes along with policing and other spatial practices of surveillance (Levine-Rasky, 2016; Goldberg, 1996). David Theo Goldberg, for example, notes how the black neighbourhoods of Los Angeles are under continuous surveillance, in which ‘helicopters and floodlights ensure the surveilled and supervised visibility of the racially marginalized population within their constructed confines’ (1996: 198). Thus, post- and de-colonial scholarship and studies on race and racism have shown how space continues making ‘race’ through polices and practices of segregation. However, studies concerned with migrant bodies and communities usually focus on processes of racialisation happening between the locals and the ‘racial other’. My thesis draws on and adds to this discussion by also problematizing how migrants themselves often reproduce the stigma against ‘migrant’ bodies and areas.

Examining the continuous and often intersected production of inferior bodies and spaces through class, gender and ‘race’ within Western societies, I argue, is necessary for a comprehensive understanding of the experiences of Brazilians in London. Firstly, this helps me to analyse how they often reproduce and negotiate these racialised representations of ‘the migrant’ and ‘the community’ as ‘non-modern’ bodies and spaces within the ‘modern world’. And, secondly, it helps me investigate how Brazilians also dialogue with the stigmatised representations of the ‘Brazilian migrant’ and the ‘Brazilian community’ through classed, gendered and spatialised markers. Yet, in order to discuss the ways in which they do this, in London, it is necessary to understand how the colonial matrix of power has historically produced hierarchical representations of bodies and spaces – and material inequalities - within post-colonial Brazil.

Post-colonial Brazilian bodies and spaces

As Antônio Sérgio Guimarães (2002) has shown, the Brazilian (myth of) racial democracy abolished the concept of ‘race’ from popular and intellectual Brazilian vocabulary from the 1930s until the 1970s. Even though ‘racial inequalities’ and complaints about colour discrimination increased during the same period, such

inequalities and discriminations were never recognized as 'racial', but always connected to class. Thus, the myth of the racial democracy helped to promote the idea that there is only classed prejudice in Brazil. Yet, class and 'race' are not independent variables and their interaction, producing moral hierarchies and inequalities, is linked to the processes of colonialism and de-colonialism in Brazil.

By the time slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888, an estimated 4.9 million slaves had been imported from Africa, 40% of the total number of slaves taken to the Americas. The abolition of slavery did not see a transformation of labour relations, but the substitution of slaves with migrant workers from Europe and Asia (primarily Japan) in an attempt to make the country 'whiter' (Quijano, 2000; Schwarcz and Starling, 2015). This new European (and Japanese) population dominated the industrial and artisanal labour force, jettisoning the black and mestizo population from the labour market. This new population of migrants concentrated almost entirely in the South and South-East of Brazil, regions that, since independence, had acquired the central position in the national economy, especially with the production of coffee and, later, industrialization (Guimarães, 2002; Klein, 1995).

Within this process, at the same time that the regional political economy of the country changed, concentrating wealth in the South, an entire class of black and mixed Brazilians, the formerly enslaved and their descendants, were left to their own fate, unable to recover a 'valued' productive role in the new order (Souza, 2012). They became responsible for themselves and their families without having the means (economic and cultural capital) to survive in the nascent competitive capitalist economy. In other words, besides the persistence of structural racism, they did not have the social and psycho-social requirements for 'success' within the new competitive environment (see Souza, 2012; Fernandes, 1978). As Souza (2012) argues, they lacked the emotional economy and attributes necessary to adapt and compete in the new (modern) productive and social configuration.

In the 1930s the state stopped incentivising European migration and established a labour market 'quota' for Brazilian workers, which then made possible the incorporation of a mass of 'racially mixed' and black people into the labour market. Yet, the existing mixed population did not threaten previously established hierarchies (Guimarães, 2002; Souza, 2012). This prefigured the fate of social marginality and economic poverty of the mass of 'racially mixed' and black people. Part of this mass was composed of people migrating to the large centres of the

‘modern South (east)’, the majority of them coming from the states of the North and Northeast¹² (Guimarães, 2002) (figure 1). Due to their own history of slavery and racial discrimination, this mass of people arrived in the centres of the South in a disadvantaged position, being marginalised both in the configuration of urban space and in the labour market of the ‘modern South(east)’. Living as urban pariahs - ‘sub-citizens’ - in the urban peripheries and/or slums of the Southern cities (Zaluar, 1994; Guimarães, 2002), these people have been used by the middle class and the elite as a cheap precarious labour force to undertake the most ‘disqualified’ activities (Souza, 2012). As Souza (2012: 55) notes, such ‘disqualified’ activities are divided in gendered terms between ‘dirty’ and ‘heavy’ activities for men and domestic and sexual activities for women.

Figure 1: Map of Brazilian regions and States



Source: Dodd (n.d.).

¹² The Northeast was the first part of the country to be colonised and exploited by the Portuguese, where only one-quarter of the population self-identified as white after Brazilian independence (Guimarães, 2002).

In Brazil, there was never a welfare state, as in Western Europe, which could attempt to remedy such inequalities by providing the basic necessary means for this population to be able to compete in the capitalist order. Thus, in order to survive, they had to develop the skills to navigate through poverty, informalities, illegalities, prejudice, precariousness, state violence and classed, 'racial', and regional stigma (Feltran, 2013; Guimarães, 2002; Souza, 2004). Guimarães' (2002) research on the stigma against this population in the labour market and in their everyday lives – which often intersects class, 'race', gender and space – highlights how aesthetics and behavioural values, expressed through ideas of 'dirty appearance' and 'dirty morals', are the main markers used against black/mixed and poor people. As noted by Guimarães (2002), the stigma is constructed through seven main themes: '1) alleged slave essence; 2) dishonesty and delinquency; 3) precarious housing; 4) moral depravity; 5) irreligiosity; 6) lack of hygiene; 7) incivility, lack of education or illiteracy' (204). Stigma regarding dirtiness is often expressed through the words 'disgusting', 'stinky', 'shit', 'rotten'. Stigma against poverty and a 'lower social condition' are also connected to location and housing conditions, education and morality. They are articulated through words such as *favelado* ('slummed', someone from the slum); 'uneducated'; 'illiterate', 'disqualified' (a 'person without class'). There are also commonly used phrases that make direct reference to class and slavery, such as '*Não falo com gente da sua classe*' ('I don't talk to people from your class') and '*Lugar de negro é na senzala*' ('Black people's place is in the slave quarters') (199-204).

Due to its highly 'multiracial' population, direct racism in Brazil takes many forms, often being based upon the centrality and hegemony of valuing 'whiteness'. The relationship between and across 'non-white' others is complicated and 'colourism' or 'shadism' is commonplace (Winant, 1994; Ali 2005). As a consequence, people are constantly negotiating racism through hierarchies of colour (and hair). Yet, Guimarães' (2002) research also elucidates two more perverse markers in racialising discourses: gender and region. Poverty, lack of opportunities, income inequality and discrimination more profoundly affect women than men. Moreover, the prejudice in the South against *Nordestinos* (a person from any state of the Northeast) is one of the most persistent in contemporary Brazil. Brazilian migrants from the Northeast are

taken as the 'space invaders' (Puwar, 2004) of the 'modern' South and frequently blamed for the 'deterioration' of the standard of living in Southern cities (Zaluar, 1994). They are described as poor, uneducated migrants doing dirty jobs, exiled from subsistence farming by hunger and drought (Guimarães, 2002).

As I will discuss in the empirical chapters, my findings indicate that similar narratives of difference – focusing on aesthetics and behavioural values, expressed through ideas of 'dirty' appearance, space and dirty morality - are used by Brazilians, when producing differences in London through markers of class, gender, region and 'race'. As Mary Douglas (1966) argues, dirt is never an isolated event. Rather, she writes, it is 'the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements. This idea of dirt takes us straight into the field of symbolism and promises a link-up with more obviously symbolic systems of purity' (36). Thus, I argue that these symbolic systems of differentiation do not disappear when Brazilians arrive in London but are constantly being re-signified, re-made and negotiated in a new context.

In this sense, Sayad's (2004) and Brah's (1996) works provide examples of how the process of re-signifying social differences operates in other contexts, both being important to the analytical development of this thesis. Sayad (2004) analyses the distinct ways in which Algerians from different generations of migration and from different social classes construct and negotiate their social differences in France. At the same time, they use the same social markers to dialogue with the stigma against migrants, navigating through strategies of recognition, subversion and 'assimilation'. Brah, on the other hand, studies South Asian migrants in the UK, a heterogeneous population divided by class, region, caste, religion and gender. She found that the social hierarchies according to which they were most likely to rank themselves were the ones internal to Asian cultural formations, even though there was a process of restructuring and re-signifying these hierarchies within the new context. Caste in Britain, for instance, was not a literal reproduction of caste in India, as British based configurations of caste have their own specific features. In the case of Brazilians in London, I argue in this thesis, the fact that the migration process blurs class divisions prompts the middle class to try to re-make class differences in London, a process which is also intertwined with the re-signification of regional differences and essentialised notions of 'culture'.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the historical development of two areas of research important for my study, Brazilian migration and de-colonial studies. By showing how Brazilian migration studies shifted from an economic to a transnational perspective, I demonstrated how my work draws on and adds to discussions on Brazilian migration. Reviewing the literature and informed by my data, I argued for the need to analyse the experiences of Brazilians abroad as fragmented and to recognize that these experiences do not automatically result in narratives of ethnic solidarity. In this sense, I acknowledged the importance of transnational studies in framing the migrant experience beyond economic factors and highlighting the migrants' more complex and multidirectional interactions between countries of origin and arrival. Yet I further argued for the need to problematise transnational process beyond the simple constitution of 'communities'. Ethnicity and nationality often appear in transnational studies as de-historicised celebratory markers that results in the constitution of social units of solidarity abroad. Informed by my data, I discussed how this assumed straightforward connection between ethnic networks and unified community fails to take into account how historical processes have hierarchized 'racial' and ethnic difference around the world. It also overlooks internal conflict and division, which can result from other different axes of differentiation, such as class and region.

I then argued that my data showed that Brazilians draw on some of the post- and de- colonial framings when thinking through their journeys in London. I used these discussions to demonstrate how categories of difference in the present still reproduce restructured hierarchical relationships constructed in the colonial and post-colonial era. The Latin American de-colonial concept of the 'colonial matrix of power' (Quijano, 2000) proved to be important in understanding how a global power, composed by the intersection of multiple and heterogeneous global hierarchies, has historically produced processes of racialisation and social differentiation on a global level. Drawing on this discussion, I was able to discover how the colonial matrix of power has historically racialised Brazil and its inhabitants as having an exotic, non-modern culture, at the same time that it has produced inequalities and inferiorized representations of bodies and spaces within Brazil.

Thus, drawing on theoretical traditions discussed in Chapter 1, my research aims to not only further our understanding of the processes of social differentiation often overlooked within migration studies, but also to build a bridge between this literature and post- and de-colonial studies. The historical account which I have undertaken here gives ground to the analytical chapters that come next, when, moving beyond assumptions of ‘ethnic commonality’, I analyse how Brazilians in London inscribe and negotiate ‘cultural’/ classed/gender/regional differences in bodies and in space, as they create new bonds of affinity and lines of division.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter lays out the range of methods I used to understand the ways in which Brazilians in London produce and negotiate difference. This research combined 18 months of ethnography and participant observation in places of leisure and 33 in-depth interviews with Brazilians in London. This chapter begins by considering the theoretical debates that underpin the various methods chosen in my research. I discuss my mixed, qualitative approach and reflexive perspective, as well as key points of debate around researching transnational migrants. Then, I outline the two specific methodological frameworks chosen to address my research questions – ethnography in places of leisure and in-depth interviews. I explain the rationale behind the approaches and a description of the development of data collection in these two distinct phases. I move on to reflect on the ethical considerations related to my research. I then conclude the chapter with reflections of my own positionality in relation to my fieldwork and the research process as well as to some of the difficulties I encountered in carrying it out.

From migrating to studying migration

My own journey to London in 2008 fostered the development of my sociological imagination, inspiring me to undertake this research (Mills, 2000). As discussed in the introductory chapter of this thesis, my experience of living and working amongst a diverse group of Brazilians – from different geographical states, with different class backgrounds and with different reasons to be in London – made me question certain assumptions about Brazilian migratory patterns. Arriving back in Brazil in 2010, I developed a research project based on my experiences as a migrant in London, in which I also conducted in-depth interviews with 30 Brazilians (during 2010-11), in order to analyse the precarious and informal working practices and conditions of Brazilians working in the service sector in London (see Martins Jr,

2014).

Yet, both my own experience as a migrant in London and the research findings from my fieldwork pointed to matters that went beyond the issue of employment, and complicated previous research on Brazilian migration habits. The assumption by scholars that social ties resulted in ties of affinity was problematized by the cases of exploitation by co-nationals that I heard about from others and those I witnessed myself. Similarly, issues of social differentiation and racialisation, which had also previously been overlooked, came to the fore when I interacted with Brazilians in London, in both work and leisure. This sociological project therefore came into being as I sought to further understand and analyse these complex processes. Borrowing from Les Back (2007), this research seeks to 'read against the grain', seeking out alternative stories that are rarely visible in dominant narratives. Back sees his practice of scholarship as seeking to illuminate the 'hidden life of objects and places' by seeking the life that is 'concealed' or 'bleached' by 'formalities of power or the forgetfulness of conventional wisdom' to look for 'the outside story that is part of the inside story' (2007:9). Back draws out the stories that often disappear into the creases of dominant narratives, connecting them to more orthodox narratives. In this way I aimed to shed light on some of the less-dominant narratives weaving their way in, around and through the discussions of migrants from the Global South as producing transnational communities abroad based on ethnic solidarities.

Negotiating the migrant/researcher position

It is important to recognize where knowledge has come from in this thesis. To assume that knowledge comes from nowhere, as Skeggs (1997) notes, allows some to abdicate responsibility for their productions and representations. It is thus important to explain how I chose my participants, the methods used, as well as how their narratives have been analysed, written and interpreted. Discussions surrounding the position of the researcher within the research process is, then, very important in giving such an account. I agree with Robert Lee Miller (2000) that we need to abandon the concept of researcher as an autonomous agent removed from society, and understand how we relate to the society around us, as well as interrogating our role and position as researchers. When interacting with Brazilian migrants in London, I inhabit a perspective not only influenced by my social and cultural position, but by

being a migrant myself.

Throughout the research I have remained alert to the range of factors that could shape the data generated and the results produced. I therefore ensured that I took ‘a critical and open stance towards data’ through questioning my own assumptions, the research process and my personal effect on it (Tonkiss, 1998: 380). A reflexive analysis can be the first step to obtaining further insights into how the position of the researcher, and the researched, impact on the production of knowledge (Scharff, 2009; Fonow and Cook 2005). Following a reflexive approach allows researchers to ‘consciously write themselves into the text, the audiences’ reactions to and reflections on the meaning of the research, the social location of the researcher, and the analysis of disciplines as sites of knowledge production’ (Fonow and Cook 2005: 2219). Such an approach therefore provides detailed information about the researcher decisions and the different dynamics that take place during the research process, bringing the research into public scrutiny (Scharff, 2009; Finlay, 2002).

Since I followed such an approach in my research, it was important for me to keep reflecting on my position as a Brazilian PhD student in London when I encountered and interacted with Brazilians as I gathered data and later when I analysed it. Studying Brazilians in London also came to mean studying my own preconceptions and myself. This situation is similar to Bourdieu’s (1988) when he studied the academic world, a world he was also part of, for his work *Homo Academicus*. As with Bourdieu, the dilemmas of my research arose from my partisanship in my own research. Nonetheless, I suggest that partisanship in sociology is a healthy predisposition and not an obstacle towards objectivity, as conceptual objectivity requires the researcher to firstly understand who they are, and where our partisan biases lie (Burke, 2011).

The youngest son of a retired fire fighter and a manicurist, I grew up in a small town in the state of São Paulo. Although my family was economically considered to be working-class, I had access to certain goods and services due to my parents’ social ties. This facilitated my association with people who were regarded as belonging to the ‘upper middle class’, sharing cultural capital and ‘signs of that group’. Through the social capital that my mother established from her customers (added to the fact that I was a high achiever at school), I was able to attend a private school with a scholarship during the last few years of high school. Living amongst upper middle-class people, and having a private education, provided me with enough cultural

capital to enter Higher Education and obtain a degree. As a consequence, I grew up being able to deal with and understand the codes of display (Bourdieu, 1984) existing within these two groups – that of my working class family and the middle-class environment that I was immersed in.

As shown by scholars drawing on the work of Bourdieu (see Di Maggio, 1979; Reay et al, 2009), while the habitus is a product of early childhood experience, especially through socialisation within the family, it is continually shaped by the individual's encounters with the outside world. In these encounters, schooling, for instance, can take a pivotal role in providing general dispositions towards a 'cultured habitus' (Bourdieu, 1967: 344), since, as shown by Diane Reay et al (2009) in their study on working class students in an elite university in the UK, 'the process of educational socialization has proved particularly effective for the working-class students' (1105). She goes on to note that 'despite coming from families lacking in both economic and dominant cultural capital', these students start displaying the ability to 'move across two very different fields, combining connections to family and home friends with what are seen to be classically middle-class academic dispositions'. Yet, she argues, such navigations among these groups, not only come with 'change and transformation, but also disquiet, ambivalence, insecurity and uncertainty' (1105). This was the case not only during my childhood and throughout my educational trajectory, but also when conducting ethnography in different places of leisure and interviewing Brazilians from different classes.

These structural positions certainly direct my interest and approach to the research, albeit in uncertain ways. While acknowledging these considerations, I have no interest in placing myself at the heart of the research itself. Problematizing the notion of researcher reflexivity, Back, for instance, urges awareness of the rhetorical strategies used, but cites the dangers of excessive preoccupation with reflexivity that can 'degenerate into a solipsism and self-absorption, where social researchers are continually examining their own discrete and sometimes stale professional cultures' ending up with an analysis that is so abstracted in a 'tangle of obfuscating jargon, pathos and uncertainty' that it has lost all reference to the social world that sparked our initial interest (1998: 403).

Researching migration

Transnationalism has become an important concept in the study of globalized, multi-ethnic/cultural societies, with scholars drawing attention to the transnational turn in migration studies (Rastas, 2012). Here, researchers have discussed the importance of the methodological approach for the capturing of multiple ties and interactions, which link people or institutions across the borders of nation-states (Vertovec, 1999). A primary point of agreement among scholars in the field is that methods for the study of the migration process need to move beyond simply studying migrants from the perspective of the host-country. Sayad's work (2004), for example, urges us to approach both the society of origin and the society of destination in the migration process. The central argument carried through Sayad's work is that immigration and emigration are inextricably linked; they are part of the same reality. As such, we cannot have an ethnocentric approach focusing only on the migrant's life in the host society, indirectly implying that their life begins when they enter the host nation. Empirical research needs to be conducted at all sites of the transnational social field, for instance, via multi-sited ethnographies (Burawoy, 2003; Marcus, 1995).

Since my work analysed the lives of people coming to London from different regions of Brazil, I did not intend to develop a multi-sited ethnography. Yet, as the main aim of my research was to understand how Brazilians themselves re-signify, produce and negotiate differences of 'culture', class and region (intersected with gender, 'race' and documental status) in London, it was imperative to link immigration to emigration. Sayad's (2004) research with Algerian migrants in France was an important reference point for this approach, since in his work migration was understood as a totality, in which emigration and immigration were seen as being part of the same process. As Emmanuelle Saada (2000) highlights, Sayad brings to the question of Algerian migration a profound 'historical knowledge of the structures of the society of origin and the social and cultural characteristics of the emigrant' (31). Without this knowledge, the condition of the migrant would remain unclear to the observer. Following this, in my research, I have engaged with historical and theoretical debates to show how social differences – of class, 'race', and region – were historically produced in Brazil, and how racialised bodies and places have been constructed in the country since the process of colonization (see Chapter 2). Moreover, I have also developed a contextualization of Brazilian emigration to the UK,

highlighting important institutional, economic, political and social structures in both the society of emigration and immigration (see Chapter 4). Perhaps most importantly, the key facets of my in-depth interviews with Brazilians in London (as will be explained below) focus on their social characteristics before coming to London (see Chapter 4). Such an approach not only allowed me to analyse migration by taking into account the societies of emigration and immigration, but also to try and connect analyses of micro- and macro-level processes.

Researchers are aware of the problems of approaching transnationalism through either an exclusively macro perspective, which focuses on the structural causes of migration, or a strict micro-level analysis, which focuses only on lived experience (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). Many have spoken of the necessity to develop tools of analysis that allow for an understanding of how global processes interact with local lived experiences, which are embedded in broader contexts (Sayad, 2004; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). Therefore, sensitive to such concerns, I chose a reflexive mixed-methods approach to gather qualitative data. Using both ethnography and in-depth interviews in addition to historical and contextual analyses helped me to avoid producing research that was either myopically macro or micro in perspective. It allowed me to understand how people speak of, engage with and negotiate difference in their everyday lives and how this is shaped by the macro political and social contexts of immigration and emigration.

Using this method also permitted me to gather 'objective' data about everyday subjective experiences, as well as to develop my ethnography using a reflexive approach (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Burawoy, 2003). Such an approach starts from the dialogue between observer and participant, is then embedded within a second dialogue between local processes and extra local forces which in turn can only be comprehended through a third, expanding dialogue of theory with itself (Burawoy, 1998). Following the work of Sayad (2004), my long autobiographical interviews and ethnographies were framed within a macro historical context. There was a constant process of theory reconstruction (Saada, 2000), and at the same time, I considered the micro-context of collecting data, how the different moments of encounters with my participants differently affected the production of data.

Ethnography

Ethnography, Veena Das argues, is a relationship of responsiveness that seeks to move beyond the replication of hegemonic collective representations to 'enlarge our field of vision' (2007:4). This method has therefore become an important methodological tool in migration studies, especially when researching 'transnational communities' (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). In this sense, by accompanying migrants along their daily paths, ethnography challenges dominant macro representations of migrants as workers moving along in search of economic opportunities. It reveals a map of movements underscored by significant contacts, in contexts as varied as work, leisure, and religious practices. This, José Guilherme Magnani notes, allows researchers to grasp 'the behavioural patterns, not of atomized individuals, but of the multiple, varied and heterogeneous sets of social actors, whose daily lives' move 'along the landscape of the city' (2005: no pagination). For these reasons, ethnography played an important role in my research.

By ethnography, I use Wacquant's (2004) approach, described as:

A methodology in which the researcher performs an 'immersion' and even moral and sensual conversion to the cosmos under investigation construed as a technique of observation and analysis that, on the express condition that it be theoretically armed, makes it possible for the sociologist to appropriate in and through practice the cognitive, aesthetic, ethical, and cognitive schemata that those who inhabit that cosmos engage in their everyday deeds (viii).

Within this immersion that Wacquant proposes, it is not the subject of study itself which claims for the use of ethnography, but the specificity of knowledge provided by ethnography's *modus operandi*, which — according to the hypothesis that is under discussion — enables it to capture certain aspects of urban dynamics that would otherwise go unnoticed in analyses defined solely by macro analysis (Magnani, 2005).

I used ethnography to understand how different Brazilians, living in London, relate to each other and to the city. It should be noted that despite work being an important dimension in social life, I did not develop ethnography at work sites (see Martins Jr, 2014 for my earlier ethnographic research on migrant work). My focus

was on how time is spent out of work. Contrary to some current views in which leisure is an irrelevant issue in the day-to-day life of migrants (Anderson, 1999), migrants have a life out of work and this involves going to parties, celebrating christenings, birthdays and weddings, football tournaments, religious celebrations and rituals (Magnani, 2005, Ramirez, 2015). With this in mind, I developed an ethnographic approach, using participant observation – which involves the researcher spending time and engaging with the social group being researched, in different activities (Wacquant, 2004; Bryman, 2012). This was undertaken in places of leisure, in which the social networks of different Brazilians intersect.

Observing Brazilians in spaces and places of leisure

From July 2013 to January 2015 (18 months in total), I conducted ethnography on Brazilians in London focusing on their leisure time. I began by frequenting Brazilian places of leisure, such as nightclubs, restaurants and bars. There I would meet and talk to Brazilians about my research, make further contact with them and then begin following particular individuals who would take me with them during their moments of leisure. I would then make notes of the encounters and experiences. I generated 180 pages of ethnographic notes over the course of my research.

When conducting my ethnography, I became aware of how leisure represents, as Magnani and Bruna Mantese (2007) note, an opportunity to establish, strengthen and exercise rules of recognition and loyalty that ensure a basic network of sociability, as well as creating boundaries with those who do not share the same 'lifestyle'. Places of leisure therefore became important for me to not only be able to meet and observe Brazilians interacting with each other, often those from different class and regional backgrounds – something which might not happen in Brazil, due to the size of the country and its intense levels of classed spatial segregation – but to also facilitate interactions with my informants. Often, when beginning a conversation with a Brazilian in a club, after I mentioned that I was a PhD student undertaking a research project on Brazilians in London, a sense of unease would arise in the initial interaction. Yet, being in the same place of leisure made it easier to dissipate the awkwardness present in interviews and ethnographic research in other places (see Back, 1996). We could start our conversation by talking about the music that was playing, or the football match that was showing or any other subject connected to

where we were, which would remove the atmosphere of inquisition usually present in interviews.

On the other hand, it is important to be aware that types of leisure do not constitute an undifferentiated whole, randomly available and to be enjoyed by all. There is an order which links 'lifestyles' and groups, to places (Thornton, 1995; Amaral, 2001). As Sarah Thornton (1995) notes in her research on (night) club cultures, 'Club cultures are *taste cultures*. The crowds generally congregate on the basis of their shared taste in music, their consumption of common media and, most importantly, their preference for people with similar tastes to themselves' (15). In this sense, parties and clubs, as Rita Amaral (2001) argues, can be a particular mode of expression, and sometimes even a political tool, for 'racial', classed, ethnic and religious groups. Yet, parties and places of leisure can not only express a certain belonging to a group, but they are also a site in which power relations shape 'racial', gender, class and sexual interactions (Back, 1996; Amaral, 2001; Kosnick, 2009).

I therefore frequented different Brazilian places of leisure in London (nightclubs, bars and restaurants), in order to understand how places are socially constructed and defined by these migrants, expressing the existing differences within the group. There are two places in particular that Brazilians use to mark class division. Guanabara, one of the most famous Brazilian nightclubs in central London, provides 'Brazilian entertainment' and attracts both Brazilians and non-Brazilians. It is also characterised by many middle-class Brazilians as a place of leisure frequented by 'uneducated' 'economic migrants'. Clube do Choro is a monthly event, which plays *chorinho* (a genre of Brazilian music), also attended by both Brazilians and non-Brazilians. Many of the Brazilians who attend this event are middle-class, such as postgraduate students. Guanabara and Clube do Choro were not the only places I frequented during my fieldwork. I have followed Brazilians to other places, such as the Brazilian nightclub Villa Country in Willesden Junction on numerous occasions, a networking meeting¹³ of Brazilians in London in February 2014 and the Brazilian Film Festival of London in May 2014. Additionally, I have also followed Brazilians to house parties and dinners and also to various clubs and pub in London, which are not necessarily labelled as 'Brazilian environments'.

¹³ Networking meetings for Brazilians in London are organised through social network sites such as LinkedIn four times per year. The meetings take place in various bars in London and aims to gather Brazilian business people who want to develop working and social links with their co-nationals.

Even though the places mentioned above are often described by Brazilians as linked to (sub) cultural practices of distinction (Thornton 1995) – shaped by class and nationality, for instance - it would be reductivist to regard the audiences in places of leisure to be defined only, as Kira Kosnick (2009) notes, as ‘a group of people that have features in common such as age, musical taste, style, (sub)cultural capital, class positions, possibly ethnic backgrounds, gender expressions or sexual orientations’ (26). As Back (1996: 229) argues, within ‘the alternative public spheres of the dance-hall, club and house party’, we can see not only the description of, but also the ‘suspension of social divisions’ that ‘exist outside the dance and enable new forms of expression’. Places of leisure can provide, for instance, a space for what Back has called ‘profound forms of transcultural dialogue and cultural transgression’ where ‘different truths about the politics of race can be spoken, nurtured and circulated’. Thus, influenced by the work of Back (1996), Kosnick (2009) and Amaral (2001), I paid attention, in these places, to the socialities that developed in the encounter of different bodies, without making assumptions about the constitution of ‘ethnic’ or ‘classed’ affiliations. As Kosnick (2009) argues, it is by being alert to the socialities developed inside of these places of leisure that we can understand ‘how people actually engage with each other’, being able to describe ‘the quality and dynamics of their affiliatory practices and the social formations they (re)produce or transform’ (27).

Thus, during my fieldwork, I examined the affiliations and de-affiliations of nationality and class, being produced, shifted and negotiated throughout the interactions developed in these places. These interactions were not only between Brazilians engaging with Brazilians, but also between Brazilians and other national and ethnic groups. Moreover, I was in addition to paying attention to how people engaged with each other, I was also attentive to how they engaged with me within particular contexts. This highlights the importance of participant observation in my research, as mentioned above, since it allowed me to take notice of the nuances of situated and often non-verbal acts that tend to be screened out by other methodological repertoires. As Back (2009) comments, ‘social research needs to reduce its over-reliance on interviews and embrace the opportunities to re-think its modes of observation and analysis’ (212). This, he argues, can be done by developing different kinds ‘of attentiveness to the embodied social world in motion’, such as not only being limited ‘to what people say explicitly’ (209). In this sense, my

observations allowed me to access detailed un-spoken information, for example, observing how different groups of Brazilians move and position themselves in space, as well as how inter-group sociability is developed: situations that I would most likely not have access to if I were to only conduct interviews. Similar to William Foote Whyte's (2005) fieldwork with Italian (first and second generation) migrants in Boston, it was through meeting people, getting to know them, fitting in with their activities and spending time with them - just sitting and listening - that answers to questions that I had yet to think of asking during interviews came to the fore.

Writing up (and analysing) ethnography

When developing and writing up my ethnography, I followed a reflexive approach present, for instance, in the work of Michael Burawoy (1998), Wacquant (2004) and Sayad (2004). These scholars have shown that a researcher can conduct 'insider' ethnography, acknowledging 'the social embeddedness and split subjectivity of the inquirer without reducing ethnography to story-telling and forsaking social theory for poetry' (Wacquant, 2005: 388). To avoid this problem, I used the extended case method proposed by Burawoy (1998). The extended case method applies reflexive science to ethnography in order to 'extract the general from the unique, to move from the "micro" to the "macro", and to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future, all by building on pre-existing theory' (1998: 5). In other words, the extended case method uses the observer as participant, taking into account the connection between internal and external processes (both of which are historical), and constantly reconstructing theory, since pre-existing theory is not taken as the absolute truth. Burawoy uses the example of his own experiences as a personnel consultant in the Zambian copper industry to elaborate Fanon's theory of postcolonialism. He calls our attention to the ways in which his theoretical assumptions were reconstructed through this process, since in fieldwork one should not look for confirmations of theory but refutations of it. As he states:

We need first the courage of our convictions, then the courage to challenge our convictions, and finally the imagination to sustain our courage with theoretical reconstruction. If these reconstructions come at too great a cost we may have to abandon our theory altogether and

start afresh with a new, interesting theory for which our case is once more an anomaly (1998, 20).

Hence, the idea of extending out, from micro to macro, and also continually overhauling theory, played an important role in the way I developed my ethnography. As I explained in Chapter 1, when living and working in London in 2008-9, my own experience made me reformulate my initial theoretical assumptions about migration being the result of economic factors. When doing my ethnography in places of leisure, I also had to constantly reformulate my assumptions. As I had previously conducted research on Brazilians in London, and was informed by research in the US, which shows a clear classed spatial division among Brazilians in terms of where they live and where they go for leisure, I imagined the same would be true among Brazilians in London. I assumed for instance that middle-class Brazilians would not go to Guanabara, as the Brazilian middle class in London claim they do not go to Brazilian places. Yet, when doing the research, I found that many middle-class Brazilians did in fact attend these places of leisure but were constantly negotiating their reasons for being there.

In-depth interviews

In addition to 18 months of ethnography undertaken in places of leisure, I also conducted 33 in-depth interviews with Brazilians in cafes, bars, pubs and participants' homes, from April 2014 to January 2015, to gather their life stories through oral history. As Paul Thompson (1998) notes, oral history provides an opportunity to go beyond stereotyped generalizations, recovering memories from particular historical and social moments. It also offers qualitative interpretations of historical and social processes, aiming to highlight opinions and perceptions of different moments of history, coming from the social actors' experience (Lozano, 1998). Using this method, therefore, helped me to understand the life of the migrant before coming to London and how the individual migration process was developed inside of a broader context, taking into account that 'an immigrant is before anything an emigrant' (Sayad, 2004).

In order to conduct in-depth interviews I adopted a ‘purposive sampling approach’ in which, participants are selected in terms of criteria that allow the research questions to be answered (Bryman, 2012: 418). Since my project intended to gather information from different ‘groups’ of Brazilians living in London, I used two purposive sampling methods: theoretical and snowballing sampling. In the theoretical sample method (Bryman, 2012; Flick, 2002) individuals that are selected in the sample are chosen according to their (expected) level of belonging to a certain group, in relation to the state of the theory elaboration so far (Flick, 2002: 61). Since part of this study focuses on interactions between different groups of Brazilians in London, it required a broad number of participants with different backgrounds and reasons for being in London to provide a better understanding of the everyday lives of Brazilians in London and thus enrich scholarly debates. Thus, I inductively selected three different groups of people to focus on: those who are in London performing unskilled jobs in the service sector, such as cleaners and waiters; those who had previously performed unskilled jobs but had experienced occupational mobility in London; and those who came to the UK already performing activities that are not seen as ‘migrant jobs’, such as postgraduate students and liberal professionals (university staff, business people, lawyers and doctors). I used employment as a means to divide these groups due to the fact that occupation is an important marker used by Brazilians not only to talk about the divisions existing within the population, but also to classify places of leisure. When conducting ethnography, work often appeared as a central dimension in processes of social differentiation through the intersection with places of leisure. On several occasions I heard comments such as ‘I don’t go to this Brazilian club because it’s full of cleaners’ or ‘I don’t go out in Willesden Junction because there are only ugly people, cleaners and delivery drivers’. Thus, my ethnography was not only helpful in setting up my research questions for the interviews, but also as a mean for choosing the participants.

My initial aim was to interview a minimum of 10 participants from each of the three groups. The criterion for judging when to stop sampling different groups pertinent to one of the three distinctions was the theoretical saturation of the specific distinction (Bryman, 2012: 419). Saturation, in the case of this research, meant that no additional information was being found and the responses to how a given group perceives their experiences in London started to be repetitive (Bryman, 2012). As a result, I interviewed 11 people from each group. In total, I interviewed 17 men and 16

women, in which respondents were aged between 21 and 54. In order to select the participants, snowball sampling – a sampling technique where existing participants recruit future participants from among their acquaintances (Bryman, 2012) - was used. My initial contact with the first participants of each of these groups came through the contacts that I had made from my previous research (Martins Jr, 2014) as well as from people that I had met during my ethnography.

Listening to the nuances of migrant stories

Qualitative interviews have been a widely used tool in migration scholarship, enabling researchers to engage with the perspectives of migrants to gain more in-depth knowledge of migration processes. I used a semi-structured technique in order to develop the interview as a fluid conversation, with common themes, which would allow me to make comparisons later on (Arksey and Knight, 1999). I also considered that this method was appropriate in order to explore and listen to the respondent's point of view, feelings and perspectives about their own experience, giving them space to talk about and reflect on their lives (Boyce and Neale, 2006).

The interview consisted of open questions based around five main themes: 1) respondents' lives in Brazil; 2) the displacement process; 3) respondents' lives in London; 4) interactions with and perceptions of Brazilians in London; 5) perceptions of life in Brazil and in the U.K. The first three main themes aimed to recover the life story of the participants. In relation to their lives before leaving Brazil, I asked them to tell me about their life growing up (family background; mobility of the family, occupation of parents and level of education). Then in relation to the process of displacement, I inquired about their lives before deciding to come to London, when they made the decision to migrate, why they chose to move to London, whether they knew/received help from someone in London (in order to access housing and jobs, for instance). Drawing from this, I then asked them to describe their experience since they arrived in London and their recent everyday life (what kind of work they did, where they lived, with who, and their leisure activities).

When working with life stories, I was careful to not fall into what Bourdieu (1987c) calls the 'biographical illusion', by not taking into account both the subjective and objective features of a life story. According to Bourdieu (1987c), biographical events are defined as placements and displacements in social space. To understand a

trajectory of life, we must construct the successive states of the field in which this trajectory is developed, and not think of life as being a linear progressive narrative. As Bourdieu argues, researchers who record and analyse life histories without taking into account different structural influences, try to ‘make sense of out of a subway route without taking into account the network structure, that is the matrix of objective relations between different stations’ (1987:6). The biographical interview thus, as Ciaran Burke (2011) notes, needs to attend to an individual’s ‘life hi/story not as an autonomous phenomenon untouched by society, but rather it appreciates it as existing within the structure and affected by history’ (para 5.6).

The need for the appreciation of both structure and individual hi/story also points to the relationship between the habitus and the biographical method. Bourdieu’s theory of habitus, discussed in Chapter 1, explains the ‘continuity through change and change through continuity that best describes the transformations that occurs as agents travel along their social trajectories – understood as a series of positions successively occupied by the same agent in social space’ (Speller, 2008: 2). As Burke (2011) notes, ‘as the habitus can be understood to be permeable’, scholars, when working with biographical interviews, ‘need to be able to look at every day events,’ and not only ‘life changing events’ (para 5.4). He argues that ‘individuals collect and compile experiences throughout their lives’ and the effects of these experiences ‘are not necessarily immediate under certain new circumstances’ (para 5.3). Rather, he notes, ‘Experiences may have a cumulative effect on practice, therefore an empirical strategy that can offer an account of trajectories through [everyday] life hi/story is required’ (para 5.4).

Thus, my interviews focused on exploring people’s life experience in relation to the broader economic, political and social contexts. I focused not only on moments of rupture in their lives, such as when they decided to migrate, but also on their everyday lives in Brazil and in London. In so doing, I took into account the temporal, personal and family factors that influenced individuals’ decisions at different stages of their lives, paying attention to the various ways in which their social, cultural and economic capital (alongside their gender) were articulated in those life decisions (see Chapter 4). Such life decisions are part of what compose their journeys to/in London. In this sense, examining the agents’ life hi/story allowed me to analyse how their social trajectory continuously shapes their journeys to/in London. Borrowing from Knowles (2014), the concept of journey is a ‘thinking tool with which we can make

sense of a world on the move' since 'lives are lived and narrated through journeys' (9). Journeys, therefore, Knowles argues, 'describe the matrix of people's coming and going in ways that lend them to cartography' (9). They 'draw people's maps and in so doing provide a way of thinking about them' (9). Thus, journeys, she points out, 'provide a way of understanding the maps people live by, at the same time offer a way of making sense of their lives' (9). In this sense, journey is not the same as trajectory, but rather, journeys, my data shows in this thesis, are shaped by individuals' trajectories, at the same time that they also affect the continuous production of their social trajectories.

Recovering the life story of participants was therefore an important tool for my research, since migrants' stories, as Victoria Lawson (2000) argues, can be used to give contrast to and sometimes challenge established discourses and representations revealing, for instance, how social differences of gender, class and ethnicity differentiate migrants journeys. Working with life story was therefore imperative to my research, since it was necessary to go beyond standard representations, such as that of 'economic migrants' moving from the Global South for economic reasons, uniformly subject to the same experiences (see Chapter 2). Combining ethnographic notes with in-depth interviews, allowed me to empirically problematize such assumptions. My interviews permitted me to see, firstly, how their social trajectories differently position these agents in social space (Bourdieu, 1990b), and, secondly, how their position in social space differently shapes how their journeys to and in London are continuously produced and negotiated.

Moreover, the last two themes present in my interview – respondents' interaction with and perceptions of Brazilians in London and their perceptions of life in Brazil and in the U.K – also allowed me to go beyond the assumptions about solidarity and commonality within the 'ethnic community'. In relation to the first theme, I asked respondents to tell me what they thought about Brazilians in London, if they prefer to socialise with Brazilians or non-Brazilians, if they went to Brazilian places of leisure, the first thing that came to their mind when they thought of the word 'migrant' and what came to their mind when they thought of the word 'community'. Finally I asked them about their perspective on the future, if they thought of going back to Brazil and what were the positive and negative aspects of being in London. These questions allowed me to see how they differently make sense of their lives in

London and how they engage with representations of ‘the migrant’, the ‘Brazilian in London’ and the ‘community’.

Ethical issues

Aware that qualitative research can be intrusive and cause harm to participants, I made my research as transparent as possible. Since my research works with migrants, who can be considered as being in a situation of vulnerability, particularly as many of them are undocumented (Evans et al, 2011), this research followed BSA and ESRC ethical guidelines. The research was planned to ensure integrity, transparency and confidentiality.

Participants were assured of their anonymity in any written use of their words, and I used pseudonyms for all participants. The interviews were carried out in Portuguese and I transcribed and translated them myself. A native English speaker helped to check through the translation, but I am aware that the ‘subtleties’ and ‘nuances’ of a language can be ‘lost in translation’ (Spivak, 1993). Translation therefore implies not only the communication of words, but also the ‘symbolic structures integral to culture’ that are ‘reflected and embedded in the language used’ (Chamberlain and Leydesdorff, 2004). All data collected were secured on a server, which requires a password to access.

Productions of power in the research process

The ethical concerns described above cannot eradicate positions of power. Power is always present in research relationships in unbalanced ways since the research process itself is not an equal encounter. These dynamics must be acknowledged and taken into account. Reflecting on who I am and where my biases lie was important, not only when analysing my collected data, but also in interactions and encounters with my participants. When working amongst Brazilians in London in 2009 and when I was interviewing participants during my previous research (Martins

Jr, 2014), I felt the difficulties that arise from power relationships which are inherent in our everyday lives as well as when conducting research. Issues of class, gender and my position as a researcher affected such interactions.

Despite the clear imbalance of power between a PhD student being paid by the Brazilian government to conduct a research project and a person who was often struggling with, for instance, precarious work conditions and/or irregular documentation, the fact that we could construct links, whether because of my 'working class' or 'middle-class' background, facilitated the process of interviewing and ethnographic interactions. In different moments of my research I found myself negotiating different classed and regional markers. My accent, the words that I used, and the subjects I discussed varied according to the specific groups that I was relating with. It was an automatic 'corporeal performance' triggered by the context of the space, which many times enabled me to be accepted by all three groups of respondents and allowed me to 'break the ice' during interviews.

Despite this being of use when it came to access and to certain encounters in the field, such 'corporeal performance' did not fully eradicate moments of uneasiness nor was 'nativeness' enough to dispel power relations. This is similar to what Back notes in his ethnography in the 1980s which was conducted near the area he grew up (in south London). As Back (1996) notes, growing up the son of white working-class parents and being from an area close to that which he studied did not put him in a privileged position of 'ethnographic authority', even though his background was of some use for him when it came to access and to certain encounters in the field.

After all, despite being a Brazilian in London, I am a male researcher, occupying a position of privilege, conducting research on these participants. Therefore, in many encounters I could often tell that people were giving me certain responses designed to justify their positioning in London. For instance, when talking to middle-class Brazilians who had an economic and occupational downgrade in London, during our interview, they would often make sure that I was aware that they were in that situation 'just for a period of time' or that they were in London 'for a life experience'. They would also over-emphasise that they studied in London and they had been to university to show that they were not 'just a migrant'. On the other hand, my position as a PhD student did not always reinforce such power dynamics. On occasions, Brazilians refused to give me interviews and/or talk to me during ethnography. This was the case, for instance, when I was in Guanabara and began

talking to a Brazilian man who was there with his friend after finishing his shift working as a kitchen porter. I explained to him that I was a sociologist conducting research for my PhD on Brazilians in London and asked if he minded to talk to me. He replied:

I'm sure you're a nice guy, don't get me wrong, but sociologists are complicated. Like, in Brazil, you guys are the ones who defend thieves; you victimize them and you talk about human rights and all that shit. Thieves don't think about human rights when they're robbing or killing people. We have to kill them, create a concentration camp like they did in Germany and kill them all. But you sociologists protect them; you always say that they commit crime because of their poverty. No, they commit crime because they want to. I was poor in Brazil but I always worked, it has nothing to do with poverty. So if I start talking to you, telling you about all these Brazilians here in London exploiting each other, you'll say it's because of poverty, when you don't know the reality, because you're here to study, not to live with us.

Within this encounter, sociologists were discussed in clearly negative terms. Sociologists were seen as being 'complicated', in which they 'victimised' and 'protected' criminals. Due to being a sociologist studying here, I was seen as not knowing 'the reality', since I did not live with Brazilians. This, he noted, would result in me misconstruing his analysis of why Brazilians 'exploit each other'. Such fraught encounters can always transpire when conducting ethnography.

During interviews, when people have previously agreed to talk to the researcher this is less likely to happen. However, this does not mean that 'uneasiness' and power relations are not present. On some occasions, the act of 'turning the recorder on' caused both me and the participant discomfort. Clicking on the recorder's button was like activating the hierarchy between us. Before pressing the button, I could be seen as one of them. As soon as I started recording, people would change the way they were speaking, apologising for using bad words or feeling unable to talk. For example, Larissa, a 50 year-old transgender woman whom I met and talked to three times during my ethnography in a Brazilian nightclub, was uncomfortable with the recorder. She explained:

Sorry, I'm shy now. The recorder is blocking me, and I didn't expect this. It's funny how I change with the recorder being on. This means that the crazy me has a shy side, which is hidden, that people don't know about. Seriously, the recorder is annoying me. It conditions and moulds me because it seems that everyone can hear now what I'm

saying. You should add this to your work. Can you talk about it? Because completely open people like me who are talkative can be completely blocked by this little device.

Although in this case it is important to be mindful that such uneasiness is subject to issues of gender and confidentiality, this extract is similar to other experiences I had while doing interviews with Brazilians in London. My presence as Brazilian man, doing a PhD in London on Brazilians in London frequently shaped how the interview was developed, and the recorder frequently symbolized the power relation between the researcher and the interviewees. Technology can be therefore an obstacle and on reflection, the use of the recorder may have been a mistake. It might have been better not have not used the recorder in certain occasions, focusing on rapport and trust, rather than verbatim narratives.

Within the above section, I have illustrated by using encounters within the field how the issue of power is in a constant process of negotiation. I am therefore not advocating that power relations within the research process are equal in any way. However, from the discussion above, I would caution against claiming that such a process can only be seen as objectification and exploitation. While non-hierarchical relationships are desirable, they remained an unachievable ideal despite negotiating different markers; I was after all, not only 'one of them' but also a PhD researcher studying them. Yet we can still aspire towards more equitable relationships while remaining mindful that these relationships are a continual negotiation, playing out across raced, classed and gendered lines.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented the methodological approach that I adopted to address the research objectives of my thesis and the different phases that were involved in the research process. I explained how this research used a reflexive mixed approach, which combines ethnography as well as in-depth interviews with Brazilians in London. I have argued that a mixed-methods approach, utilizing a range of qualitative methods, allowed me to examine the research questions from numerous angles, seeing not only how people speak of but also engage with and negotiate

difference in their everyday lives.

Undertaking participant observation in places of leisure, I have argued, is important for expressing some of the existing class differences within the Brazilian population in London, as well as for highlighting how differences are additionally performed, reproduced and managed within these places. I argue that by focusing on the forms of social engagement that are particular to migrant club scenes, as well as other places of leisure, like house parties, we can indeed contextualise the complexity of shifting affiliations and interactions. This material was then complemented by in-depth interviews, which aimed to understand the lives of these subjects before coming to London, as well as their lives as migrants. The interviews focused on the everyday micro events of people's lives, in Brazil and in the UK, and sought to connect these events to a broader economic, political and social context. The following empirical chapters will draw out the similarities and differences among these Brazilian migrants' experiences, in order to shed light on how they produce, negotiate and reinvent difference when doing migration in London.

Chapter 4

Navigating Brazilian journeys in London

Well, before anything, it is fundamental to talk about our roots. I can't talk about London without telling you my story in Brazil, my story in London wouldn't exist without my story in Brazil (Tiago, May 2014)¹⁴.

This first analytical chapter problematizes Brazilian migration to London as a process composed of diverse journeys. As discussed in Chapter 2, despite acknowledging the diversification of the population abroad from the late 1990s, in terms of class, region and gender, many studies on Brazilian migration do not further analyse the fragmented experience of Brazilian migrants and their lifestyles abroad. In many studies, Brazilians have still been framed through the image of the migrant worker who *flows* through a transnational network in search of better (often economic) opportunities (Fusco, 2002; Goza, 2003; Sasaki, 2006). Instead of analysing Brazilians *flowing* to London, in this chapter I investigate the continuous and redirecting movements of people's journeys (Knowles, 2014), by paying attention to the various factors that differently shape them. Exploring these diverse journeys, my data questions the generalizing and homogenising discussions on migration, such as the two opposed migrant analogies 'from the Global South' and 'from the Global North'. The former is often explained through 'push and pull' (mostly economic) factors (Sassen, 1988), while the latter is framed as a matter of lifestyle choices (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009).

Recognising that an immigrant is before anything an emigrant (Sayad, 2004), this chapter follows the different journeys of Brazilians in London, examining their lives in Brazil and to their processes of arrival and settlement in London. Following Sayad, I consider the sets of social characteristics and socially determined positions and aptitudes that differently position the migrant in the 'host society' as well as the set of factors present at the point of arrival (such as differences regarding documental status and working conditions) (2004:7-20). In doing so, we can understand how one

¹⁴ Fieldwork note, taken in a pub in South London before starting the interview with Tiago.

series of factors is retranslated into the other, differently shaping migrants' journeys to/in London.

Drawing on interviews, I have organised this chapter into four sections. I start by presenting a brief contextualization of Brazilian migration to the UK, highlighting several of the institutional, economic, political and social contexts, in both societies of emigration and immigration. I then present five different journeys (Knowles, 2014) developed by Brazilians in London through their personal narratives. These narratives focus on their lives in Brazil and on the rationale behind their decisions to migrate, moving to their arrival in London and later, to the development of their journeys further on. Through such discussions, I examine how their experiences have been shaped by class, gender and documental status.

Brazilian migration to/in the UK

Avoiding economic or structural determinism and generalization, in this section I argue that it is still important to take into account the structural conditionings of the sending and host societies as well as, as noted by Sayad (2004), its specific temporality. By contextualising Brazilian migration to the UK, within the economic, social and political context – of both societies, it is therefore possible to understand various structural constraints. This contextualisation, I argue, based on my data, sets up the stage on which migrants' journeys are performed, that which Bourdieu (2014) would call the 'repertoire' of possibilities – the space of possibilities that the system offers. This space of (different) possibilities also opens room to start understanding Brazilian migration to the UK as being a heterogeneous process, which is also shaped by other, individual, sets of factors.

Colonial and post-colonial links

Brazil's colonial and post-colonial history, as Padilla (2009) notes, is an important factor for framing migration trends to Europe. This is important not only because colonisation resulted in economic disparities between Western Europe and the rest of the world, but also because such a process also colonised, as suggested by

Sayad (2014), ‘bodies and souls’ (65), by imposing a new social system, new cultural and social ways of organizing society and people’s lives. As noted by Beserra (2000), the politics of Western expansion (European colonialism and, later, American imperialism) has always been established through a belief in the superiority of the Western countries’ way of life. Brazil, for instance, has not had a direct colonial relationship with the UK. Nevertheless, Brazil, and the rest of Latin America, has a long history – which dates back to the eighteenth century - of diplomatic, economic and cultural relationships with the UK (McIlwaine, 2007; Gutierrez-Garza, 2013), which helped to reproduce such belief in its allegedly superior way of life.

As shown in Chapter 2, in the 19th century when Portugal and Spain had already lost their central power in the colonial world system, Brazil, wanting to become a modern civilised nation, saw Great Britain and France as the modern/liberal references to be followed (Guimarães, 2002). Not coincidentally, in 1911 a British newspaper registered the existence of Brazilians coming to London for the purpose of ‘learn(ing) to become English’ (Robins, 2014: 30), although at that time the numbers of Brazilians in the U.K was practically statically insignificant. As Robins notes, the first appearance of Brazilians in the UK census data, registered in 1901, recorded 2000 people, of whom the great majority were of British ancestry returning home with their families (29-30).

In the 20th century, the UK, which continued to be perceived as a modern liberal country, was a destination for Brazilian exiles, such as individuals who were against the military dictatorship in the 1960s (McIlwaine, 2007; Sheringham, 2011; Robins, 2014). Among them were two famous Brazilian musicians, Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso, who lived in exile in London, as their music was considered ‘subversive’ by the dictatorship (Sheringham, 2011; Robins, 2014). During this period, the number of Brazilians in the UK is estimated between 2000 and 4000 – mainly students and political exiles (Kubal et al., 2011). The number of Brazilians in London increased 20 years later, with the so-called ‘first wave of migration’.

From the disillusioned middle-class to diversified Brazilians

As discussed in Chapter 2, a series of political, economic and social changes marked Brazil in the late 1980s with high levels of unemployment, inequalities and economic instability. It was from this context of changes and disillusionments that the first

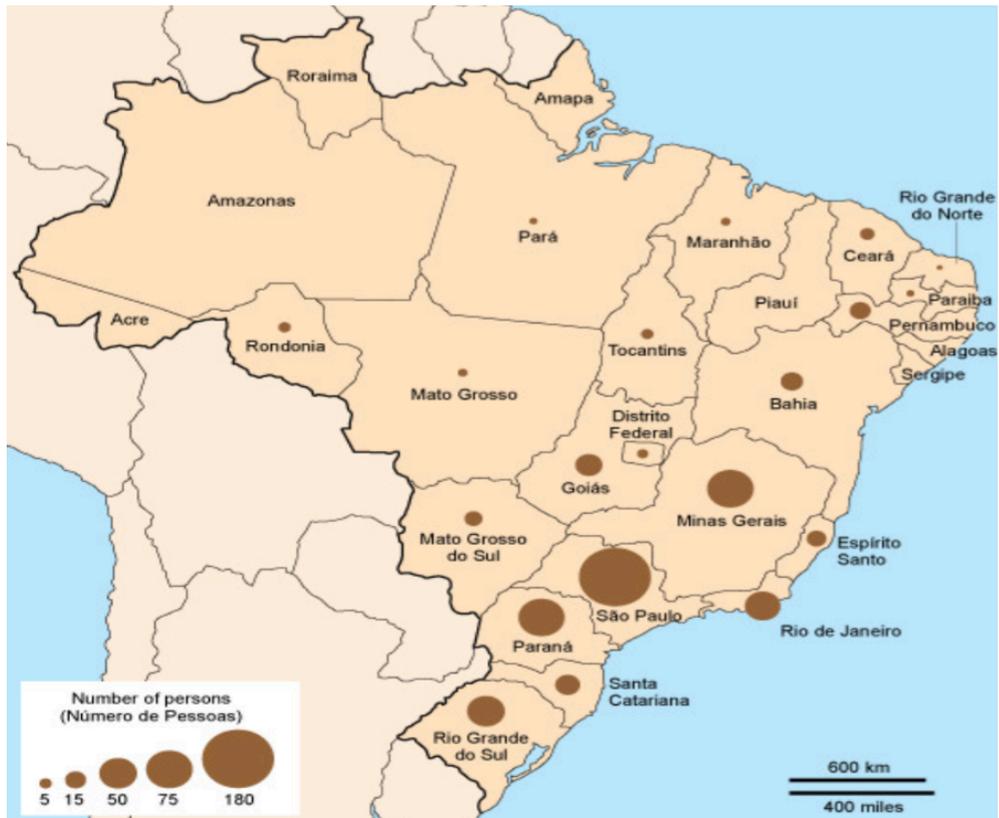
wave of migration emerged. Composed of middle class Brazilians, these migrants often talked about their ‘pioneering spirit’ (Margolis, 1994; Sasaki, 1995; Torresan, 1994). Despite studies over focusing on the economic instability in Brazil as being a ‘push’ factor (Margolis, 1994; Sales, 1995), in her study on Brazilians in London, Torresan (1994) includes other factors in her analysis. She shows that Brazilians in London were middle-class young people who wanted to keep their social status in a context of crisis, but also to have life experiences and try to construct new ‘personal’ and/or ‘national/ethnic identities’ (Torresan, 1994). According to Torresan (1995), this population saw their experience as temporary, not categorising themselves as migrants. Yet, during this period there was already the formation of a small cluster of Brazilians living in Bayswater, central London (known by Brazilians as *Brazilwater*).

As analysed in Chapter 2, from the late 1990s, the constitution of transnational networks alongside structural changes in Brazil, such as economic stability, credit facilities and cheaper airfares, diversified the Brazilian population abroad in terms of class, gender and region. Brazilian migrants were no longer only drawn from the middle-classes of the Southern and Southeastern states (the richest part of the country), but also from less privileged areas, such as Central and Northeastern regions, as well as from the lower fractions of the middle-class and upper fraction of the working class (Ribeiro, 1998; Torresan, 2012). It is within this context that the numbers of Brazilians in the U.K increased, especially in the 2000s, being estimated by analysts and organizations to be about 200,000 throughout the U.K; the number estimated to be in London in this period varies between 130,000 and 160,000 (Cwerner, 2001; Kubal et al, 2011).

Recent quantitative studies on Brazilians in London tend to portray similar findings (McIlwaine et al, 2011; Evans et al, 2011; Kubal et al., 2011). Brazilians in London are a young population, highly educated in relation to Brazilians as a whole¹⁵ and coming from diverse regions. Figure 2 shows the states from the South and Southeast regions that contribute the highest proportion of migrants, with the greatest numbers coming from São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul and Rio de Janeiro, followed by Goiás in the Central region of the country (Evans et al, 2011).

¹⁵ The average number of years of education amongst Brazilians over 15 years old has been increasing in the last decades, however remains very low. It increased from 4 years of study in 1980 to 6.2 in 2000 (IBGE/SIDRA, 2000).

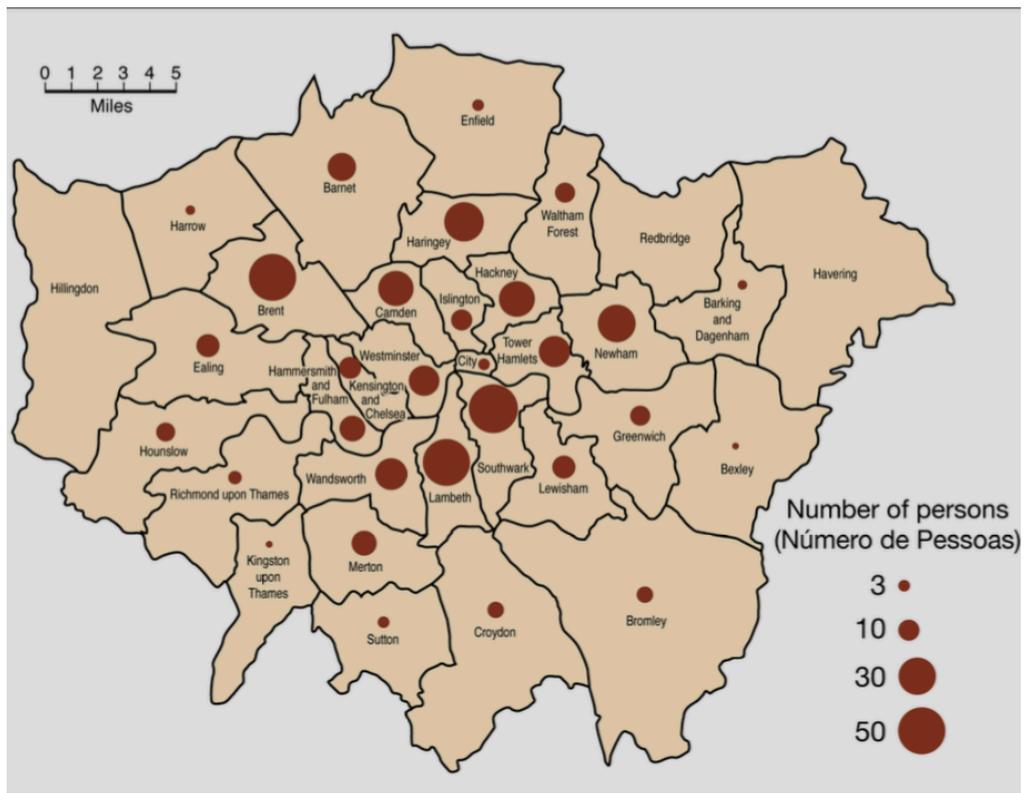
Figure 2: Map with migrants' origin in Brazil



Source: Evans et al (2011:10)

As their numbers increased, Brazilians in London experienced a geographical dispersal across the city, as shown in Figure 3. Yet, some districts and boroughs are known for having higher concentrations of Brazilians, such as Willesden Junction in Brent and Stockwell in Lambeth (Evans et al, 2011).

Figure 3: Brazilians in borough of residence in London



Source: Evans et al (2011:26)

Brazilians in London have also experienced a trend of feminization. According to the 2001 census, 61% of Brazilian migrants in London were women (Kubal et al., 2011). Regarding reasons to migrate, Brazilians often mention different and compound reasons for coming to London, such as studying and having a life experience, studying and working, and working to save money (Evans et al. 2011). Yet, studies on Brazilians (Evans et al., 2011; MacIlwaine et al., 2011; Kubal et al., 2011), as Brightwell argues, take economic factors as ‘the leading cause for Brazilians coming to the UK’ (2012: 91). These studies also show that the majority of Brazilian migrants have been through an occupational downgrade, working, or having worked, in so-called ‘unskilled’ jobs in the service sector (Evans et al. 2011). Although most hold at least secondary school qualifications or university degrees, they cannot easily find ‘qualified’ jobs in London due to their lack English skills, their non-EU qualifications, which are rarely recognised in the UK, and the fact that many have entered under an irregular migration status (McIlwaine, 2007; Evans et al., 2011).

Brazilians in London have a variety of documental statuses, which legally constrain their lives in different ways. Given the difficulties in collecting it, data

around documental status tends to vary. Nevertheless, a high proportion of Brazilians in London tend to enter the country on a 6 month tourist visa and become irregular migrants when the visa expires¹⁶ (Evans et al., 2011; McIlwaine et al, 2011). McIlwaine et al's (2011) study suggests that 38% of Brazilian respondents were irregular migrants. In order to enter and stay in the country as a tourist (overseas visitor), according to the Home Office (2015), one must be able to show they have adequate funds for their visit and that they intend to return to their home country within 6 months. They must not work, conduct business, obtain public funds¹⁷ or receive free medical treatment from the National Health Service (NHS) whilst in the UK. Thus, overseas visitors already have their space of possibilities to enter and live in the country limited. Yet, the constraint increases when they become irregular migrants. Besides not having legal access to work, health service and public funds, their new migration status is considered a criminal offence that can lead to prosecution and removal from the UK (Home Office, 2015). This places these Brazilians in a vulnerable position in which they are often subjected to numerous precarious situations, such as being exploited by employers who do not pay the minimum wage or who retain their wages (McIlwaine, 2007; Martins Jr, 2014).

The two main ways that Brazilians are able to stay in the country regularly is by having a European passport (ancestral links or marital relations) or a student visa (Evans et al, 2011; McIlwaine et al, 2011). However, having a student visa also limits the space of possibilities for Brazilians. Student visas offer no recourse to public funds and place restrictions on employment (Home Office, 2015). These restrictions have changed over the years. Until 2012, for instance, students studying English were able to work part-time on their student visas. Since then, however, only students in a UK higher education institution or a publicly funded further education college (Gutierrez-Garza, 2013) are legally able to work part-time. Shifts in the institutional

¹⁶ Regular migration is administered through visitor, work, student or family reunion visas. Irregular migration, which the Home Office (2007) calls 'illegal migration', can take the form of either visa overstaying (remaining in the country with an expired visa), or irregular entry with false documents or as smuggling (Shain, 2012).

¹⁷ Public funds include a range of benefits, such as working tax credit, housing benefit, social fund payment, allocation of local authority housing, and income-based jobseeker's allowance (Home Office, 2015).

U.K migration legislation, thus, are an important structural factor that helps us to comprehend the diversity of Brazilians' journeys in London.

Constraints of UK immigration law

Despite the recent increase in immigration levels, historically Britain has been a nation of emigration. During the 70s and 80s, for instance, Britain experienced considerable process of emigration, with an average outflow of 50 thousand people per year (Schain, 2012). From 1901 to 1997, there was a net exodus of 15.6 million people from the UK (Schain, 2012; Davies, 2015). During that time, many policies and immigration acts were made to attract – and regulate – migrants, especially those coming from the commonwealth. However, within the context of high emigration, these pieces of legislation were, generally speaking, not strictly followed (Loyal, 2014). This context facilitated the entry and settlement of Brazilians who migrated during the 1980s and early 1990s (Torresan, 1994).

Up to early 2000s, the British Government seemed to turn a blind eye to Brazilian migration as a 'problem', since the Home Office was more focused on the perceived problem of asylum seekers (Jordan and Duvel, 2002). In 1991, the Home Office registered that 87,000 Brazilians had travelled to the UK that year: 54,000 as visitors, 5,910 as students, and 721 who were refused entry. Another 25,869 were listed as 'other' - business visas, diplomats, people in transit and so on (Robins, 2014). For Torresan (1994), Brazilians were not seen as a problem by the Home Office for two reasons. Firstly, she discusses the perception of their racial characteristics. She found out that Brazilians who had problems with immigration control were those with darker skin. At the same time, she quotes a Home Office report on Brazilian immigration stating that Brazilians tend to be of European extraction, with Italian features, and often claim to be European when encountered. The second reason Torresan discusses is that the Home Office understood Brazilians as being temporary, middle-class young people who would not create problems or seek to claim rights (Torresan, 1994: 35).

Nevertheless, from the late 90s and 2000s, new acts were made more restrictive in practice, following an increase in the net migration. As demonstrated by Davies (2015), in 1999, the Immigration and Asylum Act imposed new restrictions on work for migrants. In 2004, another Act was passed defining entry into the UK

without real documents as a criminal offence, expanding police powers to immigration officials. In 2006, the Labour Party passed a new Act, giving powers to the Home Secretary allowing them the right to withdraw a citizen of their citizenship or right of abode. The idea was to ‘manage migration’, and focus on reducing undocumented migration. Within the current times of crisis and recession, the British government has increasingly been – since 2008 - changing their immigration law and increasing the control in their borders (Anderson, 2010). The Work Permit Scheme, for instance, was substituted in 2008 by the point-based immigration system, which produced different statuses or ‘tiers’ among migrants¹⁸. The changes made it difficult for non-EU migrants to acquire visas and live in the U.K regularly. Since then, immigration policies have further limited the rights of students and particular labour migrants, based on calculated interventions that respond specifically to the opening of the European Union to Eastern European countries and the acquisition of cheap, low skilled, but legal labour (Gutierrez-Garza, 2013). As noted by Martin Ruhs and Bridget Anderson (2008) ‘the government expects to meet all of their low-skilled vacancies with workers from the enlarged EU. This expectation is reflected in the proposal for a new points-based system for managing migration in the UK, which aims to strictly limit low-skilled immigration from outside the EEA’ (8).

Not coincidentally, in the 2000s, the Home Office began to see Brazilian emigration as a problem. This is reflected in the figures presented by Robins (2014): in 2002 the UK had 130,000 Brazilians entering the country out of which 2400 were refused; in 2003, 127,000 entered and 4385 were refused. More recently, as Gordon et al (2009) show, recent Home Office figures place Brazilians as the second most likely ethnic group to be deported. By increasing the constraints to enter and to live in the country, such structural shifts in migration law, as I will illustrate below with my data, differently impact the ways in which Brazilians develop their journeys in London.

¹⁸ The UK’s points based tier system is divided into: highly skilled migrant and investors (Tier 1), skilled workers (Tier 2), low skilled worker (Tier3), while students enter under Tier 4, and youth mobility schemes and temporary workers (e.g. au pairs) are covered by Tier 5 (see Anderson, 2010).

Framing the journey narratives

Now that I have briefly framed several of the social, political and economic contexts which shape Brazilian migration to and within the U.K, it is necessary to understand how this diversity is actually lived through in migrants' journeys. The general view described above serves as both the 'site of meaning' that the migrants use to construct their own narratives¹⁹ (Gutierrez-Garza, 2013) and to make sense of the different positions they occupied in Brazil as well as in London. Their narratives allow us to pay close attention to the meaning that migrants give to their experience, which is in constant juxtaposition with the objective conditions that helped framing their experiences (Sayad, 2004). Thus, in the next three sections, I present the personal narratives of five Brazilian migrants in London.

The journeys of Leonardo, Tiago, Elza, Manoel and Maria not only differently represent the journeys of many other Brazilians that I interviewed in London, but they also highlight how social markers of class and gender, for instance, differently shape Brazilians' journeys in and to London. The journey of Leonardo represents the journeys of other upper-middle-class Brazilians who came to London as highly-skilled professionals to work in multinational companies. The journey of Manoel and Maria represent many other journeys of middle-class Brazilians who came to London to have life experiences and learn English, thus improving their cultural capital, but who went through an economic and occupational downgrade after their arrival. Tiago and Elza's journeys are representative of those of other working-class Brazilians who migrated, at least in part, in order to improve their economic capital for a short period of time and go back to Brazil. These categories of journeys are important to understand, later, how Brazilians produce and negotiate difference in London. While these categories of journeys are not fixed, they are drawn from the patterns found in my interviews and ethnographic notes and serve as a useful analytical tool.

I focus on these journeys because despite recent quantitative research highlighting changes in the profile of Brazilians abroad, including London (Evans et

¹⁹ Narrative, as Gardner puts it, 'is a socially constructed symbolic act in the double sense that (a) it takes on meaning only in a social context and (b) it plays a role in the construction of that social context as a site of meaning within which social actors are implicated' (2002:31 apud Gutierrez-Garza, 2013).

al, 2011; McIlwaine et al, 2011), qualitative studies have not analysed how this diversity shapes the experiences of Brazilians in London. Recent studies on Brazilian migration to London has, indeed, focused on different aspects of the everyday lives of Brazilians (see for instance Brightwell, 2012; Sheringham, 2011) as transnational practices. Yet, these studies have not provided a nuanced analysis on how social differences impact the ways in which their mobile experiences are lived.²⁰ Instead, studies on Brazilians, as well as Latin Americans abroad – as Gutierrez-Garza (2013) highlights-, still implicitly use the classic ‘push and pull’ theoretical framework (see Guarnizo, 2006; Evans et al., 2011). In other words, they focus the research on the flow of those who migrate through the constitution of social ties for work, with the majority having the aim of saving money and going back to Brazil to buy assets and open businesses.

When examining the narratives of Brazilians’ journeys in London, it is possible to see that the motivations they describe for migrating are, firstly, linked to the wider political, economic and social context in both their country of origin and country of destination. Yet their subjective, emotional and personal aspirations – which are differently shaped by social markers, such as class and gender – also play a role in many different steps of their journeys. The importance of class and gender is highlighted not only in the complex decision to migrate, but also in a constant process of re-evaluation and re-signification of the journey, as we can see through migrants’ own narratives.

Brazil and Decisions to Migrate

Motivations to migrate are never simple or straightforward. Similarly to what Martes (2011) found with Brazilians in Massachussets, it was difficult for me, in London, ‘to find an interviewee who pointed to a sole reason to justify the decision to emigrate’ (57). Moreover, the decision is also always related to a set of circumstances (such as the end of a relationship), to life cycle, age (being single, young) and so on.

²⁰ The recent work of Gutierrez-Garza (2013) is an exception that touches upon issues of gender and class when analysing the life and work of Latin American domestic and sex workers in London, including Brazilian women.

Individuals' class and gender differently position them in social space, opening up and/or closing down their possibilities for navigating within the wider political, economic and social context in Brazil. These markers also directly influence their decisions to migrate, as the following journeys show.

Leonardo

Leonardo primarily viewed migration as a temporary life experience, a cultural investment an opportunity to improve his – already high – cultural and social capital, which would better position him in the high-skilled labour market. A descendent of Italian migrants, Leonardo was born in 1986, and grew up in Bauru, a countryside town in São Paulo State. The middle son of three, his mother was employed in a public job at a bank and his father was an entrepreneur. He lived among the upper middle class, studying in good private schools, until he was 17 years old when his father's company – a petrol station – went bankrupt.

After that we went to live in Brasilia. My father got a job there and my uncle was also supporting us. My parents registered me to study in a public school, but I stayed just 3 months there. The school was very bad, we never had classes. I went back to a private school, finished my high school and started doing business and management at UNB [Federal University of Brasilia]. Because of the economic situation of my family had changed, I couldn't have the experience of studying in another city.

Even though Leonardo's family experienced economic problems, his family network provided them with support to start a new life, which included providing Leonardo with a good education in private schools that then resulted in him studying in a prestigious university. Despite not being able to experience living away from his parents, Leonardo's cultural and social capital later helped him to have this experience abroad. Whilst doing his BA, Leonardo already began working as a trainee in a good company, through a contact of his brother who was employed at the same company. His brother, who had recently graduated in Economics, was also part of a student exchange programme through which he had gone to study and work in the US for a few months. As his brother always wanted to live and work abroad, he knew the importance of not only speaking a good level of English, but also of having a European passport to facilitate his mobility. Thus, he requested his Italian citizenship,

facilitating the process for the other members of the family. After doing a one-year internship in a large multinational company in Switzerland, his brother was made permanent in the company and started realising his ambition of being an highly skilled international worker. His brother's move facilitated Leonardo in also moving abroad, when the opportunity came in 2009. Leonardo had recently graduated when he followed in his brother's footsteps.

I was already working in a big telecommunications company in Rio [de Janeiro]. It was a good job and I loved Rio. But I decided to register myself in a traineeship abroad, so I could have this cultural experience that would also be good on my CV, and I could improve my English. I ended up getting offered a traineeship at the same company that my brother was working at, in Switzerland.

Thus, aiming to have an short-term occupational and life/cultural experience, Leonardo then acquired his Italian passport, quit his job and moved to Europe.

Tiago

Tiago came to Europe with the same idea of 'investing in himself', by working in another country and having an experience abroad. However, the ways in which Leonardo and Tiago imagined this investment differs almost to the same extent as their social and family circumstances. Tiago was born in 1967, in a very small rural town in the countryside of Ceara, a state in the Northeast of Brazil. His mother had 15 children, but due to the very poor sanitarian conditions of the countryside at that time, four of them died. For Tiago, the youngest child of the family, learning to live a mobile life came to be intertwined with his earliest awareness of his own existence: 'The first memory that I have is of me as a three year old packing everything we had to move to São Paulo.' His parents had decided to leave their rural life and try 'an urban life in São Paulo, as many other people did, during that decade.' After living in São Paulo for a year, his father decided he wanted to go back to their rural life. However, his mother did not. They divorced and she stayed in São Paulo with their 6 youngest children. A single mother and working as a maid, Tiago's mother decided decided to go back to Ceara after one year.

At the age of 9, Tiago and his mother were living in Ceara, when another family asked to help 'raise' him, so he could have a better life, with food, housing and

education. Tiago lived with and worked for this family at their local restaurant doing domestic activities until he was 14, when he went to live with his sister in São Paulo. There he also ‘worked’ doing domestic services and baby-sitting his nephew. Tiago got his first paid job at 17 in a big supermarket, when he was about to finish high school. Tiago worked in the supermarket for few years, saving money and taking hairdressing courses in the evening. He wanted to have his own salon. Tiago left his job at the supermarket and worked as a full-time hairdresser for 13 years, when the opportunity of coming to Europe arose.

The idea of coming here [London] actually was a mix of many things. I always wanted to speak English, I loved English. I found it chic, it was my dream – since I was very young – to live in a country where I could speak English, like chic people. My idol was Elvis Presley. I was fascinated by him. I had applied for a visa to go to the US but they refused it. Three years later [1999] my friend, Adolfo, who was living in London, called me and said he would help me come here. The idea was to come for one year, learn English, make some money, and go back. People back home used to say that hairdressers make a lot of money here.

Tiago embarked to London, following the steps of his friend, with the initial project of living abroad for one year. Initially fitting with the representation of the ‘economic migrant’, the aim was to make some money, have a life experience, and to try and learn the language that he had always found ‘chic’. Tiago came to Europe with a friend, Fabio, ten years before Leonardo, in 1999.

Elza

Despite being born in the same year as Leonardo (1986), Elza has a similar background to Tiago. She also saw coming to London as an investment, however, she would (initially) fit more with the classic image of the ‘economic (female) migrant’. The youngest daughter of a working-class single mother, Elza is a black woman born in Goiania, the capital of the state of Goiás. Like Tiago, Elza learned to be mobile at a very young age, navigating many different informal jobs to bring her mother extra money. She managed to finish high school in public schools, whilst working in a small factory that made sweets. There, when she was 18 years old, she started dating the man who would be her husband and the father of her first daughter. The factory

belonged to her husband's aunt, who had set it up with the money that she earned working as a migrant in the U.S. After two years of being married, working and earning the Brazilian minimum wage in the factory, Elza and her husband decided to go to Europe, work for a short time, save money and open a small business in Brazil, as his aunt had previously done.

My husband came first. His aunt was illegal in the U.S and things were getting harder there. So she went from the US to Italy to request her Italian citizenship. She got it, and took her nieces and nephews to Italy to also claim their citizenship. They then came to London with her, because she was the one who looked after them. This is how my husband managed to come here, in 2006.

Following in his aunt's footsteps and receiving her support, Elza's husband worked and saved money for one year in order to buy Elza's ticket to London. Elza came to London in 2007 with her daughter, aiming to stay for two years.

Manoel

Manoel also saw migration as an investment, an investment in himself and a means to change his lifestyle and leave the past behind. Manoel first saw his life change due to the economic downgrade of his family in the 1980s. Manoel was born in Santos, on the coast of São Paulo state, in 1976. The middle son of a Spanish mother who came to Brazil with her parents when she was 16 years, Manoel grew up in a wealthy, upper middle-class environment until he was 12 years old.

We had a very good life in Santos. My parents had a good accountancy business. My grandparents had money as well, so they used to travel to Europe every year. But everything changed with their divorce and then with my dad's bankruptcy. My father was very violent towards my mum and us. My mother left the good life that we used to have and we moved to Bahia [in the Northeast] to live with my aunt. My mother managed to start everything over from scratch - she started working in a hospital there - but not with the same life we used to have.

With the help of his mother's sister, Manoel grew up amongst upper-middle class people in Salvador/Bahia – a city that attracts many tourists. Wanting to have money to be able to emulate the lifestyle of his friends, Manoel began working on the beach drawing fake tattoos on tourists. He kept studying and working in other informal jobs related to tourism, until he was 18 years old, when his girlfriend got

pregnant. They got married and he started doing a technical course in accounting and later did a traineeship in a bank for two years. From his experience of working in the bank and other contacts, he got a job in a hospital in 1994, where he worked for four years in the IT sector, until he had the idea of coming to Europe.

Financially I was doing well. I even had the salary of someone with a higher education. But I was feeling completely lost. I was dissatisfied with my job, there was too much corruption. Also, I had just divorced. I was too young, with a baby, and my friends were all single. I just wanted to party and take drugs with them, and for the family this was complicated. We divorced. Everyone used to criticise me saying that I would be no one. They wanted me to do a BA in law. I didn't want to. My life was shit. Since the divorce, I never managed to settle my mind, everything was wrong. I had to get out of that, change my lifestyle.

With the aim of changing his lifestyle, getting over the end of his relationship and escaping the pressure from relatives and friends to 'become someone', Manoel gave his notice at work. With the previous month's pay check, he embarked to Portugal in 2003, where his younger brother and a friend were already living.

Maria

Maria was also unhappy with her lifestyle and family pressure in Brazil. Migration was a way to culturally invest in herself, while getting away from the pressure and deciding what to do with her life in Brazil. Maria was born in São Paulo, in 1962, the granddaughter of Spanish and French immigrants who came to Brazil at the beginning of the 20th century. Maria, the third of four children, grew up in an upper middle-class environment. Her father had a good job in a multinational engineering company, while her mother stayed at home looking after the family. Maria had always had relationship problems with her mother, who by 'being submissive in a sexist family' reproduced the same model of dominance among her children.

[My mother and I] had a lot of conflict, real conflicts, because my brother was the prince of the house. On weekends, my mother used to wake us up early, screaming, 'Let's go to the kitchen!' We [the women] used to spend the whole morning cooking, and the prince slept. After we finished eating, my brother used to sit on the couch and we had to clean everything. It was the mentality that the women do the

housework and men do nothing. My mother was an extremely hard woman with us, with her Catholic moralism.

Maria had always been considered the ‘black sheep of the family’, and besides rebelling against her mother, she also used to have problems with the sisters from the Catholic private schools she attended, as ‘they were very strict and hypocrites’. After numerous conflicts, Maria convinced her parents to let her study in a public school, a new reality that, due to her family class positioning, lasted for just a short time. After being caught with marihuana, she went back to private school and was grounded by her parents, only being allowed to leave her house to go to the church. Maria did not go to university, as her siblings and friends did. At the age 22, the opportunity to come to London appeared, unexpectedly, when she was feeling lost compared to the ‘well-planned middle-class life’ of her friends and relatives.

Coming here was a mix of things, it was not planned. This relationship with my mother indeed contributed to it. I wanted to live my life, make my own mistakes, and my mother was always very impeditive. I was also a little lost. I was young, 22, and had not studied. I was only working voluntarily [with homeless children] without money. I didn’t know what to do. My friends and siblings were having their normal life, finishing university, dating, with their planned little life. Then this Brazilian journalist’s wife called me from London, asking if I wanted to look after their kids – 4 years old and 8 months – because they wanted someone who could speak Portuguese to look after them for a while. The journalist is a cousin of my sister-in-law. She told me I was going to live with them, and I could study English.

Maria came to London in 1985. Like the others, she was also ‘following the steps’ of a family member, her brother who had lived in London for one year in 1981. He had come with his girlfriend, to have a life experience, learn English and travel around Europe. This was Maria’s project, stay for one year, learn English, work to travel in Europe, then return.

Revisiting the decision to migrate

From my data above, we can see how different groups create dreams and expectations of success within the ideological boundaries of their (classed and gendered) possibilities (Bourdieu, 1984; Beserra, 2000). The five journeys above illustrate how institutional, economic, political and social context, alongside

subjective, emotional and personal reasons – shaped by their classed and gendered experiences – intersected in the individuals’ complex decisions to migrate. Firstly, these decisions are inextricably linked to the differential political economies between the countries of origin and the destination, which influences the migrants’ personal dreams and aspirations. Every Brazilian that I interviewed in London saw migration as a way to improve their lives. Improving their lives meant going to a place where they could accomplish some of the ideals of material and cultural consumption of the Western ‘modern’ lifestyle, where they imagine they can achieve ‘their dreams of wealth, respectability, and autonomy’ (Appadurai, 1996:63). As Margolis (2013) argues, in Brazil there is a widespread common sense that all that is ‘modern’ is located in the United States and in Western Europe, since Brazil still has not metaphorically shifted into what is thought of as ‘modernity’. Going to Europe also means leaving behind a place where ‘capitalist development has disrupted prior systems of production and diffused values and positive expectations about “modern” ways of life’ (Beserra, 2000:19). While all the migrants I spoke to shared a desire to improve their lives by accessing a ‘modern’ lifestyle, this desire was shaped in distinct ways by their specific classed and gendered positions.

For Leonardo, for instance, in Europe he can pursue work experience which will further increase his possibilities in the high skilled labour market, acquiring more cultural, social and symbolic capital to add to his C.V; he will improve his English, meet more people, acquire more knowledge by working in a valued, multinational Western company. For Tiago and Elza, migration was a means to improve their class situation. Tiago saw it as an investment that would allow him to quickly improve his economic capital. But, it was also an opportunity to improve his cultural and symbolic capital by living in a place where people and their language are ‘chic’ and where he might learn to speak that language. For Elza, Europe was a place to make a quick economic investment, even though she came to London because her husband decided to. On the other hand, Manoel and Maria saw migration as a way to deal with family pressures, which were shaped by class and gender expectations that they were not able to manage in Brazil. Both wanted to change their lifestyles. Manoel felt he had failed as a father and a husband. Even though he was doing well economically, he had lost his wife and daughter because of his lifestyle of parties and drugs. The feeling of failure was emphasised by the fact people claimed he would never ‘be someone’, as he was not following the middle-class family path of going to university

and being a responsible father and husband. Migration was a way to leave the past behind and re-invent himself. Similarly, Maria also saw migration as a way to change her lifestyle, moving away from a sexist society, from the conflicts with her mother and from the (middle-classed) pressure to have a ‘planned little life’. Therefore, Europe is seen as the (modern) place that concentrates the different capitals necessary for improving one’s life, be it through ‘reinvention’ or self-investment. These migrants’ diverse capital – economic, cultural, social and symbolic – differently shaped their decisions to migrate, and continued to shape their journeys in London.

Dealing with the border

Migrants’ experience of arrival in the U.K is also dependent upon some of their social markers, like class and nationality, as well as on the ‘repertoire’ of possibilities (Bourdieu, 2014) that the system offers. In other words, when dealing with immigration control, their entrance is shaped by the level of constraint in the legislative framework of immigration laws, which gives more or less possibilities to the ways in which migrants can use their different types of capital or resources to navigate such constraints. Thus, alongside the legislative framework at the time of their arrival, nationality as well as the volume and composition of their capital, differently shape the way in which their arrival in the U.K happens. Speaking the language (cultural capital), having money to pay for a student visa to show at the immigration control (economic capital), having a partner/family visa or an invitation letter (social capital), or a European passport (nationality), for instance, all direct the movement of their journey past the first boundary abroad, immigration control

Leonardo, Manoel and Maria

Leonardo and Manoel both arrived in Europe with their European passports and therefore did not have any problems getting into the country. Maria did not have a European document, but the time frame of her arrival as well as the conditions in which she arrived, made her entrance easier. Maria travelled to London in the 1980s when immigration control was not so restricted, especially against Brazilians, and her economic and social capital provided her an easy entrance. Even though she did not

speak any English, Maria's brother advised her about how to prepare for her journey. She 'had everything that was needed: 1000.00 dollars, an invitation letter from the family receiving me in the UK, my return ticket to Brazil and an English course paid for one year'. She made sure she met all the requirements, as she 'didn't want to do anything outside of the law, even though they were not that rigorous with immigration control at that time'.

Elza and Tiago

Elza and Tiago arrived in a different time frame from Maria, and under different circumstances. When she first arrived in London in 2007, coincidentally or not, Elza - who is black and did not speak English - was held at customs for six hours in an interrogation room, even though she had documents proving that she was married to an Italian citizen resident in London. After being interrogated, Elza was provided with a tourist visa and told to apply later for a partner visa. Tiago was the one who struggled the most in the process of entering the country.

As noted, he came in 1999, with his friend Fabio. Following the advice given by their friend who was already living in London, they paid an English school, rented accommodation, and brought enough money to show at immigration control. However, they had problems at Heathrow.

They took us to a room, like prison, terrible. I was feeling very sad. They got a translator there and started asking a lot of questions. I said I had my salon in Brazil and was here to learn English. They asked me what I would do if I didn't learn English after one year. I said I would renew my visa. They stopped the interview: how come a man who has business in Brazil claims he will stay abroad two years? They held our passports there and said they would let us in but we should go back next day to take a plane to Spain - where we had made the connection. I left the airport feeling like a loser. When we got outside my friend came to hug me, I told him to keep walking because I felt they were following us.

Due to the feeling of being followed all the time, Tiago and Fabio decided to go back to Brazil the following day; they did not 'want to stay here illegally, living in fear'. However, when they arrived in Spain for his flight connection, Tiago decided to stay: 'I couldn't go back to Brazil with that loss'. He gave his luggage to Fabio and

managed to enter Spain claiming that ‘they refused my entrance in the UK, but I had already spent too much money coming here, so I wanted to do tourism here’. After asking for a taxi to take him to a cheap hotel, Tiago started walking around Madrid, enjoying the city, but still thinking of a way to go to a place where ‘people speak English’.

Working, living and negotiating the migration project

As the following narratives illustrate, once in London, the intersection of gender, documental status and the diverse forms of capital that migrants have brought with them – plus the amount they acquire as they develop their journeys – differently impact on how they navigate within the possibilities and constraints offered by the city, in different contexts. Moreover, besides the fact of having to navigate different levels of constraints due to their gender and documental status, their economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital contour not only the ways in which their mobility is performed in the host society, but also the process of reformulating their migration project.

Leonardo

Having a European passport, speaking English, arriving in the country with housing and work, as well as living and working at the same multinational as his brother, facilitated Leonardo’s arrival in Europe. After all the new experiences he had in only few months of his traineeship in Switzerland, Leonardo re-evaluated his initial migration project of living abroad only for one year. At a professional level, his salary ‘was very good and I was learning a lot’. On a personal level, being a highly skilled worker in Switzerland gave him the possibility of having a lifestyle marked by constant new experiences.

These sort of experiences I would never have in Brazil. I was challenging myself all the time with new things at work. Also, as many of the workers were international, we were always doing things together; travelling, getting to know new places, going to ski in the mountains, so I decided to stay longer.

Leonardo had been working and living in Switzerland for 3 years, when the opportunity to move to London came up. Coming to London offered new forms of social and cultural capital.

They asked if I would like to move to London. Economically, I would earn less than what I was earning in Switzerland. But, coming to London would be another opportunity to have different experiences, working in another country, with another culture. It wasn't because of the money, it was an investment in myself. Also, as my brother was living in Switzerland when I got there, I didn't really have that moment just for myself, that moment of having to do everything on your own, challenging yourself to face the difficulties of being alone in an unknown place.

Leonardo came to London in the end of 2012. He faced some of the difficulties that he wanted to have, such as finding a place for himself to live, learning how to move around the city and starting as an employee in a country with a different culture. Despite working more than 50 hours per week, without receiving payment for this overtime, Leonardo believes that he and the rest of his team, of whom the majority are international, are the happiest workers in the company because many of them do not have family or friends in the UK. They 'are here to work, we want to get the work done and we see it happening'. Their life/work satisfaction comes with the challenges they face in each project and with 'the new experiences we have within the projects', which are expressed in the final results. The results, for Leonardo, do not only represent a return of the investments for the company, but also a return on the investment of the workers themselves, which comes with the unique experience of being employed in a big multinational company in one of the world's financial capitals.

Manoel

Having a Spanish passport and family support upon arrival also made Manoel's entrance and stay in Portugal in 2003 easier. The difficulties of his mobile life came later on, when he came to the UK without speaking English. He lived in Portugal with his brother only for two months. He had applied for a job in an agency that later called him to work in a turkey factory in the UK. 'At that time a pound was

worth eight times the *real* [Brazilian currency], so as soon as they offered me the job, I said yes. They took me to Norfolk. I didn't speak any English, at all.'

Manoel went through a huge occupational downgrade, from a good office job in a hospital in Brazil to work in a line production, in cold and precarious working conditions he had never experienced before. The factory, he says, 'smelled very bad, full of turkey blood, and we had to learn the whole 12 steps of the process of production'. Manoel quickly 'understood the logic of the things and I became a trainer after six months.' Manoel's understanding of the logic of the work place was not only related to understanding how to work efficiently, but also how to navigate the 'politics' of the company. Many workers did not have regular documents to live in the U.K, but as Manoel had a European passport, he started claiming his rights inside the plant. Every time he wanted to go to the toilet, for instance, and they refused, he would walk off and go to the toilet, threatening to call the union. 'I had documents, I had rights, they had to respect me'.

Having the right to work and live regularly in the UK, Manoel knew that he needed to invest in his cultural capital and qualify himself in order to move on from these precarious work conditions. He registered himself at a learning centre, as 'I would never grow in this country without speaking English'. Manoel started going to the learning centre to study English every day after work. They offered computing courses as well as language courses. Manoel had taken many IT courses in Brazil and the owner of the centre offered him a job one day, after she saw him teaching a student how to do an activity on the computer. After taking courses for free in the centre and taking the required English and Maths levels to work there, Manoel started developing his career inside of the company. He was promoted to supervisor and later to assistant manager at a branch in another city. He continued to take courses for free in the learning centre, as he wanted to eventually go to University. After a fight with the son of the manager, who was discriminating against Manoel, he decided it was time to move again. Manoel moved to London with his older brother, Mario, in 2008.

Manoel arrived in London with an increased understanding of the 'logic of living in the U.K', with more capitals to use – he spoke the language and had taken several IT courses. Seeking to take advantage of the capital that he had brought from Brazil as well as those he improved and acquired in the U.K, Manoel applied for work in the NHS. He says, 'I was trying to use my experience of working at a hospital – from Brazil – and my knowledge in IT'. While he did not get a job at the hospital, he

got a job in a hotel, as a porter, through people he had met in the house he was living with his brother. This new situation was ‘terrible because I felt I downgraded again, I was the manager there [north England] and a porter here, I felt I had taken a step back’. Manoel kept applying to work in the NHS and, eventually, was offered a job. He happily accepted the offer, seeing it as an opportunity not only to develop his career, but also to prove to people back home that he could ‘be someone’.

I started at the hospital as an administrative assistant. After two years, I became a supervisor. When I turned supervisor, I got them to pay my university fees, BA in IT. I knew I needed a college degree to grow here. Also, I would not accept dying without having my BA. My whole family always wanted me to go to university. In the past, living in the middle of the elite of Salvador, many people judged me. My friends, girlfriends, girlfriends’ mothers, always said I was not going to get anywhere, I would have no future. I always had this with myself, charging myself. That was my chance to prove them wrong. I got my BA in IT at the end of 2012, out of my country, in another language - what can give you more status and confidence than that?

His BA gave him status in Brazil as well as changing his life in London. Once he graduated, Manoel started applying for positions inside of the NHS until he got the job he always dreamt of, an IT position in one of the biggest hospital of the country. Working sometimes over 60 hours a week, Manoel is proud of his lifestyle in London and how his journey developed: ‘My job is Band 6, which means that I am in the corporate level. I don’t even clock in; clocking in is not for the level of work I am on.’ For Manoel, what made the difference for him was his will, ‘because I wanted and went for it. You need to have an objective in life. It is this will that makes people different from one another, everyone will have a different life and different realisations according to that’.

Maria

Like Leonardo, Maria also came to London with the idea of changing her lifestyle as well as to invest in herself for a while. Her idea was to study English for one year, have a life experience and go back to Brazil. But, just as many others, she had her objectives and plans changed while she was living her mobile life. However, her gender and documental status – alongside her diverse capital, shaped her mobile

experience under conditions very different than those Leonardo experienced. After working for four months as a nanny for the photographer's family, Maria, who had already met many people, decided to leave their home, find another job and live with friends. Even though her English level was still very poor, she never had problems finding work as there were many jobs for migrants when she arrived in London.

I went to the centre with my friend, looking for job. I went into a pizzeria and said, 'Me look for job' - I did not speak English very well. He asked, 'Now?' I said, 'Yes.' He gave me the key for the locker, a uniform and I started working. It was easy to get work in the 80s. If we didn't like a job, we would just leave and find another one.

Maria then kept meeting more Brazilians, developing her network, and changing jobs and housing. She was enjoying a sense of freedom that she had not experienced in Brazil, due to her family pressure and the political context. As Maria said, she had not lived in democracy in Brazil: 'Everything was freer here. I was living in squats, partying, taking drugs. I was releasing myself.'

Despite living a lifestyle full of apparent freedoms away from the social (class/gender) and political (dictatorship) constraints that she faced in Brazil, Maria also never stopped attending classes, as she knew 'speaking the language would be a differential for my life here'. After a very intense year of partying, living in squats, working and studying, she had already overstayed her one-year visa. She had decided to stay in London for a while, 'working and saving money to travel around Europe, just as the majority of Brazilians used to do at that time'. However, in the middle of her second year in London, her project had to change once again, as she became pregnant after a relationship with an English man.

I told him that I was pregnant. He told me, 'I never thought I could get someone pregnant. Well, this is your problem. If you want to abort it, you abort it. If you want to have it, you have it.' I had planned everything to have an abortion. I was crying every day because I wanted to have the baby, but I didn't have a visa here and it would be a scandal in Brazil: me returning to Brazil, single mother. Then one day the police went to the squat because we turned the electricity on, and it wasn't allowed. They took me to the police station, because my visa was expired. I wanted to kill myself. I was going back to Brazil, deported and pregnant! I said to the officer that my visa was expired because my intention was to go back to Brazil, but I wanted to travel first and my father always sent me money. He said he was going to let

me stay, but I had to promise I was going to sort my [visa] situation out.

Maria left the police station, and the first thing she did was call a Scottish friend, who had previously offered to marry her so she could stay in the country. She had not accepted before, as she 'did not want to do something wrong. But due to the circumstances that I found myself in, I got married in the same week'. After acquiring her visa, Maria still went through very hard moments. She was feeling completely lost, 'pregnant, living in a squat in the winter, with no heating'. Moreover, she was feeling very depressed with the lifestyle around her: 'Everyone was very high most of the time, not interacting with each other'. This was when she decided to call her mother, inform the family she was pregnant and go back to Brazil. She called because in the beginning of the 80s her brother's girlfriend had gotten pregnant when living in London. They had gone back to Brazil and lived in a room at Maria's parents' house, being completely supported by them. However, her mother's response to her was different from what she expected. 'She told me: "No! You stay where you are, you're better off there."' Her mother 'didn't want a single-mother daughter at home, because that was the mentality. Man can do everything, woman nothing.' This made her realise she was 'alone in the world and would have to change my life, once again.'

She managed to realise this change with the help she received from friends and from the state. With her friends' help, she moved to a proper house and got a job in a Brazilian restaurant. Things got better just before she had her son, in 1987, when she met a Polish friend who informed her that, as the wife of a British citizen, she had the right to claim benefits. This, 'changed my life, completely, I had no idea what benefits were.' She received £800 in benefits to buy the baby's clothes, and they took her to a bed and breakfast. Once she had her son, she went to Brazil and stayed there for a while, but decided to come back because it was 'easier for me to be a single mother in London than in Brazil, because of the social pressure.' Benefits continued to be her primary source of support as she improved her life conditions in London.

Besides all the material help, the benefits enabled her to always keep herself busy and get over her depression. She kept working part-time, started studying, took courses on landscape gardening and photography. One of these courses, she met the father of her second child, a daughter who was born in 1992. She continued to be single, doing many jobs related to gardening, selling food, and other informal

entrepreneur activities until she decided to take a BA in Psychology. Two months before graduating, in 1999, her mother died in Brazil from cancer, which deeply affected her. Later, she decided to start working as a support worker for young mothers at a hospital. She was also working, voluntarily, in an association for Latin American women in London. Maria then decided to form a charity for Brazilian women who suffering domestic violence. ‘I had to understand how to deal with rejection. This is probably why I work with vulnerable people today. That Polish man changed my life, he had knowledge of the system and compassion for me’.

Elza

One of the women whose life changed due to Maria’s work was Elza. As with Maria, documental status and gender issues also affected Elza’s journey in London. However, due to the differences in the political, economic and social contexts in which they arrived, as well as differences in relation to their personal capital, Elza navigated her journey differently. Elza came to London for the first time in 2007, but she came and went between Brazil and London four times. This movement delayed the process of acquiring her partner visa. She always struggled to adapt herself in London, feeling very lonely, as she did not speak the language and lived practically locked inside of a small room with her daughter in a shared house. Her situation of isolation was aggravated by her husband’s jealousy.

Everything was new for me, different language, didn’t have friends. My husband was working day and night, at a construction site and cleaning offices. He was jealous, didn’t let me work or live with Brazilians, so I wouldn’t talk to anyone. I spent the days locked in our room. Because of that, I went back to Brazil three times. But earning minimum wage to survive and support my daughter there on my own was very hard.

Elza came back to London for the fourth time in 2010. Her husband was in a relationship with another woman and she went to live with her husband’s sister. After three months of being able to work – as a cleaner - and enjoying more of the life in London. Elza got back together with her husband, on the condition that they lived with Brazilians. However, after ‘six months in the house with Brazilians he started being jealous again. I couldn’t talk to anyone or go out’. One day he came home, had

a surge of jealousy and punched her in front of their daughter. Elza took the child and left the house, never to go back. She went to live with his sister again. As she was waiting for her visa, she could not legally work, so she worked two hours a day for a cleaning company and received the money in a friend's account. Earning only £70 per week, with a child and debts in Brazil accrued from money she borrowed to buy her tickets to London, she started doing cash-in-hand cleaning, 15 hours per day. Her husband was still going after her, but as she was waiting for her partner visa, she never reported him to the police - until the day when she was punched again and ended up going to the hospital.

I wanted to go back home after that, because I was without a visa. I was leaving my house at 4:30 in the morning to work, and coming back at 22:00 and having to manage looking after my daughter on my own. I didn't have money to take him to the court, because the law here changed and they don't provide free lawyers for family cases anymore. I heard about a charity that helps women in need here. I met Maria there and she changed my life. She registered my daughter and I in a GP – I didn't even know that this existed. She got me some benefits for my daughter, only £13 per week, but it was very helpful, as I was trying to be independent here. After a while, my visa arrived, then things got better.

With the support from Maria and after receiving her visa, Elza was able to improve her situation. She gave up her benefits, started working legally, and found a room to live in with her daughter where she would not be threatened by her ex-husband anymore. She started meeting people and increasing her network and then found worked in several places. She continues to do cleaning jobs, since she understands, but does not speak, English. In one of these jobs, she met her current husband, a Brazilian man who also works as a cleaner. Although Elza still does not speak English, she likes her lifestyle in London now and does not see herself going back to Brazil very soon.

When I got the document, I said I would stay here working until I paid my debts in Brazil. But after I paid them, I saw how life here can be easier than in Brazil. I would earn the minimum wage there. What can we do with a minimum wage? I decided to stay, because of all the access to things, the education for my daughter. I also met my new husband. We had a baby together – 1 year old – and live in a house with other Brazilians. I am working as a cleaner two hours per day in a

gym; I am also registered as self-employed, doing some manicure jobs at home. So I can stay at home looking after my baby while working.

Tiago

Not only did his documental status play an important role in Tiago's Journey, but he also changed his migration project after going back to Brazil for a while. After having his entrance denied in London in 1999, Tiago stayed in Spain for a short period. He met some Brazilians in Madrid, and started working in a Brazilian salon. However, he went back to Brazil at the beginning of 2000, as he had already learnt Spanish and his salary there was not that good. He lived in Brazil for one year, but he was feeling very down, as he had concluded that his 'lifestyle had changed too much in Spain to live in Brazil.' Tiago sold his salon and bought a ticket with the money to come back to the UK, as his dream of living in a place where English was spoken had not died. As Europe was not completely unknown to him anymore, he knew what he should and should not say at immigration control. After being interviewed for six hours in London, Tiago managed to enter the country.

Due to the support of his friend, Tiago already had a place to live and an interview in a hair salon arranged: 'I did a test and I started working the following day.' After that, Tiago started developing his journey in London, meeting more people, going out, increasing his network, changing jobs and improving his English. After three years working and saving money in London, Tiago was speaking some English and had opened his own salon with a friend. According to him, the only thing that was missing was a European document, since 'having one would be pivotal for my life here.' Receiving help from friends, Tiago borrowed £7,000 and went to Portugal to get married to a Portuguese woman who had offered him a deal. He paid her, got married, spent a few months in Portugal waiting for his visa, and came back to London once it arrived. However, after he came back from Portugal, he had a fight with his friend, who 'threatened me saying if I didn't leave him the salon, he would denounce me to the immigration control, saying I bought a marriage.' After that, Tiago had to retrace the paths of his journey. He worked in different places for five more years to be able to pay the debts of his arranged marriage. Once the debt was paid, Tiago opened a salon.

Conclusion

The journeys I have examined in this chapter are marked by a permanent temporariness and negotiation, complicating attempts to create categories of migration. They could be characterized as students and workers. Other themes could also be seen as predominant in framing the journeys. For instance, we could distinguish between those who initially took migration as an investment to increase their economic and consumption power and those who sought to improve their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) by investing in new skills and knowledge, such as learning English or having a cultural experience. Besides these factors, there is also the issue of running away and escaping from the past as well as migrating to follow partners and members of the family. Moreover, these categories are loose when their journeys are checked. Behind migrants' 'economic' reasons for moving abroad, as Beserra (2000) notes, there are all the other intersected possibilities of improving cultural, social and symbolic capital. And these same capitals also directly affect the ways in which their journeys are performed and re-signified. Acquiring and increasing their cultural capital (learning or improving English, travelling, having different cultural experiences in the city), social capital (meeting new people), economic capital (having access to goods and consumption of the 'modern' world) and symbolic capital (resulted from their experience of living in London, a 'modern' city) take them to new situations in their journeys causing them to re-evaluate their initial idea of migration as a short temporary experience.

These journeys, thus, challenge generalising and homogenising discourses on migration that construct categories such as 'the economic migrant' who flows through social networks from the Global South to the developed North seeking economic gains. Moreover, they also challenge the notion of so-called lifestyle migration (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Knowles and Harper, 2009). 'The (re)negotiation of the work – life balance, the pursuit of a good quality of life and freedom from prior constraints' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009:2), my data showed, is not only a characteristic of relatively affluent migrants from the Global North; these are features present in many different migrant journeys examined in this chapter.

Nevertheless, besides the fact of having to navigate different levels of constraints due to their class, gender, nationality and documental status, these

different social markers are also used when Brazilians in London produce and negotiate ties of affinity and exclusion with bodies and spaces. The next chapter will discuss how the institutionalised production of difference through documental status not only differently affects how Brazilians structure their lives in London, but also how it helps to promote social differentiations among the city's Brazilian population.

Chapter 5

The production and negotiation of the ‘institutionalised other’

It is hard to hear these stories, but as I work in the NHS I understand and I support what the government is doing now. Because, imagine that you have a good house, very clean, good smell, good furniture, nicely painted and so on. Then, one day, suddenly, a lot of dirty rats and smelly dogs from the street start invading your house and making it a mess, making everything dirty and smelly, destroying everything. You wouldn't like it. You wouldn't like dogs and rats coming in from the street and destroying your clean home. This is what is happening to this country. (Manoel²¹)

In this chapter I explore the role of the state in the production and negotiation of difference in a world on the move, through the institutionalised production of the ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ migrant. More specifically, I analyse the blurred production of the divide between the ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ migrant and its differential consequences, both at a material and symbolic level, for how Brazilians live and structure their lives in London. As Sayad (2004) argues, although migration is a universal phenomenon occurring within an extreme diversity of situations and with variations in time and space, it is always discussed within the framework of the local unit: ‘the framework of the nation-state’ (278). Consequently, in order to understand the continuous production of difference within migratory phenomenon, it is necessary, I argue, to start by describing and analysing it through the categories of difference produced by the state.

Drawing on interviews and fieldwork notes, I organised the chapter in four sections. The first two sections work together by theoretically and empirically problematizing the institutionalised production of the ‘(il)legal’ migrant. I first briefly contextualise and frame the chapter conceptually. This is done by focusing on the blurriness within the state and its categories and by placing the current anti-immigration discourse and policies in the UK, which criminalises the ‘illegal migrant’, within a neoliberal context. By drawing on the journeys of those who would sit within the category of ‘legal migrant’, I then empirically explore the dichotomy between

²¹ Fieldwork note, May 2014: Manoel commenting on Brazilians without regular documentation in London being refused medical assistance and being deported.

‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ migrant as a blurry and structurally dependent divide. Following this, by drawing on the cases of those who have experienced long periods without regular documentation, I examine the material and symbolic consequences of institutionalised illegality on the ways in which migrants navigate their lives in London. Finally, I discuss how Brazilians differently negotiate and deal with the stigmatised image of the ‘illegal’ migrant, reproduced by the state in individualised (and racialised) terms. Due to the stigma against the ‘illegal’ migrant, as well as to the exploitation and symbolic violence facilitated by the production of (il)legality, my data shows that legal categories of migration help to instil perceptions of conflict and division inside the Brazilian population in London, instead of that of ‘ethnic solidarity’.

Framing and contextualising the state and migration law

In the next two sections I examine the divide between the ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ migrant. I demonstrate how these categories, produced by the state, are also blurred and dependent on specific contexts. As Bourdieu (2014) comments when discussing the state and its categories, there is an ‘amnesia of genesis’ (2014:115), in which we tend to ‘de-historicise’ and naturalise the state and its internal mechanisms. Within these processes, the state – as well as its categories, such as ‘illegal migrant’ – are taken as ‘an object that seems to exist by itself or that was created by nature’ (Sayad, 2004: 280). Such a ‘naturalising’ and ‘de-historicising’ process results from the continuous reproduction in our everyday life of what Bourdieu (2014: 108) calls ‘State thought’. This is a form of thought that reflects the mental structures that the state has produced and inculcated in each one of us. These, Sayad (2004:278) argues, are ‘structured structures’ in the sense that they are socially and historically determined products, but they are also ‘structuring structures’, as they predetermine and organise our whole representation of the world, and therefore the world itself.

As a consequence, the state remains the ‘unthought principle of the greater part of our thoughts, including those on the state’ (Bourdieu, 2014: 108). This mode of naturalised ‘de-historicised’ thought is completely inscribed within the line of demarcation that divides nationals from non-nationals, ‘legals’ from ‘illegals’,

citizens from non-citizens. As Bourdieu (2014:114) highlights, historicising the state and its categories as well as developing empirical analysis are important modes of escaping state thought. Therefore, the next two sections of this chapter complement each other by questioning the state thought behind the categories of ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ migrant. This section theoretically frames the state and its categories not as ‘given natural (legal) categories’, but as part of a wider symbolic system in the struggle over power. This struggle, which results in the production of laws and legal categorisations, always takes place in a particular political, economic and social context. In a context of neoliberal policies and discourses, I show how the legal production of illegality is developed within a context which naturalises and criminalises migration as an individual matter. The following section, then, empirically problematises the institutional messy and contingent divide between ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ migrant.

Blurring the state, the law and its (moral) categories

‘Illegal migration’ is understood by the Home Office as:

a collective term for many forms of abuse of the immigration rules. It may be entering the country illegally – by attempting to get through the controls we have overseas, or at our border through fraudulent or clandestine entry – or by breaking the immigration rules in the UK – by working full time having been allowed in to study, or by failing to leave at the end of their stay (Home Office 2007:8).

In this sense, as Gutierrez-Garza (2013:88) states, the term ‘illegal migrant’, for the Home Office, constitutes an alien-like subject who by virtue of their ‘lack’ of proper documentation to enter, stay and work in the country commits a criminal offence. As a consequence, following Anderson (2010), ‘illegality’ is ‘framed as absence of status’ (306), rather than something being produced by the state itself. Thus, scholars have shown how ‘illegality’ is produced by the state through legal frameworks that construct different statuses within immigration categories (De Genova 2002, 2004; Coutin, 2000; Anderson, 2010). As de Genova (2002) claims, in regard to what calls ‘the production of migrant illegality’: ‘without the law, nothing could be construed to be outside of the law’ (439). This institutionalised production of ‘illegality’, therefore, has direct consequences in shaping how people can live their lives (De Genova, 2004; Coutin, 2000). De Genova (2004:116), for instance, argues

that the production of illegality provides an apparatus for sustaining migrants' vulnerability and tractability through their everyday sense of deportability - the possibility of being removed from the space of the nation-state at any time. That these migrants live as 'an eminently disposable commodity' (*Ibid.*) under constant threat of deportation facilitates their subordination as a highly exploitable workforce (see also Anderson, 2010).

Yet, besides having to deal with exploitation and restricted physical and social mobility due to legal constraints (see Coutin, 2000; De Genova 2002), being categorised as 'illegal' also means being subjected by a symbolic violence, which sequesters migrants in 'a space of forced invisibility, exclusion, subjugation and repression' (Coutin, 2000: 30). This is the case because 'legal' and 'illegal' migrant are more than legal categories; as Sayad (2004) notes, they are also part of a system of differential social judgments and opportunities, consecrated by the state. As I discuss in Chapter 1, dialoguing with Bourdieu (2014), the state – and the law – has the power to create social divisions, categorizations and judgments. These categories are also part of a symbolic system of classification that generates moral values and functions based on representations (signs and objects), which carry a heavy stigma that places people in differential positions in social space (see Sayad, 2004; Loyal, 2014).

Nevertheless, since the law, as well as the state, is a social field in which social actors and institutions struggle over the monopoly of legitimate physical and symbolic power (Bourdieu, 2014:4), there is a space of ambiguity within the state itself, the law and its categories. In other words, they are not fixed natural units, but rather are constantly being produced in struggles within the social field. Scholars have argued for both the existing blurriness within the constitutional process of the category of 'illegality' as well as for the need to de-naturalise and frame it within specific contextual power struggles (De Genova 2002; Mezzadra and Neilson, 2011; Loyal, 2014). When historically analysing the blurred production of migrant law in Ireland, Stephen Loyal (2014) notes, for instance, that there is always the flexible issue of producing and interpreting the law. The blurriness within the production and interpretation of the law can be seen, for instance, in the often-conflicting interests of the judiciary and state agents involved in the process as well as in the 'linguistic indeterminacy inherent in legal texts'. 'Combined with the vagueness of legal language, the contingency of all legal situations and the indeterminacy of the social

context to which language applies,' Loyal writes, 'this means judges require a "creative" application of rules and interpretation of the law' (Loyal, 2014: 12).

Moreover, the production of immigration law and its categories are in constant change, taking place within broad social, economic and ideological contexts (Loyal, 2014; De Genova, 2002). As De Genova (2002:422) argues, 'illegality' is a juridical status that entails a social relation to the state, just as migrant 'illegality' is a political identity, usually taken as an undifferentiated, trans-historical fixture in studies on migration. In this sense, '(il)legality', both as a legal category as well as a social representation, is historically produced (see Loyal, 2014). This means that the constant struggles to define what is 'legal' and 'illegal' and the value that those representation carry are directly affected by their institutional context and by the interests of the judiciary and state agents in a particular economic and political framework.

Producing the (im)moral '(il)legal' in the neoliberal context

The final group I want to talk about today are illegal immigrants. People who have come here illegally, but also people who have come on a visa for a limited amount of time, and then not gone home. We've got to be so much better at finding these people and getting them out of our country. Real control over how many people come here and who. If we take the steps set out today and deal with the all the different avenues of migration, legal and illegal ... then levels of immigration can return to where they were in the 1980s and 90s ... a time when immigration was not a front rank political issue. How do we know when we are getting immigration right? It's when we are getting the right people we need for our economy ... and when all those who come here do so for genuine reasons and join with the rest of society in making our country stronger, richer and more secure. That's the kind of immigration I want. And that's the kind of immigration this government will deliver (Cameron, 2011).

Scholars have pointed out how the moral, individualised discourse of the existence of the 'good' desired and deserving migrant in contraposition to the 'bad' undesired and undeserving migrant has recently been shaping laws and policies towards immigration in Europe (Anderson, 2013; Goldberg and Giroux, 2014). As Goldberg and Susan Giroux (2014) observe, this is done within a context of neoliberal policies that criminalise and racialise migration through discourses that deny social structures and individualise the issue. The above 2011 speech of former UK Prime

Minister David Cameron represents illustrates how migration has been framed as increasingly and emphatically problematic by politicians, as well as by the media and local population.

As Sandro Mezzadra (2005) notes, migration law and border control in Europe have been undergoing radical transformation with global migrations accompanied by an increasing precarization of rights. Following this, Goldberg and Giroux (2014:72) show how after the 1970s, neoliberal policies, and their individualising ideological commitments, were put in place, translating all social problems into individual misfortune or misdeed. The stress on individualisation and individual self-responsibility was seen to run up against states ordered in the name of group interests, promoting a massive process of productive, economic and political restructuring. In Bourdieusian (1990) terms, we can say that the ideologies of neoliberal orthodoxy²², personal entrepreneurship, individual competition, meritocracy, innovation, flexibilisation and commercial enterprise, also became hegemonic features in the cognitive political struggle. As a consequence, as Goldberg and Giroux (2014) argue, the ‘caretaker state’ or welfare state, which looked after people, especially those who have less means to look after themselves, became seen as unnecessary.

Thus, the political horizon of integration, which marked the ‘caretaker state’, was substituted by one of criminalisation and repression through the construction of different configurations of ‘others’ who no longer need to be integrated, but excluded, prisoned and contained, as they were seen as a threat to ‘our’ way of life and security (see Anderson, 2013; Feltran, 2013). Such an attack on the ‘caretaker state’ can be seen as a simultaneous commitment to what Goldberg calls ‘racial’ neoliberalism (Goldberg and Giroux, 2014:75). This means an attack on affirmative action, on welfare, on immigration, and on refugees, resulting in the re-criminalisation of population of colour. Nevertheless, it feigns ‘colorblindness’ or ‘racelessness’, as the individualising logic promotes racist and classist expressions that are reduced to matters of private discrimination or predilection, denying their social origin and systemic features (Goldberg and Giroux, 2014; Mezzadra and Neilson, 2011); in other words, it buries ‘race’, class and gender alive.

²² Orthodoxy is defined as ‘correct, socially legitimized belief which is announced as a requirement to which everyone must conform’. It ‘implies some degree of external control’. On the other hand, Doxa ‘implies the immediate agreement elicited by that, which appears self-evident, transparently normal. Doxa is a normalcy in which realization of the norm is so complete that the norm itself, as coercion, simply ceases to exist as such’ (Bourdieu, 1987b: 5).

Moreover, as Tyler (2013) argues, after the 2008 economic crisis, discourses and actions criminalising migrants and poverty have increased. Instead of highlighting the social constraints behind the issue of ‘illegality’, for instance, scholars have shown how the media and politicians have been increasingly reproducing a discourse which not only de-historicises and naturalises migration law, but also criminalises and racialises ‘the illegal’ migrant (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2011; Goldberg and Giroux, 2014; Anderson, 2013). This is the case with the recent changes in UK immigration law, presented in the last chapter, which have been ‘justified for the purposes of national security, protection of the national economy and employment’ (Gutierrez-Garza, 2013: 104) through a moral and individualising discourse. Cameron’s speech, presented above, is an example of how the border discourse of the state is legitimised by framing the ‘legal’/‘illegal’ migrant divide as a matter of individual choice and good will. ‘Getting immigration right’ is just a matter of finding and removing the ‘illegals’, on the one hand, and, on the other, ‘getting the right people we need for our economy’, those who came for ‘genuine reasons’ and who ‘join with the rest of society in making our country stronger, richer and more secure’. Here Cameron not only individualises ‘legality’/ ‘illegality’, framing these designations as fixed, natural categories, but also morally condemns ‘the illegal’ migrant who enters the country with ‘non-genuine’ reasons, threatening Britain’s safe spaces. Even though such discourses help to continually reproduce ‘state thought’, the distinction between ‘good and bad’, ‘legal and illegal’ is not as fixed in people’s lived experience as it seems to be in the state thought.

Problematizing the figure of the ‘good migrant’

Drawing on the narratives of those who entered in the country with regular documentation and always tried to keep their situation of ‘legality’, this section shows that the individualised dichotomy between ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’, ‘good’ and ‘bad’ migrant, does not sustain itself, empirically, as rigidly as it is presented in legal and political discourse. When analysing the divide ‘legal/illegal’ empirically, as I do here, it is possible to see, first of all, the blurriness of this divide as my data shows migrants continuously navigating in a space of possibilities between ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’.

Secondly, my data also highlights how this navigation is highly dependent on structural constraints, such as the legislative framework, as well as on the tactics migrants themselves develop. As De Genova (2002: 430-5) has stated, only by reflecting on and considering socio-legal changes in a particular historical context does it become possible to locate the production of illegality. I add to De Genova's insights by arguing in this section that in so doing we can also examine the blurriness, as well as the structural dependency, of the production of 'illegality'.

Navigating blurriness: Fernando and tactics

Based on my data, I argue that the journeys of those considered 'legal' and, therefore, good, migrants are fundamentally shaped by structural conditions that increase or close their space of possibilities, despite the 'fixed' individualising distinction between 'legal' / 'illegal' reproduced by the state. Firstly, their situation of legality is dependent upon the tactics they use to enter and stay in the country, which are shaped by their personal attributes and resources (such as claiming their European ancestry to obtain a European passport) and different forms of capital, which can provide them a partner or family visa, a student visa, a work visa, a golden visa or allow them to request a six month tourist visa when arriving at the airport in UK. Social agents use these tactics - which Bourdieu (1983: 317) calls strategies - to deal with the control imposed by the state through immigration law. They are the calculated actions of the weak (migrant) within the field of view of the enemy (the state) and the space controlled by it (De Certeau, 1997:59-60), shaped by the migrants' variety of capital and resources available to them as stakes (Bourdieu, 1983). We can see this in Fernando's journey to his British citizenship.

Fernando, a 39 year-old middle-class Brazilian man, decided to come to London in 2004 to study English for one year. As he had graduated in tourism, speaking English was crucial for him to develop his career. Fernando arrived in London with a one-year student visa and accommodation paid for two months. Through the help of a friend living in London, Fernando started working as a kitchen porter in his second week in the UK, as soon as he had received his insurance number. In the first two months, Fernando managed to go to the school in the morning and work in the afternoons and evenings. However, like many other 'good migrants', after

a while he stopped attending classes: ‘In my third month, I had already decided to stay longer, so I got a second job to be able to work to renew my visa.’

In our interviews, Fernando continually emphasised that he ‘would never do anything dodgy or stay here illegally’ and so kept renewing his visa. Yet, in order to do so, he had to work more than the maximum amount of hours allowed for students. Fernando renewed his student visa for four years, doing two years of English courses and two years of a course in marketing, as well as ‘sub-jobs’ that he ‘would never do in Brazil’, such as cleaning and catering. After four years, through the contact of a friend he met in London, he started working in a marketing company that provided him with a work visa.

Fernando had graduated with a BA in tourism in Brazil and took an MBA in photography and architecture before coming to London. The company who provided him with the work visa stated in his application form to the Home Office that they needed to employ him due to the fact that they needed a photographer, who specialized in architecture. However, as Fernando told me, ‘my qualifications did not actually matter for the job, but it was the only way the company could justify the need for my work visa. I worked hard there. They needed me. Also, the manager had become a good friend of mine, so he helped me a lot with this.’ In 2014, Fernando was entitled to apply for indefinite leave to remain, which later allowed him to apply for and, eventually be granted, British citizenship.

Fernando’s journey is very similar to many others that I heard when interviewing people who consider themselves ‘good migrants’, who came here with ‘genuine’ reasons and who would not do ‘anything dodgy’. Nevertheless, these journeys problematise the state thought which frames ‘(il)legality’ as an individual matter. As we see, the tactics that Fernando used to ‘legally’ stay and acquire ‘citizenship’ – studying, working and paying tax, were dependent on his economic, social and cultural capital. He had money to pay for a student visa²³ and contacts in the company that employed him helped him with his work visa and used his academic qualifications to make the case for him in the visa application. Furthermore, these journeys also problematise the naturalised, ‘fixed’ distinction between ‘legal’ and

²³ In order to apply for a student visa, migrants need to pay for the application process, pay for a course, usually in an English school, and to prove that they have a place to stay as well as enough money in their bank account for every month they intend to stay in the country. In 2016, the minimum per month is £1,265 (Home Office, 2016).

‘illegal’. When developing his tactics, Fernando used ‘illegal’ means many times to maintain his ‘legality’. He worked more hours than the maximum allowed for those holding a student visa, and the company which provided him the work visa invented the fact that they needed a photographer specialised in architecture. Moreover, Fernando was only able to develop his tactics because of the legal context in which he arrived and lived in the UK, which enabled him to apply for a British citizenship after living here for ten years.

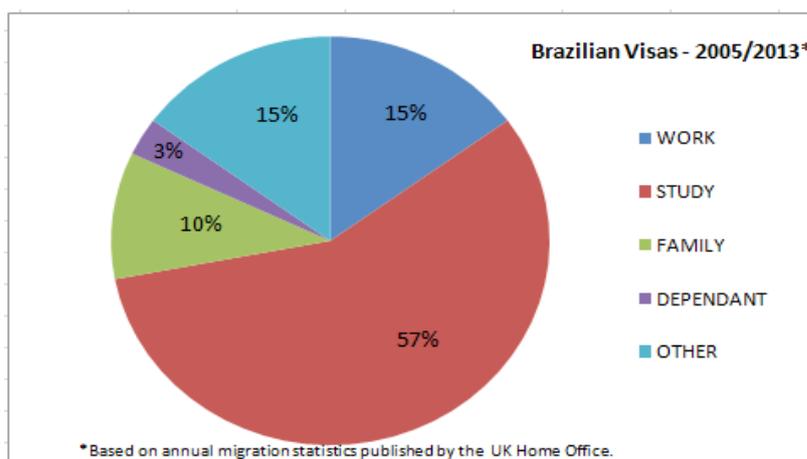
Legislative framework shaping tactics

The second important variable that the ‘good migrant’s’ legality is dependent upon is the ‘repertoire’ of possibilities’ (Bourdieu, 2014) that the system offers. By this I mean the particular level of constraint in the legislative framework of immigration laws, which creates more or fewer possibilities for migrants to use their different tactics, capital and resources. Placing Fernando’s tactics, described above, within the legislative framework of immigration law at the time he arrived in the U.K, it is possible to see how timing played an important role in Fernando’s journey to citizenship.

Fernando used what many ‘good migrants’ take as the most common means to enter the country legally, the student visa. As shown in Figure 4, from 2005 to 2013 there was a predominance of study visas (57%) among the total UK visas issued to Brazilians. The student visa was not only a good option for Brazilian migrants to enter the country, but also one to stay in the country for years under a legal status, especially before 2008²⁴ (Gutierrez-Garza, 2013). From that year forward, immigration law started to become more restricted and to affect the situations of Brazilians in London to a greater degree, as I discussed in the previous chapter (see Davies, 2015 for detailed changes in immigration law and their impact on Brazilians). Like Fernando, many of these students (‘good migrants’) decided to stay in the country longer than they had initially planned, and so ceased to attend classes and worked over the 20 hours allowed for students in order to save money to renew their visa (see Martins Jr, 2014).

²⁴ Up to 2007, a Brazilian could request a student visa at the airport or could enter the country with a tourist visa and request the student visa once in the UK (Davies, 2015).

Figure 4: UK Visas (%) for Brazilians 2005-2013



Source: Davies' (2015) calculation using Home Office (2014) statistics.

Nevertheless, from 2009, with the implementation of the point-based system and the increasing strictures of immigration laws, things began changing (Davies, 2015; Allen and Sumption, 2015; Schain, 2012). A register of attendance, for instance, was implemented by the Home Office in which schools were required to make a note of each student's attendance on a weekly basis. If the student failed to attend the majority of classes, they could lose their student visa. As a consequence, many English schools started selling falsified attendance records. These cases were frequently repeated between 2009 and 2011 (Martins Jr, 2014:100-103). Moreover, up to 2009, the English language student was allowed to work up to a maximum of twenty hours per week. In 2010, this was reduced to ten hours, and in 2011, it was decided that the English language students could no longer work and that it was no longer be possible to renew student visas through language schools²⁵ (Davies, 2015). As Gutierrez-Garza (2013) notes, until 2012, when students studying English were able to work part-time, the student visa was the main 'aspect that opened the doors for thousands of migrants into the city' (80). With the recent changes, English language visas have fallen from 19,253 in 2010 to 3,532 in 2013 (Davies, 2015). Working with official numbers from the Home Office, Davies (2015) shows, for instance, how the

²⁵ According to the Home Office, students are not allowed to work in the UK if they are on any course not provided by a UK higher education institution or a publicly funded further education college (2016).

number of Brazilians granted student visas has continuously dropped, decreasing from 4,781, in 2008, to 1,938 in 2011²⁶.

Such changes not only demanded more economic resources from people seeking to stay in the country as students, without being able to work, but also limited their possibility of renewing their student visa until they were able to obtain a work visa and complete the 10 years residency required for requesting indefinite leave to remain, as Fernando did. Thus, the institutional timeframe in which Fernando arrived in London allowed him to get and repeatedly renew a student visa, not attend classes and work at the same time in order to support himself. Those who arrived after the changes in the law or did not have time to apply for indefinite leave to remain before the law changed had a different experience.

Navigating the changes in the legislative framework: Jairo

Changes in the immigration law since 2008 have increasingly restricted the ‘good migrant’s’ possibility to remain ‘good’ in their journeys to ‘citizenship’. This did not necessarily mean that they left the country but that, in order to navigate these legislative changes, they had to develop other tactics to guarantee the maintenance of their ‘legal’ status, even entering into situations they claimed they never would.

Jairo comes from a middle-class family of British and Italian decent from Rio de Janeiro with high cultural capital. Jairo finished his BA in social science and decided to have a life experience in London for one year. He did not have problems at immigration control because it was his third time in the UK²⁷, he had an letter of invitation from his aunt, money provided by his parents and a student visa. During his first year, 2009, he received economic support from his parents, which allowed him to attend school and to work the 20 hours allowed per week in a restaurant. However, after few months, Jairo also decided to stay longer. ‘I started working more, doing more than 40 hours per week and stopped going to the school. I wanted to suck this city up, to the maximum, absorb everything that I could, and one year wasn’t enough.’

²⁶ The number of student visas for Brazilians increased in 2013, reaching 4,456. Davies (2015) notes, however, how this increase is largely attributed to the Brazilian educational program Science without Borders, which provides scholarships for Brazilians to study abroad. According to figures published by the Brazilian government, nearly 9 thousand scholarships have been granted to Brazilians studying in the UK since the programme started in 2011 (Ciência Sem Fronteiras, 2015).

²⁷ One of Jairo’s grandfathers was British. When he was a child, he travelled with his family to the UK to visit British family members.

Jairo was going to renew his student visa but, ‘this was in 2009, when the law here was changing a lot already, it was harder to get the visa and I could work only ten hours – legally – per week, so I decided to try to get my Italian citizenship.’

Being the grandson of an Italian man, Jairo had the right to apply for Italian citizenship. He contacted a supposed Brazilian lawyer in Italy who had a scheme to get his citizenship without him having to live in Italy, as is legally required, and without it taking years – as would normally be the case if he applied from outside Italy. He went to Italy and paid £3000 to his contact, who started the process. Meanwhile, Jairo returned to London with his provisional Italian ID. At the border, he presented another invitation letter from his aunt and entered the country. Once back, ‘I started working with my Italian ID. I didn’t have the right to work with this document, but people here didn’t know, and it was just until I received the proper one.’ However, after five months living in London with the provisional ID, he found out that his Brazilian contact in Italy was not a lawyer and had not started his process properly; Jairo’s documents were missing.

Jairo started working to save money again to restart the whole process in Italy, with a proper lawyer. He recalled, ‘It took me more than one year to save all the money.’ In order to save the other £3,000.00, Jairo stayed living and working in the country his Italian ID, which was not valid. This made Jairo feel scared and put him in a situation that he thought he would never be in. ‘But,’ as he said, ‘people didn’t know and it was for a short period of time.’

As we can see with Jairo’s journey to European (Italian) citizenship, his situation of ‘legality’ was dependent on his different types of capital (economic, cultural and social), as it was in Fernando’s case, but also on his family attribute/resource of having European ancestry – which allowed him to navigate the changes in the legislative framework. In the beginning the money from his parents allowed him to enter in the country with a student visa and work only the twenty hours per week in his first year. Moreover, the fact that he already spoke English – alongside the invitation letter from his aunt and the student visa – facilitated not only his entrance but also his ability to find work as a waiter, which pays better than jobs which don’t require English, such as cleaning. These variables permitted him to ‘not do anything dodgy’ and to keep his ‘legality’. Nevertheless, the decision to stay longer, as well as the changes in the migration law, forced Jairo to manoeuvre within the (blurred) space of possibilities between the ‘legal’ and the ‘illegal’, using ‘illegal’

means to sustain his ‘legality’ – such as trying to to obtain his Italian citizenship through extra-legal means and using a provisory Italian ID to stay and work in London.

Reframing the journeys of the (not so) ‘good’ migrants

Fernando and Jairo’s journeys are good examples with which to de-naturalise and historicise the over oversimplified dichotomy between ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’, ‘good’ and ‘bad’ migrants. As we see, even though state thought frames such divide as ‘fixed’ and individualises the issue of ‘(il)legality’, the structural constraints which shaped their tactics, alongside the ‘illegal’ means used to keep their ‘legality’, expose the fragilities of immigration law that create these ‘porous boundaries’ (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2011:67) between the ‘legal’ and the ‘illegal’. In their journey to ‘legality’, migrants have to continuously stop, negotiate and navigate (Knowles, 2014) through the blurry boundaries between ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’, moving along discontinuous paths between precariousness and tactics, all mobilised according to the moment and circumstances. Nevertheless, as ‘legality’ is highly dependent on structural constraints, not everyone is able to navigate its blurriness and acquired formal citizenship. As a consequence, scholars have shown how some migrants are integrated with different levels of rights, while others are marginally included as ‘illegals’ without rights (see Mezzadra and Neilson, 2012; De Genova, 2010). This has distinct consequences for how people map their lives in a global world.

Differential inclusion structuring lives

Drawing on the cases of those who have experienced long periods without regular documentation, in this section my data shows that, despite its blurriness, the institutional production of the ‘(il)legal’ migrant has differential consequences, material and symbolic, for Brazilians’ lives in London. As Mezzadra and Neilson (2012:65) argue, borders, alongside immigration law, play an important role in the legal and cognitive production of difference, since they allow both the establishment of taxonomies and conceptual hierarchies – such as ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ migrant - that

structure the movement of people and thought. Thus, they are centrally involved in the production of symbolic domination and symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1987b), as physical and political borders are designed to divide the ‘threat’ from the ‘citizen’, fuelling tensions and projecting as ‘other’ those who are – or should be – on the other side of the ‘wall’ (Goldberg and Giroux, 2014: 140).

Reflecting upon this construction ‘the other’ and management of their movement, scholars (Goldberg and Giroux, 2014; De Genova, 2013; Balibar, 2002) have argued that the border appears as a ‘racial’ (and classed) technology (Goldberg and Giroux, 2014:140), which helps to establish and maintain a ‘raceless/classless’ ‘world apartheid’, as the ‘individualised’ social production of migrants’ ‘differences’ dissimulates racisms and dis-articulates ‘race’ and class to ‘immigration’ (De Genova, 2013:13). ‘Race’ and class are not spoken of directly in border discourses, which instead focus on individuals’ characteristics and attitudes, as we saw with David Cameron’s speech. However, borders are also porous and do not stop people entering the nation state territory (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2012; Goldberg and Giroux, 2014). As Goldberg and Giroux (2014:140-43) note, borders rather shape movements and commerce through their many access points where cheap goods and low-cost labour traffic under the watchful eye of the state, which, in turn, regulates, orders and routes them in ways conducive to state and economic interests. Thus, rather than putting an end to ‘illegality’, producing a unilateral process of ‘exclusion’ or ‘inclusion’, as Mezzadra and Neilson (2012:60) argue, blurred borders produce a differential inclusion, which provides differential material distributions and access to goods and services, (re)producing relations of domination, exploitation and subjection - power and resistance. In this section I show the process of differential inclusion, and its material and symbolic consequences, at work on the ground among Brazilians. An important structuring element among Brazilians living in London, such differential inclusion results in multiple levels of precarities and exploitation, both in labour markets as well as in personal relations.

Framing (classed/racialised) differential inclusion

As we have seen with the journey of Tiago in Chapter 4, the space of possibilities (Bourdieu, 2014) to enter the country ‘legally’ is considerably more restricted for Brazilians without a European passport and with lower economic and

cultural capital than those discussed in the previous section. Relying on their social capital and on the limited amount of money they can spend, the majority of people in this group enter by country pretending to be tourists.²⁸ Information provided by their social networks – which include friends, travel agencies and websites – play a pivotal role in making their entrance successful or unsuccessful, as was the case with the information Tiago received his friend was already living in London. Even though their first attempt at entrance is often refused, as it was for Tiago, who was nervous and did not have enough information about what he should and should not say to immigration control, their journeys are an excellent illustration that rather than promoting solely exclusion and putting an end to ‘illegality’, borders, as well as immigration law, result in a racialised and classed differential inclusion (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2012; De Genova 2013).

Tiago’s two attempts to enter the country, for instance, highlight how migrants learn to differentiate ways to bypass the law and the border (Foucault, 1975; Goldberg and Giroux, 2014). Through information acquired from websites, as well as from paying a travel agency, Tiago acquired the necessary resources and skills to navigate the (blurred) border, which he previously been unable to cross. This blurriness not only opens room for the actions and inventiveness of migrants themselves to find tactics to navigate the borders according to their resources available. Rather, as noted, this ‘grey area’ also opens up spaces of negotiation and routes for migrants and those who facilitate them in their journeys (Ruhs and Anderson, 2008). As Mezzadra and Neilson (2012:69) argue, a constellation of other actors – such as labour brokers, migration agencies, NGOs and middlemen (including personal friends and/or relatives) - work along the hierarchized and blurred boundaries between ‘legality’ and ‘illegality’, profiting, often through exploitation, from the process.

These actors are important not only in the process of border crossing, but also as migrants develop and employ tactics to live - and sometimes to regularise their situation - in their destination country, as we saw with Tiago getting married to a Portuguese woman.²⁹ As a consequence, many times they are directly involved in

²⁸ For those who cannot request a student visa, they can either be smuggled through the border or request a tourist visa upon arrival and then overstay. The great majority of Brazilians that I met in these circumstances chose the second option.

²⁹ For tactics developed by migrants to formalize their situation, see Martins Jr (2004).

producing as well as alleviating the multiple personal and economic precarities these migrants face once in the country.

Inclusion through multiple layers of precarity

The differential status of migrants, created by the state, is directly reflected in the stratification of the labour market, which produces different levels of precariousness and exploitation. As Anderson (2010) notes, by producing legal differentiation, immigration control helps to create a cheap and flexible workforce, which is ‘structurally produced by the interaction of employment and immigration legislation’ (311). Among Brazilians, this precariousness is often realised through interactions with their co-nationals. Unable to obtain formal work because of their lack of regular documentation and low economic and cultural capital (such as the inability to speak English), these migrants have to rely on their social capital in order to find informal work and survive. This, however, can result in exploitation, as we see in Adriano’s journey in London. A 44 year-old black working-class man from São Paulo, Adriano arrived in the UK without regular documentation.

I lost too much money in this city because I didn’t have documents. I was cheated and exploited at houses – paying a deposit and then later they wouldn’t give it back to me, by working for people who never paid me, and being robbed. The first one who exploited me was my cousin. I called him after I arrived in London. He told me a friend had a room for me, £90 a week, plus a deposit of two months’ rent. Later my house mates said they were robbing me: the room was £60 per week and two weeks’ deposit. Then, a Brazilian guy – who was the landlord in my second house – offered me a job helping him to refurbish the house. I worked for him for two weeks, non-stop. He said my work was worthy of only one week’s rent and did not give me any money. From the contacts at this house I got a few other jobs, and was exploited again. I helped a guy who had a van and worked moving people around London. After two weeks of work, he gave me £100 and said he would give me more later. Of course he didn’t. As I was illegal, I kept myself quiet, better to not pressure. Then I paid a Brazilian guy who told me he would manage to open a bank account for me, without documents, for £150. Later a Brazilian guy who works for a British bank said his bank open accounts for people for free, and I didn’t need a visa.

Adriano’s journey without regular documentation brings up several analytical points regarding the ambiguous legal production of ‘illegality’ and its multiple

consequences for those subjected to immigration control. Firstly, we can see that besides being fundamental to entering the country, social capital continues to play a critical role in their lives in London (Portes, 1995, Tilly, 1990). It is through their contacts that they acquire the skills to navigate in the city, find jobs, buy 'fake' documents necessary to work, open bank accounts and access goods and service. Nevertheless, this does not result in a 'generalised reciprocity', as Putnam (2001:21) calls it, between Brazilians, in which members help each other because they see 'themselves as belonging to the same group of people, who are "in the same ship", and have to co-operate to "survive" in the strange and maybe "hostile" environment they have migrated to' (Den Butter et al, 2007:49). Often, the access provided by social networks actually comes with exploitation and precariousness. As Adriano said, since entering the UK, he has been constantly working for people who don't pay him, receiving far less than the minimum wage and having to accept it because he does not have documents.

Secondly, the production of hierarchical migratory statuses is consequential not only for the positioning of migrants in the labour market, but also in the creation of exploitative conditions in other spheres of migrant life, such as their personal relations. As Adriano said, he 'was cheated and exploited' by his cousin, by landlords, by people who got him work and documents. Thus, being subjected to the immigration control becomes an important structuring element in the ways that Brazilians without documentation interact with their co-nationals in London, cultivating individual relations that are often marked by exploitation.

'Illegality' producing lack of solidarity and isolation

Brazilians without regular documentation tend to say they do not trust Brazilians in London. As we saw with Adriano, migrants with more experience and access to goods and services frequently exploit undocumented newcomers. Thus, instead of talking about 'ethnic solidarity', they talk about the lack of solidarity among Brazilians, isolation and their inability to trust people. Adriano told me:

Life here showed me that I can't trust people until they prove the contrary. I had to develop a defensive mechanism here: not involve myself with Brazilians. I have become a very isolated person. When you are illegal you are always inferior, so when a Brazilian knows you

don't have document, they automatically feel superior to you. They exploit and threaten you and you can't do anything because you don't have rights. Last month, a Brazilian girl who used to work with me, said she wanted to see me. I met her in Elephant and Castle; she took me to a building saying a friend lived there. When I got there, there were four men waiting for me. They punched me and put a knife to my neck. They took my cards and I gave them the pin numbers. I lost £1,500. They let me go after that, but I couldn't do anything because I don't have documents.

Being an irregular migrant places Adriano in a 'rightless condition' (De Genova, 2010:116), in which he is denied fundamental human rights and any kind of state protection. This therefore allows him to be easily exploited by others. Thus, being 'legal' or 'illegal' results in a perception of hierarchy inside the Brazilian population. As Adriano puts it, 'when you are illegal, you are always inferior' to those with regular documentation who 'exploit and threaten you.' As a result, these individuals develop a sense that there is no solidarity among Brazilians.³⁰ Rather, they speak of Brazilians preying on their vulnerability and subjecting them to violence and exploitation. Adriano describes developing a 'defensive mechanism' which has made him suspicious of Brazilians 'until they prove' they can be trusted and avoiding them altogether. 'Not involving [himself] with Brazilians' and 'becoming an isolated person' is Adriano's way of dealing with the symbolic – and physical - violence that results from the 'production of illegality'. As this production results in social differences which are also inscribed in the symbolic order, through discourses and cognitive classifications, it constantly exercises symbolic violence (Loyal, 2014; Bourdieu, 1987b) on those subjected to migration control. As Willen (2007) argues, 'illegality does not only affect the external structure of migrants' worlds but also shapes their subjective experience of time, space, embodiment, sociality and self' (9). One of the primary examples of such symbolic violence shaping the irregular migrant subjective experience is the constant fear of being deported.

³⁰ When talking about the lack of solidarity, instead of focusing on the structural constraints which increase competition and facilitate exploitation, Brazilians usually tend to explain it in 'racial'/ethnic terms - due to the inferior Brazilian 'culture' (Chapter 6), or in regional terms – the 'inferior' Goiano is the one exploiting and doing bad things (Chapter 9).

The deportable alien and the prison of fear

The fear of deportation facilitates subjection and exploitation, exposing irregular migrants to high levels of abuse and humiliation in every different sphere of their lives. As we have seen with Adriano's journey, being classified as an 'illegal' comes, many times, with fear and insecurity, which results in exploitation at the work place. A migrant who is without regular documentation tends to accept any kind of working conditions and complains less, as the threat of denunciation and deportation constantly hangs over their heads. Therefore, due to their distinctive legal vulnerability, they live in a constant state of 'deportability', as De Genova (2004) refers to it, which facilitates their subordination as a highly exploitable workforce.

The fear of denunciation, imbricated in their 'deportable' condition, makes the migrant without regular documentation a docile worker, as well as producing a sense of being controlled in their everyday life. Guilherme described how he felt in the years he lived in London without regular documentation:

I was illegal for four years, living in a cage, taking many injustices and being quiet, leaving my house in the morning to go to work not knowing whether I would return or not. It is a horrible sensation, you can't trust anyone. All the time you hear about cases of Brazilians denouncing Brazilians. You live in constant fear - at home, work, on the train. You see police officers, even if they don't look at your face, even if they didn't know you're there, you are afraid of them.

Guilherme's description, alongside Adriano's, of living undocumented, highlight how their deportable condition, which criminalizes them as 'illegal' (De Genova, 2004), denies them fundamental human rights and subjects themselves to excessive forms of symbolic violence in their day-to-day life. For Guilherme, this continuous symbolic violence structured his whole life. His comment that he was 'living in a cage' vividly captures his sense of 'ever-present vulnerability' (De Genova, 2004:178) - be it on the train, at work or at home.

This vulnerability creates a continual uncertainty. Guilherme's description of 'leaving home not knowing if you are coming back', expresses not only a feeling of constant control, but also a feeling of temporariness. The fear of deportation traps migrants 'in a vacuous present fraught with anxiety and question marks about tomorrow' (Ahmad, 2008:315). This leads to the pressure of having to maximise the

‘now’, whatever the current opportunities might be, ‘taking...injustices and being quiet.’ Being exploited and living with constant fear, in turn, reinforces the perception of isolation and undercurrent of distrust, since ‘Brazilians [denounce] Brazilians’. Though their criminalised documental status has profound consequences for migrants’ lives, they do not necessarily contest the ‘state thought’ that produces it.

Negotiating ‘the good’ and ‘the bad’ migrant

In this section I argue that in order to deal with and distance themselves from the stigmatised representation of ‘the illegal’ migrant (‘the bad migrant’), Brazilians tend to legitimate the state thought which not only de-contextualises and naturalises the ‘legal/illegal’ dichotomy, but also frames it as a matter of individual or class morals. As previously discussed, state categories are more than legal categories, they are part of a symbolic system, which imbues them with moral values and functions, which social agents must constantly negotiate. Scholars have shown, for instance, how citizenship has historically been a nebulous concept connected to an idea of civility, whose blurry boundaries are not defined simply by law but are also shaped by notions of race and class (see Anderson, 2013; Mezzadra, 2005).

For Anderson (2013:2-5), modern states never portray themselves only as collections of people hanging together by a common legal status, but as an imagined community of value, composed of people who share common ideals and exemplary patterns of behaviour expressed through ethnicity, religion, culture, or language. The community of value is populated by ‘good citizens’, law-abiding and hard-working members of stable and respectable families, who feel they must protect it from those who aren’t ‘good’. The community of value is defined from the outside by the ‘non-citizen’ (migrant), who may be defined with a particular legal status, and, from the inside, by the ‘failed citizen’, who are individuals and groups imagined as incapable of, or having failed to, live up to liberal ideals - such as criminals, benefit ‘scroungers’ and others. Thus, not all formal (legal) citizens are good citizens, and neither the ‘non-citizen’ nor the ‘failed citizen’ are properly modern (civilised) compared to the good citizen. Moreover, Anderson (2013:7) highlights that there is a strong tendency to naturalise such (racialised, classed) stigmatised categories through ‘genetic’ or

‘cultural’ explanations. This allows ‘the good citizen’ and the state to reproduce individualising discourses of ‘success’ and ‘failure’ that do not take into account structural constraints. Yet, the flexibility of these categories also opens room for the agents to manipulate these representations when trying to justify their stigmatised positions (Sayad, 2004). This is apparent in my data when Brazilians discuss representations of ‘the good’ and ‘the bad’ migrant. As we will see, the ways in which they manage such stigmatised representations are shaped by their personal journeys through ‘(il)legality’ as well as by their personal attributes and the different capital they can mobilise to distinguish themselves.

Individualising (il)legality

In order to deal with stigmatised representations of migrants, Brazilians who have regular documentation to live in London tend to reproduce an over-simplified and de-contextualised binary distinction between the ‘legal’ and the ‘illegal’. Such a distinction is particularly emphasized by those who entered the country with a student visa and later managed to qualify for an indefinite leave to remain and/or British citizenship. Fernando, for example, told me how proud he was of acquiring it ‘without doing anything dodgy’.

I am the living proof that you can get a British passport without doing anything dodgy, like these Brazilians do – buying a marriage and so on. There are some days that I open my drawer and grab my passport and look at it. I feel so happy, proud, I can’t describe it. I get emotional when I hold it. This is why I always tell people, ‘Come here as a student, get a job, make yourself indispensable to the company, and that’s it. You get it.’ I didn’t do anything dodgy and I got it.

Fernando told me he was ‘the living proof’ that anyone can be ‘legal’ a few minutes after he had described his journey to ‘citizenship’, which, as I discussed in the section above, was structurally constructed and full of contradictions. Yet, he still claimed that anyone can be legal ‘without doing anything dodgy’, by entering as a student, getting a job and ‘mak[ing] yourself indispensable to the company’, as he did. Fernando’s meritocratic ‘self-made man’ understanding of his ‘legality’ is a clear example of how the dominant neoliberal discourse, which stresses individual self-responsibility alongside a denial of the social, is reproduced, confirming the legitimacy of established order as legitimate in the eyes of those subjected to the

power of the state (Bourdieu, 2014). Fernando's lack of self-critical reflection on the conditions that made it possible for him to obtain his British citizenship expose the mechanisms of a symbolic power that clearly de-historicises and naturalises 'legalities and illegalities', by reducing everything to the individual's will and actions.

Burying the contradictory and structural dependency of his 'legality' and legitimating state thought by emphasising that he acquired his citizenship through 'the right way', is a way for Fernando to leave behind his previous stigmatised condition of 'migrant' and 'non-citizen'. As a consequence, he is also trying to be as close as possible to what Anderson (2013) calls the 'good citizen'. Fernando undertakes this movement of distancing himself from one figure and approximating another to try to distinguish himself from other Brazilians who also acquired the citizenship but through 'dodgy' means and who have thus 'failed' the ideals of citizenship. 'These Brazilians', as Fernando refers to them, the 'failed (Brazilian) citizens' in London that he is distinguishes himself from, tend to be described by Brazilians, depending on the context, in class and regional terms, as I further discuss in the next chapters. As 'legality' is highly dependent on structural constraints, not everyone is able to portray themselves as 'good migrants' in the same way. As we will see below, this is the case among those who always tried to renew their visas, and, thus, to remain 'good migrants', but due to changes in immigration law, end up preserving their regular situation through tactics they claim they would never use.

Negotiating 'illegality' as a classed (moral) category

Narratives that intersect class and 'illegality' are common to hear among Brazilians in London, as well as in Amsterdam (Roggeveen and Meeteren, 2013) and some cities of the U.S (Oliveira, 2003), as I discussed in Chapter 2. In their article on Brazilians in Amsterdam, for instance, Roggeveen and Meeteren (2013) describe how most documented migrants observed their undocumented peers as 'vulgar' and people who they do not want to be associated with. As such, the authors divide Brazilians in Amsterdam into two groups:

From now on, we shall refer to these two groups as regular and irregular immigrants ... Regular migrants are usually higher educated and from upper middle-class or middle-class families ... Respondents from the second group are lower educated, from lower middle-class

families, and they have an irregular residence status or they have a history of irregular migration. (1085-6).

Thus, for Roggeveen and Meeteren, the migrant from the lower classes is ‘irregular’; even if those who did have regular status had a history of irregular migration. While I cannot, of course, make conclusions about the situation in Amsterdam from fieldwork conducted in London³¹, I suggest that Roggeveen and Meeteren’s lack of critical reflection on the malleable and complex nature of the divide between ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ migrants and the blunt correlations they make between class status and (ir)regularity are problematic. As my data showed in the previous sub-section of this chapter, the ‘legal/ilegal’ binary does not sustain itself empirically. Many middle-class Brazilians stayed in London with irregular documentation for a while, or kept their regular situation through irregular means. Moreover, it is also necessary to analyse how representations of these categories are classed and racialised in ways that go beyond the issue of being regular or irregular, allowing people to avoid classifying themselves as ‘illegal’ even when they experienced a situation of irregular documentation, as is the case with many middle-class Brazilians in London.

Those from the middle-class who used tactics that they disavow to acquire European/British citizenship, such as arranged marriage, tend to contradictorily justify their ‘bad’/‘illegal’ actions in two ways. First, they blame structural conditionings to move responsibility away from themselves. Secondly, by talking about class, they differentiate themselves from ‘other (inferior) Brazilians’, whose acts always lack ‘good will’. This was the explanation given to me by Priscila.

Coming from an upper-middle class background, with a BA in Business, Priscila came to London in 2007 to study English for one year. Like many others, she also stayed longer than planned. In 2011, when I interviewed Priscila for the first time, she had a similar narrative to Fernando. She was not only proud of being in the country ‘legally’, as she had always renewed her student visa, but she also distinguished herself from ‘those Brazilians’ who were here ‘illegally’. However, unlike Fernando, Priscila did not have time to acquire permanent leave to remain

³¹ However, not only are the narratives in both countries very similar, they are also inserted in very analogous institutional contexts, since, when the fieldwork was carried out, both countries were part of the EU.

before the law changed. Thus, in order to try to keep her situation of ‘legality’ and continue to see herself as ‘good migrant’, she had to navigate differently within the new immigration legislation.

When I last met Priscila, in 2011, she was applying to renew her visa through a Brazilian lawyer. The lawyer’s idea was to try to renew her student visa, the Home Office would refuse, but they would keep appealing, which would give her few more years in the country, ‘legally’. But after receiving £5,000 from Priscila to renew her visa, the lawyer disappeared with her money. Thus, Priscila stayed in the country without regular documental status, making her doing something else that she had also previously told me she would never do: get married for a visa.

I am doing it, but it is with someone that I trust. I wouldn’t do it if I weren’t in this situation, but I am only in this situation because of that idiot who stole from me [the Brazilian lawyer], and because the law changed and I couldn’t renew my visa anymore. I am not doing it like these illegal Brazilians who come here to save money and buy a piece of land in Brazil. They get here and the first thing they do is pay a stranger to get married and that’s it. I always did everything right, always spent a lot of money renewing my visa, but things changed.

As we can see, even though she did something ‘illegal’ by arranging a marriage for a visa, here Priscila still sees herself as a ‘good migrant’, as it was not her fault. She is only doing it because of the lawyer who defrauded her and because of ‘the law changed’. Thus, when talking about her personal situation of breaking the law, she takes the social constraints into account. This is in direct contrast to the way she continually judges the ‘illegal’ situation of other people, which is always informed by the assumption that everything depends only on the individual’s will. Thus, in the end, she still keeps the individualising logic to distance herself from ‘the other Brazilian’ – the ‘bad’ migrant - who comes to the UK without ‘genuine reasons’, as David Cameron described in his speech. Priscila, ‘always did everything right’, spending money to renew her visa, but the circumstances changed and forced her to do something ‘illegal’. While ‘these Brazilians’ already carry with them ‘bad intentions’, arranging marriages as soon as they arrive in the country.

Moreover, Priscila uses class to distance herself from ‘these illegal Brazilians’ who also acquire European citizenship, but can never be ‘good citizens’, as they are morally inferior. As I discuss in Chapter 7, middle-class Brazilians differentiate their

pursuit of chasing cultural capital from ‘other’ Brazilians’ migrating to make and save money as a way to re-make class boundaries and distinguish themselves from the ‘economic migrant’, who lacks civility, is morally inferior and would do anything for money. Thus, drawing the class boundary through morality, Priscila stresses that, even though she got married to acquire European citizenship, she never came to London with the intention of ‘paying a stranger to get married’ for her own financial gain. Because she is a ‘good migrant’, with a ‘genuine reason to be here’, she still can be a ‘good citizen’. Importantly, reproducing state thought and trying to differentiate themselves from ‘others’ are also strategies used by working class migrants without regular documentation.

Negotiating ‘illegality’ through individual and regional morality

Many Brazilians in London with a working-class background, who have lived, or still live in a situation of being without regular documentation also try to distance themselves from the stigmatised representation of the ‘illegal migrant’ through individualising accounts that morally differentiate themselves from ‘others’. After telling me about his experience without regular documentation in London, Adriano, for example, said that he was living with more fear due to the recent changes in policies towards ‘illegality’. However, he understood and supported the government actions, because

they give everything to people here, the quality of life here is very good, and the government here has the country in hand, the way that they want it to be. So they need to keep order by coercing and curbing these illegals who come from all parts of the world wanting to take advantage of the country. These people don’t come with good intentions. They come to get the money, the benefits. There are a lot of Brazilians here who are tricking the system, so the government needs to get these guys and send them out, because they are tricking the system and destroying these countries, like a lot of Goianos here. This is why I don’t mix with them.

My conversation with Adriano highlights how the fear and subjection people feel living without regular documentation can be accompanied by a certain validation of the established order. After telling me all the precarities in his life caused by not having regular documentation, Adriano expresses support for the government’s

actions as ‘coercing and curbing these illegals, who come...to take advantage’ is necessary for ‘keep[ing] order’. Following Loyal (2014), here we can see how the legal and cognitive classification of ‘(il)legal migrant’ is part of a symbolic system in which ‘arbitrary relations of power are masked, disguised and exercised with the complicity of those over whom it is exercised’ (3).³² In making this point, I am not passing judgment on Adriano or suggesting that people faced with the dangerous precarities of being without regular documentation should somehow simply resist their oppression and challenge state power. Rather, I am suggesting that comments such as Adriano’s that the government ‘needs’ to expel ‘these illegals’ highlight the durability of state thought on migration. Here we see that its constancy and repetition (Bourdieu, 2014) makes even those who are the most affected by the symbolic violence of the ‘legal’ / ‘illegal’ divide reproduce the naturalised and de-historicised construction of that divide as a matter of individual choice.

Like Priscila, Adriano reproduces state thought while simultaneously differentiating himself from the ‘illegals’ who are ‘tricking the system’ and ‘destroying [the country]’. However, Adriano comes from a working class background and migrated, in large part, to improve his economic capital. As such, he cannot use class, as Priscila does, to try to distinguish himself from the stigma of the ‘illegal’. The option that Adriano has is to play with Brazilian regional differences, using the figure of the Goiano to crystallise the representation of inferior ‘other’ Brazilian in London, as I discuss in more detail in Chapter 9.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I analysed how the production and negotiation of difference in a globalised world are shaped by the state creating and imposing social divisions through legal categories, namely those of the ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ migrant. When examining the divide between ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ migrants empirically, some important analytical points emerge. Firstly, there is a space of possibilities between

³² It is important to remember that, in some cases, immigrant groups do organize resistance, such as the mass mobilizations of migrants in the US stating: ‘Aquí Estamos, y No Nos Vamos!’ [Here we are, and we’re not leaving!] (De Genova, 2010)

‘legal’ and ‘illegal’, which is obscured when the boundary between these categories is conceptualised as fixed. Migrants are constantly navigating within this (blurred) space of possibilities, many times using ‘illegal’ means to keep their ‘legal’ situation. Additionally, the ways in which they navigate this space is anything but an individual matter. ‘(Il)legality’ is strongly dependent upon structural constraints that open opportunities for some that are foreclosed to others. Those with lower economic and cultural capital, for instance, have a stricter space of possibilities through which to enter and live in the country ‘legally’. This results in a classed differential inclusion, in which individuals are integrated with varied levels of rights, while others are only marginally included as ‘illegals’, without rights. Within this marginally inclusion, many migrants are exposed to high levels of exploitation in the labour market and in their personal relations. They narrate experience of fear and isolation, in which the Brazilian population in London is seen as not just ‘lacking in solidarity’ but in some cases as predatory and treacherous.

Nevertheless, despite the differential inclusion and symbolic violence resulting from immigration law, state thought, which naturalises and individualises ‘illegality’, is frequently legitimised by Brazilians. This is often the case when Brazilians try to distance themselves from the (classed/racialised) representation of the ‘bad’ ‘illegal’ migrant. As a consequence, ‘being legal’, as well as being a ‘good citizen’, becomes a (racialised/classed) aspiration of the self. Nevertheless, the ways in which migrations are able to negotiate this representation are also circumscribed by structural constraints, such as class and region. Thus, by engaging with such stigmatised representations, Brazilians end up reinforcing social differentiations among the migrant population. Yet, it is not only state categories that are used by Brazilians to produce social differentiation and hierarchy in London. The next chapter analyses how Brazilians are constantly negotiating essentialised representations of ‘culture’ (often intersected by ‘race’ and ethnicity) when speaking of and interacting with fellow Brazilians as well as other national and ethnic groups in the city.

Chapter 6

Negotiating ‘culture’: (re)producing and navigating representations

In this chapter I analyse the role of ‘culture’ (as well as ‘race’ and ethnicity) in the production and negotiation of difference amongst migrants in a globalised world. Instead of pre-assuming the existence of an ‘ethnic community’ built on ties of solidarity among Brazilians, in this chapter I explore how Brazilians in London are constantly re-signifying and negotiating essentialised representations of cultural (as well as ‘racial’ and ethnic) differences – often intersected with gender - when speaking about divisions amongst each other as well as when speaking about other groups – including British people and other migrant groups - and ‘their places’. It is important to note that while a comprehensive analysis of the workings of ‘race’ is outside of the scope of this thesis, this chapter will take into account how ‘race’ often comes to matter when Brazilians speak of themselves and other groups in London.

Drawing on interviews and ethnographic notes, I organise the chapter in four sections. I first analyse how Brazilians tend to racialise themselves in comparison to western Europeans/British through remaking, in their new context, essentialised accounts of culture and ‘race’ that have been historically re-signified since colonisation. Then, I analyse how Brazilians are constantly negotiating such racialised representations of ‘Brazilian culture’ as well as their own position as migrants. Focusing on body and space, I discuss how they do so by using strategies of ‘assimilation’ and distancing, in which they try to be as close as possible to the dominant culture at the same time that they distance themselves from their ‘Brazilianess’. Within this process, they try not to interact with other Brazilians and avoid Brazilian and other (racialised) migrant ‘places’ in London as a strategy to be as close as possible to the dominant culture. Nevertheless, later, I show how in the process of negotiating stigmatised representations, Brazilians also reframe both ‘Britishness’ and ‘Brazilianess’ in specific contexts through strategies of subversion and/or recognition (‘I am Brazilian’), such as those in which they have to deal with direct prejudice or in which ‘being Brazilian’ takes a positive value.

Drawing on my interviews and fieldwork notes as well as on theories of social representations, discussed in Chapter 1, as fluid social categories that are continually produced and negotiated in the struggle over social classifications, I argue that the

ways in which my respondents navigate strategies of ‘assimilation’, distancing and subversion when dealing with the stigma against ‘Brazilian culture’ as well as that against ‘the migrant’ vary according to the context and to the different markers and resources that they have available to be mobilised in an attempt to value themselves. Often, during my fieldwork, and even during the same interview, people used both strategies of recognition and dissimulation in different moments.

Racialising Brazilians and Brazil

In this section, my data shows that Brazilians in London tend to reproduce and re-signify, in new situations and contexts, racialised representations that inferiorize themselves in comparison to Europeans. These representations are constructed on the basis of a set of homologous oppositions embedded in representations constituted as part of the ‘colonial matrix of power’ (Quijano, 2000). As discussed in Chapter 2, this matrix of power has been racialising bodies and spaces through the hierarchical divide between rational/civilised Europeans (mind) and emotional/traditional non-Europeans (body) (Quijano, 2000; Grosfoguel, 2007). In my interactions with them, I found that Brazilians often speak in ‘culturalist’ terms, in which ‘culture’ is conceptualised as an independent factor that determines the fate of those who ‘possess’ it (Brah, 1996; Grosfoguel, 2007), positioning themselves as being ‘body’ in comparison to the European ‘mind’³³. They used the follow words to describe the divide between Brazilians and Western Europeans: rude/polite, emotional/rational, uncivilised/civilised, tradition/modern, exotic/ beautiful, macho (sexist)/prince, promiscuous/moral, corrupt/pure, uneducated/ cultured, disorganized/organised, gossip (controlled)/individuality (freedom), inequality/equality.

³³ Such representations, both of Brazilians and Europeans, are also very much classed representations. As we will see in the next chapter, the Brazilian middle-class use the same Cartesian divide between ‘body’ and ‘mind’ to distinguish themselves from ‘poor immigrant’. They are ‘mind’ and the ‘economic migrant’ is ‘body’ – even though in this chapter they homogenise all Brazilians as ‘body’. At the same time, the representation they have of European culture homogenises Europeans as ‘mind’, ignoring the presence of poor within Europe, who have also historically long been associated with the material and the embodied (Bourdieu, 1984; Porter, 2003).

The uncivilised Brazilian culture and the (enchanted) civilised European/British

When analysing their lives in London, Brazilians frequently make comparisons between Brazilian and Western European/British culture. The representation of European/British culture tends to acquire a positive value and to be counterposed against Brazilian culture through ‘a set of homologous oppositions’ (Sayad, 2004: 25) that were present in Brazilian minds’ even before they migrated. There seems to be a tacit enchantment with Western European culture, which is taken as ‘the culture’, the universal reference to be followed. Thus, it is common to hear people citing Brazil’s allegedly inferior/ immoral culture and lack of ‘civilization’ to explain why they wanted to come to London or why, once arrived, they do not want to go back. When I spoke to Rachel, a 42-year-old Brazilian woman, she explained why it would be hard for her to go back after living in London for 12 years using such hierarchical ‘cultural’ differences.

It’s hard to live in Brazil. There’s too much gossip, people wanting to know everything about your personal life, trying to control everything, who you are going out with, how you dress, when they themselves don’t know how to dress properly or how to behave themselves: they talk too loud, spit on the floor.

They jump into the conversation, right Mum?! [Sara, Rachel’s 8-year-old daughter who was coming along with us on her scooter and listening to the conversation.]

Exactly, Sara, they jump into the conversation - see why mum tells you to not jump into conversation? Because it’s not polite. Also [turning back to me], they don’t respect queues, push you and don’t even say sorry. Everyone takes advantage of each other, uneducated people, without culture and morals! Everything stresses me out there. It always did. That’s why I left there. Here they’re civilised. They’re polite. You don’t see people jumping the queue, throwing rubbish on the floor, gossiping about each other’s lives. They respect your space, your opinion, how you dress. They’re civilised. Did you see those (English) ladies sat next to us in the pub? Could you hear what they were talking about? No! Because they have culture, manners, education - something that we don’t have.

My conversation with Rachel is typical of many others I have had in which Brazilian migrants racialise themselves as having a culture and morality inferior to those of Western Europeans. By making the division between the ‘civilised’, ‘polite’ and educated people ‘here’ and ‘the uneducated people, without culture and morals’

'there', Rachel's comments highlight how the way in which Brazilians classify themselves is often 'dependant upon the classifying systems of others' (Skeggs, 1997: 74). As Charles Mills (1997) argues, the history of European 'colonialism, imperialism and genocides' was developed alongside a 'racial contract', 'a consent, whether explicit or tacit', among Europeans to assert and maintain the 'racial order', the idea of 'white supremacy' (14). Yet, this racial contract also sets the standard for 'non-white persons themselves, establishing morally, epistemically, and aesthetically their ontological inferiority' (118). Thus, Rachel's comparison is produced in dialogue with the Eurocentric (colonial) representations and imaginings of Europeans and their 'others' (Said, 1978)³⁴, constructed through the Cartesian dichotomy of 'mind' versus 'body' (Puwar, 2004; Mills, 1997). That these binary representations were already part of Rachel's imaginaries before migration is made clear when she says, 'This is why I left there (Brazil)'. I am not suggesting that there are no cultural differences between Brazilians and Europeans. Rather, I am highlighting how Rachel's comments reflect the hierarchical meaning historically attributed, by Europeans, to those 'differences'. Within these cases, 'cultural difference' is essentialised, ranking social groups - with differential access to wealth, power and privilege - in relation to one another (Brah, 1996). As Brah (1996) argues, 'the esteemed values and modes of behaviour in society are most likely to be those that are associated with the dominant groups in society' (19). This dominant group, in Bourdieu's terms (2004), would be the group that is also 'culturally dominant' (whose culture is 'hegemonic' in the field) and that claims 'to define culture to its own standard or contest' (5).

As a consequence, as in the case of Rachel, all markers that could be taken as part of a 'Brazilian culture' - ways of behaving, walking, speaking - are qualified as uncivilised/inferior. Thus, the body here becomes 'the geometric locus' (Sayad, 2004: 260) of a stigma against a 'culture', being the main marker in the articulation of morality and power. As discussed in Chapter 1, engaging with Sayad (2004) and Bourdieu (1990b), the body is both a physical individuality and a social product; it carries all the inscribed markers of a 'culture': gesture, postures, accent, language, styles, tastes...and other actions that 'go without saying' (Bourdieu, 1990b: 71). In

³⁴ Said (1978) highlights how the Orient has been constructed in the West as its great complementary opposite since antiquity.

this sense, the discomfort Rachel feels with Brazilians' perceived lack of manners, excessively loud speech, and improper dress has its equivalent in the discomfort that she experiences in, with and through, her 'national culture' – which has been historically stigmatised as de-valued and uncivilised.

Racialising social inequality

Culture is also used as an important marker when Brazilians in London compare social inequalities between Brazil and Western Europe. The inferior/uncivilised culture, imagined to determine the construction of Brazilian bodies and behaviour, is also conceptualised to be present in Brazilian social and political institutions, generating 'Brazilian corruption' and social inequality. This can be seen in a conversation I had with Fabricio, in which he explained why he already knew Brazil was going to lose to Germany in the 2014 World Cup Final.

Of course we would [lose to Germany]. They prepared themselves, developed their team, years of training, and Brazil doesn't have this culture of preparation, training. This is our general culture, there is a lack of reason there.

AMJ: What do you mean?

It means we have the wrong culture. The problem started when the Portuguese took their first steps into Brazil. They imposed their system of life. Two hundred years ago, Brazil was as rich as the U.S, same level of wealth. But why have [North] Americans developed and we haven't? Because they have a different cultural system, Anglo-Saxon capitalism, and we have the Portuguese. We inherited it from them. It's all about *jeitinho* ['little way']: who knows whom, skipping steps, no one wants to do things in the right way. For example, there is no point giving a house to people from the favelas because they will have a big party and celebrate that they have a house and after that they will sell it, burn all the money on shit things and then go back to living in the favelas. This is why [Brazil] is full of homelessness, poverty, violence, because they are not able to distinguish between right and wrong. We will never be a modern country. We blame the politicians but the problem is the culture, which is corrupt by nature; of course our politicians will be corrupt.

AMJ: Don't you think there is corruption here as well?

There is, but here it's one person here and there. It's not part of their culture. Things work here.

My conversation with Fabricio brings important analytical points to light, as it is embedded in - and helps to illustrate how - 'culturalistic' approaches have been used to racialise Brazil, its people and its institutions. Firstly, when blaming the vestiges of Portuguese (traditional) culture for not allowing Brazil to become a modern/rational nation, and in this way differentiating it from Anglo-Saxon cultures, Fabricio is positioning 'culture' as an independent determinant variable at the root of Brazilian social inequalities. In so doing, Fabricio is reproducing a racist/culturalist account close to practical policies and theoretical reflections which have been implemented, reproduced and re-signified in Brazil since the first republic (1889-1929). As I discussed in Chapter 2, during the first republic, when Iberian countries had already lost their central place in the colonial world system to 'the modern' Great Britain, Brazilians sought to 'civilise' themselves through 'racial' policies that encouraged European migration (preferably non-Iberian). As part of the same 'civilizing' effort, they distanced themselves from traditional Portuguese culture in order to imitate French and British costumes and habits mentioned by Fabricio. However, in Fabricio's eyes, the 'inherited' Portuguese cultural system is still imprinted on Brazilian bodies, which not only explains why Brazil lost the football match, but also why Brazil is corrupt, socially unequal, and underdeveloped.

According to Fabricio and many other Brazilians I talked to, these national shortcomings can be traced to the lack of reason in Brazilian culture: 'They are not able to distinguish between right from wrong'; Brazilians do not have 'a culture of preparation and training'. Instead, Brazilians have the nepotistic culture of *jeitinho*, in which they 'skip steps', activating their 'personal' network of social relations to achieve things through favours and corruption (DaMatta, 1981), instead of following the rational/legal (bureaucratic) way of 'doing things right' – what Fabricio calls 'the cultural system' of Anglo-Saxon capitalism'.

As a consequence, such a 'corrupt' way of behaving is then embedded in Brazilian political institutions. On the other hand, in Britain, corruption is limited to isolated, individual cases, since 'it's not part of their [Anglo-Saxon] culture'. In such discourse, Fabricio is also reproducing the same racist prejudice found both in the common sense as well as in contemporary theoretical reflections discussed in Chapter 2, which take corruption as a feature of 'pre-modern', 'not developed' societies (Bernstein, 1971; DaMatta, 1981; Luhmann, 1995), due to their 'hybrid', not-fully 'modern' cultures. As Souza (2012) notes, in these discourses, 'pre-modern'

‘countries, society and their individuals are taken as dirty, corrupt and potentially unreliable’ (44).

Therefore, by understanding Brazilian corruption as well as social inequalities as linked to its culture Fabricio is reproducing and re-signifying racialised Eurocentric representations that justify Brazil’s ‘peripheral position’ in the world system. At the same time, this linkage obscures the continuous (re)production of (‘racial’, class, gender) inequalities and hierarchies within that system and the symbolic and material consequences of colonialism for those taken as (non-European) ‘body’ (Mills, 1997; Grosfoguel, 2007). As Souza (2012) argues, naturalising social inequality and the production of poverty as a mass phenomenon in peripheral countries as a ‘premodern’ and ‘personalist’ inheritance does not allow us to comprehend how such phenomena actually result from large-scale modernization processes, which have gradually been implanted in these societies as a result of worldwide capitalist expansion.

Gendering the body versus mind divide

Gender, intersected with culture, is another important marker used by Brazilians in London to compare themselves to Western Europeans and the British. The historical Eurocentric enterprise to continuously divide the world’s population between civilised, valued cultures (‘minds’) and racialised, uncivilised cultures (‘bodies’) is also constructed through gender and sexual assumptions (see Connel, 1998; Collins, 2004; Nagel, 2001; Stolke, 2006). As Joane Nagel (2001) argues, ‘sexual depictions and denigrations of racial, ethnic, and national “others” and the regulation of in-group sexual behaviour are important mechanisms’ by which racialised boundaries have been ‘constructed, maintained, and defended’ since colonisation (123). Verena Stolke (2006), for instance, shows how since the Iberian colonisation there has been a production of essentialised representations of women in which European white women are represented as good wives and mothers, while indigenous, black or mixed women from former colonies are seen as sinful prostitutes with a hyper sexuality. The production of racialised boundaries through the intertwining of ‘race’/nationality/ethnicity and sexual assumptions has been particularly apparent in the case of Brazilian women. Feminist Brazilian scholars have show how the exotic, erotic and sensualised image of Brazilian women has been disseminated and commodified by the Brazilian tourism industry (Gomes, 2013), the

international pornography industry (Beserra, 2007), the international sex tourism industry (Piscitelli, 2008) and other markets of cultural and sexual exoticism, as we can see in Figure 5.³⁵

Figure 5: Adidas t-shirts promoting sexualised images of Brazilian women during the 2014 World Cup in Brazil



Source: Boadle (2014)

It is very common to hear Brazilians in London, both women and men, reproducing and re-signifying this stigma in a new context, at the same time as they value British women, as we can see with Adriano:

Brazilian women, only for sex. They are all prostitutes here. Look at the way they behave in the clubs, the way they dress. They relate to you only if they can get something from you, like a [European] passport, and you will be *cornio* [cheated on]. British women are top for me, in the world. Since I was a child, I used to watch TV and see them, all pretty, coloured eyes with their sexy and charming accent. Comparing British and Brazilians would be a massacre, in culture, studying, behaviour. English women, if you see them on the tube, you notice how into study they are, the amount that they know about the current economic and political situation of the country. They are politicized; they are cultured, civilised. They have a mind which I consider superior than other races.

AMJ: Have you been out with a British girl?

³⁵ During the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, Adidas had to apologise and stop selling two t-shirts for the event, as they had sexualised images of Brazilian women. In one t-shirt the logo had a woman in a bikini on the front with the words 'Lookin' to score' and the other one a heart shaped like a thong (Boadle, 2014).

Not yet, because I don't know any British women closely. I met one in a pub where I used to work, but it was hard to have something with her because I couldn't understand her accent. But, my aim is to get my documents, go to university, marry a British woman and have a family.

As we can see, Adriano's representation of Brazilian women – 'prostitutes' that cheat on you, reproduces "assumptions of racialised (hyper) sexuality and sexual desire that also lie at the heart of processes of stereotyping and the construction and representation of [gendered] 'racial difference'" (Alexander and Knowles, 2005: 12). As Sayad (2004) highlights, the most violent and direct criticism made of emigration is against the female population and their bodies. The body of the female migrant is 'an object of an intense and dramatic cathexis' and surveillance, which focuses on the way 'they dress, ways of holding themselves, speaking and behaving in public' (117). This surveillance is carried out by the society of origin, the host society and by the migrants themselves. This is reflected in Adriano's exhortation to 'look at the way they behave [and] dress', as well as in his assertion that he would be with a Brazilian woman 'only for sex' because '[t]hey are all prostitutes here'. His aim is to marry an (imagined) cultured, respectable beautiful British woman with a 'sexy, charming accent' and 'coloured eyes'. Here, racialised notions of culture/morality, sexuality and (white) beauty³⁶ intersect in his justifications for disdaining Brazilian women and desiring British women. Respectable female bodies, as noted by feminist scholars, are historically represented as white, heterosexual, and middle-class, (see Skeggs, 1997; Davis, 1995).

The (hypersexual) macho and the (civilised) prince

The connection between beauty, whiteness and culture (morality) is also common among Brazilian women making a comparison between Brazilian and British men. Post-colonial scholars have shown how historical constructions of non-white masculinity have been inseparable from notions of hypersexuality (see Collins, 2004; Stuart, 2005; Young, 2005). Dialoguing with these representations, many

³⁶ Brazilians tend to take blue or green eyes, as well as blond hair, as very important features of beauty, connected to traces of whiteness. Valuing traces of whiteness is commonplace where 'hierarchies of colour operate' in 'highly multiracial populations, such as Brazil', through 'colourism' or 'shadism' (such as the range of skin tones) (Ali, 2005:158).

Brazilian women also claim that they would not get into a relationship with a Brazilian man in London. As Amanda told me, 'Brazilian men are *machista* (sexist) and you can't trust them'. According to her, due to their high sexual drive, 'Brazilians will cheat on you'. On the other hand, she describes meeting a British man:

It's like a dream, like meeting a prince: blond, tall, blue eyes, not sexist. They pay the bill at the restaurant. They grab the menu and ask if you want to drink a sauvignon or a pinot noir? Fish or meat?

With both Adriano and Amanda, we can see how Brazilians reproduce racialised accounts of 'looks' intersected with morality to explain why they do not want to relate intimately with Brazilians and why they desire a British partner. Here, looks are important because historical representations of the body are crucial to the constitution of prejudice; as Brah writes, 'racialised powers operated in and through bodies' (Brah, 1996:3). Patricia Collins (2004) argues that such historical racialised representations, which have been reproduced in the media, films and popular culture, allow the continuous idea of non-whites as 'hypersexual' bodies (207), 'sexually promiscuous and engaging in sexual practices that resemble those of animals' (351). Such representations are reflected in Adriano and Amanda's respective arguments that Brazilian 'women are prostitutes' and Brazilian 'men are machista' and cannot be trusted. These representations result furthermore result in racialised desires, like Adriano saying he grew up admiring the English women he watched on TV, or Amanda describing meeting a blond, tall, white British man as 'like a dream' and 'like meeting a prince'. This desire, in turn, is based on representations that allow contradictory accounts – such as Adriano's knowing description of cultured British women that he has never had the chance to actually meet or Amanda's assertion that 'the prince' is not sexist because he pays the restaurant bill.

Distancing Brazilians, drawing closer to Western Europeans/British

In the next two sections I will discuss how Brazilians in London are constantly negotiating the racialised and stigmatised representations of Brazilians through contradictory strategies of recognition ('I am Brazilian'), subversion and distancing,

which also involves 'assimilations'. Drawing upon Sayad (2004), I argue that the figure of the migrant is 'the perfect embodiment of otherness' inside the nation state. They are part of a 'different history, (often) coming from a country/continent that occupies a political, economic and culturally dominated position in the world system on the international chessboard' (Sayad, 2004: 168). Thus, in the struggle against stigmatisation – 'the struggle to define the principles that define the social world in terms of one's interests (material and symbolic)' (*idem*: 256) - at times the migrant 'revolts against the stigma', 'at others, the migrant devotes himself to the quest for "assimilation"' (286). The former means trying 'to promote a self-image as close as possible to the (legitimate)' dominant culture (*idem*: 256). In this section I consider the strategies Brazilians in London employ to try to distance themselves from Brazil and its culture, as well as those they use to 'assimilate' to what they perceive to be British culture. These strategies involve not only distancing themselves from their 'Brazilianess', but also claiming to avoid other Brazilians as well as Brazilian – or migrant- 'places'. Thus, it is mainly through intersecting two forms of 'matter' (material substances), the body and space, that Brazilians try to deal with the stigmatised 'racial' representations of Brazilians themselves, as well as those of migrants and their places.

Minding the body: Migration as a civilising process

Brazilians in London often talk about changes in their bodies and behaviour as a sign of their 'assimilation' to the local culture. Brazilians' tendency to conceptualise 'Brazilian culture' as inferior to 'British culture' underpins the ways in which they position themselves in London. Many claim that contact with British culture changes their own: that migration civilised them. In interviews, I heard different formulations of such sentiment, such as 'I am no longer fully Brazilian' or 'I am a Brazilian living abroad'. This process requires, however, a great effort to shape the representation they wish to give of themselves and that which others have of them (Sayad, 2004). This effort is focused on 'cultural signs' inscribed in their bodies: physical appearance; clothes; ways of walking and behaving; accent; manner of speech; and lifestyle (Bourdieu, 1990b). Manoel described this process in my conversation with him.

The Brazilian culture is corrupt by nature; Brazilians try to take advantage of each other all the time, just doing wrong things. I have been living here for 11 years and I can see the changes in my culture. I see the difference in how Manoel – the one who arrived here - used to see things and how I see them today. My culture is no longer the same, so my habits are no longer the same - the way I see the world, my style, way of walking, behaving, dressing up, everything. Today, I think before doing. Manoel is wiser now. I use my intelligence more because here you learn what's right and what's wrong. Even Manoel speaking English is more polite than the Manoel speaking Portuguese, because language is part of our culture. It [changing] is a challenge for us, it's not easy, but I'm always improving.

As we can see, for Manoel, migration not only resulted in physical displacement, but also in a new way of defining and representing himself, which is described as the opposite to his previous self-perception. Manoel now has a 'different culture' and 'habits'. He is mind (rational/civilized), no longer body: he 'is wiser, now,' 'think[s] before acting', and has learned 'what's right and what's wrong'. He seems to have lost his 'corrupt' Brazilian culture, changing the way he walks, behaves, and dresses. Thus, as his body is how he presents himself, it becomes the object of attempts to model his identity as he seeks to make it as close as possible to what he sees as the legitimate configuration of a body (a culture). Nevertheless, Manoel is aware that these cultural changes to his bodily habitus are not straightforward. They are 'a challenge' for him, or 'not easy', as he says, because the body is not only a physical individuality, but also a social product (Bourdieu, 1990b). In this sense, as Sayad (2004) observes, at the same time that 'the body is most amenable to modification when social pressures demand it', it is also the most difficult thing of all to modify. This is because the body is 'the thing that has been most worked on, polished and cultivated' in our lives (260), shaped not only by 'race'/ethnicity, but also by class and gender, as discussed in Chapter 1 (Skeggs, 1997; Reay, 1997; Wacquant, 2004). Thus, Manoel's 'process of civilisation' (Elias, 1969) seems to be a continuous process, in which he is 'always improving'. In order to improve, or to 'assimilate', Manoel needs to constantly manage the weight of symbolic domination; under continuous surveillance, he must tirelessly correct his bodily behaviour to approximate the dominant culture.

Ethnic distancing, not affiliation, through geography

As Brazilians claim migration ‘civilized’ them, they emphasise this shift by differentiating themselves from ‘uncivilized’ migrant bodies and spaces. Even though many of them received support from other Brazilians in their journey (see Chapter 4), and many of them live or have lived with Brazilians, they nevertheless speak of avoiding contact with other Brazilians. In contrast, as much contact as possible with British people and their ‘civilized places’ is deemed desirable³⁷ - as Bia, a 30 year-old Brazilian woman from Rio, suggested when I spoke to her at Guanabara.

I never come here. If you invite me to go to a Brazilian place, I punch you in the face. I only came [to Guanabara] because it’s my friend’s farewell party and she insisted that I come. But normally I run away from Brazilians. I don’t go to Brazilian places, especially after my experience in Willesden. When I first came to London, I lived in Willesden. It was my worst nightmare in London. There are only Brazilians there. You hear more Portuguese on the street than any other language...a bunch of uneducated people living in the ghetto, gossiping about everyone, exploiting you for every penny - terrible! Nowadays, I live in Highbury. It’s another level. Just English people speaking English on the street. Everything is clean, beautiful people. You don’t hear Portuguese on the street, or see rubbish on the floor, or a bunch of ugly, smelly people like in Willesden. Because, you know, besides Brazilian, it’s full of black people there. It doesn’t even look you’re in Europe, but in Africa.

My conversation with Bia highlights important points about how Brazilians tend to see and talk about ‘migrant places and communities’ in London – even those who live in areas identified as Brazilian. Firstly, instead of migrants raising notions of shared language, religion, common culture and place of ‘origin’ as the means of eliciting support for a cause (Brah, 1996) - resulting in ‘ethnic solidarity’, as transnational studies tend to suggest (Light and Gold, 2000) - the primary theme here is the opposite: distancing. In this case, the distancing strategies are often developed through the city’s geography. In this regard, Malcolm Cross and Michael Keith’s argument about the city and the processes of racialisation it enables is illuminating:

³⁷ Here is important to say that the ways in which they relate to the idea of the Brazilian migrant as well as Brazilian places (‘community’) is also strongly shaped and differentiated by narratives of class, as I will discuss in Chapters 7 and 8. Moreover, it is important to highlight that time is also an important variable. The desire to avoid Brazilians tends to be more ‘radical’ among newcomers.

a nest series of overlapping locales through which the different process and scales of racialisation are realised, and the tensions between assumed collective identities and ascribed collective positions or racial subordination, the contradictions of racist discourse, are reconciled (1993: 26).

However, in the case of Brazilians in London, often, ‘geographical space does not reconcile these contradictions so much as create them’ (Levine-Rasky, 2016: 62). As happened with many Brazilians that I talked to in Guanabara³⁸, as soon as I started talking to Bia she tried to make sure that I knew she was only there for an exceptional occasion because she ‘run[s] away from Brazilians’ and never goes to ‘Brazilian places’. Brazilians often claim they avoid going to places considered part of ‘the Brazilian community’ – whether neighbourhoods, such as Bayswater (central London) and Willesden Junction (North-West London), or specific restaurants and club, notably Guanabara, a famous Brazilian club in central London. This is because Brazilian places, as well as ‘migrant communities’, carry the markers of otherness, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 (Sibley, 1995; Goldberg, 1996; Levine-Rasky, 2016). As Sibley (1995) argues, representations ‘of “other” people and “other” places’ are entangled in the production of what he calls ‘the geographies of belonging and exclusion’ (69). The architecture, smell, and sounds of a place as well as the style and clothing of bodies, their skin colour, habits and manner of occupying or moving through space are aesthetic markers of ‘racial’/ethnic difference in the city (Knowles, 2003; Puwar, 2004). These markers are often used in processes of ‘stereotyping, racialisation, and representations of defilement’ (Levine-Rasky, 2016: 62), resulting in ‘racial’/ethnic spatial segregation even among migrants themselves. As my conversation with Bia highlights, Brazilian and other ‘migrant communities’ are seen as ‘non-modern’ aberrations inside the ‘modern world’. They are dirty, dangerous ghettos where people live with their immoral, primitive values. Accordingly Bia suggests that in Willesden Junction, people are ‘uneducated’, ‘living in the ghetto, gossiping...exploiting you for every penny’. As a consequence, this ‘nightmare’ of a place is populated by ‘ugly, smelly people’ throwing ‘rubbish on the floor’: the polar opposite of civilised (white) Highbury, where ‘everything is clean’ and the people are ‘beautiful’.

³⁸ This is especially true of those with a middle-class background, as we will see in Chapter 7.

Importantly, in Bia's narrative this 'uncivilised' dirtiness and ugliness is attributed not just to the presence of Brazilians in Willesden Junction but also to the fact that it is 'full of black people,' who make you feel you are 'in Africa', rather than Europe. As Bia considers herself white, with Italian ancestry, she uses 'race'/colour to distinguish herself as superior to London's black 'African' migrants. Here we can see, firstly, how 'a multi-axial performative conception of power highlights the ways in which a group constituted as a "minority" along one dimension of differentiation may be constructed as a "majority" along another' (Brah, 1996: 186). Moreover, read in light of Grosfoguel et al's (2014) insights, my conversation with Bia illustrates the importance of understanding 'the transnational processes of migrant incorporation into metropolitan societies' as diverse and shaped by 'racial power relations with a long colonial history, colonial imaginary, colonial knowledge and racial/ethnic hierarchies' (641), which migrants themselves must also negotiate. In a multi-cultural city like London, multiple migrant groups intersect in the same geographical space. Yet, informed by colonial imaginaries and hierarchies, individuals may occupy 'minority' and 'majority' (ethnic/'racial'/classed) positions simultaneously, as 'these groups are similarly or differently constructed vis-à-vis one another' (Brah, 1996: 186). In such relational positioning, in the struggle between valued and less-valued 'ethnic' positioning, the narratives are not only partially 'structured with reference to the dominant group', as Brah (*idem*: 186) argues, but are also mediated by the representations that the dominant group has of 'their others'.

Reproducing local 'racial' and ethnic prejudice

In an attempt to value themselves and to draw closer to 'the dominant culture', Brazilians tend to replicate common British 'racial' and ethnic prejudice against particular migrants and racialised groups – such as those from former British colonies and eastern Europeans. As Sayad (2004) shows, in strategies of 'assimilation', the 'settler migrant' tends to adopt a set of representations and practices of 'us' (the dominant group/culture), for example the same social and family structure, morality, domestic atmosphere, lifestyle – the whole habitus. In doing so, they attempt to present themselves as 'the good migrant', demonstrating the trust they place in the people to whose country they migrated – and their simultaneous distrust of those from back home, and from other countries, who are 'uncivilised' and immoral. In this

process, Brazilians reproduce similar accounts of ‘us’ when talking about migrant groups and places. Manoel, for example, told me:

The problem here is not only Brazilian, I wish it was only Brazilians. But there are people from Eastern Europe entering here en masse. Now we have to deal with homeless begging inside the train. This place has been changing a lot, not the structure, because the city itself has been growing and developing, but there has been too much mixture of race. You can see the change in the physical aspect of the city. What is worse now is the level of people who are arriving here. They have a very low level. Then it is a problem, because you give a first world structure to people who are from the sub-developed world. It doesn't work...people coming here and jumping the queue, pushing you, tricking the system...This is why the cuts [austerity measures] are necessary, because [the country] is full of people who do not want to work. They're lazy ... We need efficient and competent people ... There are many people in the NHS from certain cultures – African, Caribbean, Pakistan, India -, they are very limited. They are always calling in sick, having kids to claim benefits.

Manoel's comments are very similar to local racialising discourses of the former colonial subjects historically stigmatised in Britain (Anderson, 2013), as well as those ones applied to Eastern Europeans, who have been denigrated both in immigration policy and tabloid journalism for the last decade (Fox et al, 2012). By reproducing such prejudice, Brazilians embody narratives that also discriminate against them, as they are also migrants. However, they believe they are closer to the dominant group since they distinguish themselves as ‘good migrants’. They know how to respect and utilize ‘a first world structure’ and they are not claiming benefits or ‘tricking the system’. They are also against those who do not assimilate to what they see as British values and they support the British politics that would cut the ‘privileges’ afforded this group: ‘the cuts are necessary, because [the country] is full of lazy people who do not want to work’.

However, living in a multi-racial city does not only result in differences producing conflicts and racism. In many conversations, Brazilians told me that living in London made them re-think many preconceptions they had towards other groups – especially Muslims. Those I interviewed consistently narrated being able to relate to different cultures as a positive aspect of living in London. However, many times the same person who told me about re-thinking their prejudice would make a racist remark later on. As Maria told me in her interview, ‘We need to be constantly

watching ourselves to not fall into contradiction and start being racist against other migrants'. Brazilians' talk about other Brazilians and different migrant groups constantly shifts, varying according to the context.

Negotiating 'Britishness' and navigating 'Brazilianess'

In this section I argue that Brazilians are constantly negotiating and reframing both 'Britishness' and 'Brazilianess' in specific contexts, through strategies of recognition and subversion of racialised representations of Brazilian culture. As Sayad (2004) notes, the former 'involve the recognition of the criteria of judgment that base "identity" on a legitimate foundation', while the latter attack 'symbolic power relations, to invert the scale of values that authorises stigmatisation, rather to erase the stigmatised features' (256-7). Brazilians use such strategies of subversion when they face situations in which they try to undermine the stigma against Brazilians or when 'being Brazilian' acquires a positive symbolic meaning. Yet, in the process they tend to re-invert the scale of values that facilitated stigmatisation by giving a negative value to 'Britishness' and a positive value to 'Brazilianess'. As Brah (1996) argues, racism does not impose 'simple bipolarities of negative and positive, superiority and inferiority', rather it 'simultaneously inhabits spaces of deep ambivalences, admiration, envy and desire' (15). Thus, Brazilians are constantly navigating such spaces of ambivalences which they narrate through often contradictory accounts. This is only possible, I argue, drawing upon Alexander and Knowles (2005), because 'race' and 'ethnicity' are social 'categories of power' which are made and remade by people at the everyday level, 'performed in mundane encounters between individuals as well as at the interface between people and structure' (2). In other words, they are part of a 'system of social meanings and cultural classifications, which is created and sustained through relationships of power and hierarchy, but which changes over time and which can be contested and subverted' (idem: 11).

Negotiating the enchantment

As previously discussed, Brazilians seem to be enchanted by an image of British culture as civilised and rational, in contrast to its counterpart image of Brazilian culture as uncivilised. Yet such images are also open for negotiation. Time is an important factor for Brazilians in negotiating and reframing both ‘Britishness’ and ‘Brazilianess’. As time passes, they find out that the UK is not as perfect as they had imagined. Moreover, the representation of Brazilians and British tend to be negotiated, especially when Brazilians narrate daily encounters with British people in which they try to overturn the stigma attached to ‘Brazilian culture’. These attempts at subversion are marked by a series of contradictions and manipulations, which do not necessarily exclude their previous accounts of distancing from ‘Brazilianess’ or ‘assimilating’ to ‘Britishness’. Rather, they co-exist, each positioning appearing several times in the same interview, as was the case with Jacob, a 49 year-old, highly-skilled informational technology worker.

In the beginning of our interview, Jacob had told me that by living abroad he realised that he ‘never had the uncivilised Brazilian culture’, claiming that he ‘was born in the wrong country’. He asserted that he felt ‘more at home’ when living in Italy for a few months – the country where his grandparents were born. Nevertheless, by the end of our interview, his perception shifted as he started telling me about instances of discrimination from British people at work. Even though Jacob thought he was born in the wrong country, he could not get rid of his ‘Brazilian origin’ or its racialised consequences.

Before living and working here I used to have a different view of them. I thought they were more British than they really are [laughs]. For example, at work, I thought we wouldn’t suffer from the lack of organisation and efficiency that we have in Brazil, but it’s the same here. We think they’re more formal, pretty, seem to be more organised, but they aren’t. All this formality is fake and they’re very bad at work. They’re very weak, inefficient, rigid, don’t think outside the box. We work better than them. This thing that they don’t gossip as well, it’s not true. They gossip a lot, but they do it with style, having tea [laughs]. And, they don’t accept receiving orders from a non-British person and I have many examples that I can give here from my experiences working with them. They still have this imperialistic position with non-British. I’m a project manager and in many cases they didn’t accept receiving orders from a Brazilian, or working with other people in our

team, like Indians. I had problems with them in a Project in Angola and in Oman.

Discrimination in the workplace was a very common theme in interviews with Brazilians working in high-skilled jobs. When describing discriminatory situations, they always relativized their initial representation of British people, resulting in critiques of 'Britishness' and valuing 'Brazilianess'. Like Jacob, many claimed that as time passed in London, they started losing the initial enchanted idea of 'British people' as rational, organised, formal, self-interested beings: they 'do gossip', their 'formality is fake', and they are not organised or efficient. Here, we can see, firstly, how 'culture' is a process, a terrain on which social meanings are produced, appropriated, disrupted and contested (Brah, 1996; Collins, 2000). Secondly, we see how 'cultural specificities are similarly constructed as fluid modalities within a multiplicity of sites, structures and relations of power', in which the meaning given to systems of signification 'can change over time in and through structural' – economic, political and social – shifts (Brah, 1996:129), as well as in situational context.

Nevertheless, when criticising British workers in attempting to subvert the stigma attached to 'Brazilian culture/people' and to value themselves, many of my respondents tend to, once again, essentialise the relational categories of difference – in this case 'Brazilian' and 'British culture' - in a binary disposition of 'body/mind', but with the scale of value is inverted. Body is taken as positive and mind as negative. British workers, associated with mind, are described by Brazilians as 'weak', 'rigid', 'square' and 'stuck inside a box', which would reflect, as Leonardo said, their 'too trained formal/rational culture'. On the other hand, Brazilians (body) are presented as being positive because of their 'flexible, not too rational culture' creating, as Leonardo told me 'hard working, flexible, creative workers who always find a way to solve a problem' – the Brazilian little way (*jeitinho Brasileiro*) of dealing with things.

Thus, when Brazilians attempt to break with hierarchies, the same *jeitinho Brasileiro*, which is usually cited as the feature that does not allow Brazil to become a modern developed country, receives a positive value in differentiating Brazilian workers from British. As Bourdieu (1991) highlights, symbolic properties, even the most negative, can be used strategically according to the material and symbolic interests of their bearer. Thus, highlighting the positive aspects of *jeitinho* is actually

not only a way for Brazilians to assert their value as workers, but also a means to attack the symbolic power relations that justify the discrimination against them.

Negotiating the prince and the macho

Brazilians also tend to re-negotiate Brazilianness and Britishness when talking about their intimate relationship with the British at home. In these cases, the same notions of Brazilian culture as ‘body’ in contrast to the British ‘mind’ that resulted in opposed notions of masculinities – ‘the sexist’ Brazilian in contrast to the British ‘prince’ discussed earlier – are re-signified in order to explain the problems in their relationships. This was apparent, for example, when Amanda explained why she broke up with her British husband.

I work looking after two British kids and I see their education. It’s so repressed: you need to speak quietly, say sorry for everything, you can’t touch people. So it’s not real politeness, it’s obligation, training. They are full of barriers, individualistic. They are sad people. There is no emotion. Then, when they meet Brazilians, they go crazy because we are the opposite of what they are. We have emotion, fire, we’re sexy. This is why I broke up with my ex-husband. I am not going to deny it, they are like a prince for us, but, the prince is cold [laugh]. Besides the fact that they drink too much to be able to release themselves, sexually they’re too restricted, lazy. Brazilians grab you, they have fire.

When I first met Amanda, she told me that she avoids relationships with Brazilians, while meeting a European man is like meeting a prince. Nevertheless, when explaining later why she broke up with her British husband, Amanda started using an essentialised dichotomy of ‘Brazilian and Britishness’, re-inverting the hierarchy of value. Here, the representation of British society and its people as ‘mind’ is re-signified as ‘individualistic’, ‘full of barriers’, ‘cold’, lacking emotion and ‘sad’, as well as ‘sexually strict and lazy’. Within this logic, the representations of ‘Brazilianness’ as ‘body’ resulting in a hypersexual masculinity, which she previously presented as a problem, asserting that Brazilian men were sexist and untrustworthy, is also re-signified as something positive: ‘Brazilians grab you, they have fire’.

Moreover, Amanda also reinforces the stereotype of Brazilian women - as emotional, fiery, and sexy, with the power to make British people ‘go crazy’ -, as a way to value herself. Thus, she uses the same stigmatised representation that many

Brazilian women – including herself – point to as facilitating the (negative) characterisation of Brazilian women as ‘prostitutes’. In fact, in the great majority of my interviews, Brazilian women mentioned that the sexualised stereotype of Brazilian women abroad was a problem, while later portraying themselves as sexier and more erotically appealing than British women. This is similar to research on Brazilian women in Portugal (Malheiros and Padilla, 2014; Gomes, 2013) and in the U.S (Beserra, 2000), which also shows that Brazilian women have, at some point, been confronted with negative images of exoticness which frame them as sexy, vulgar, exotic and, as Gomes states, an ‘always available body’ (2013: 871). These studies also highlight how at the same time that these women try to be critical of these representations, they also often attempt to twist these negative exotic images into a positive resource, through promoting an idea of a ‘Brazilian natural beauty and sex appeal’, in the sex (Piscitelli, 2008) and beauty (Malheiros and Padilla, 2014) industries, as well as in ‘the marriage market’ (Beserra, 2000).

Shifting affiliations

The sexualised/exotic stereotype of Brazilians is also negotiated when attempting empowerment in interactions with non-Brazilians. During my fieldwork in bars, clubs and house parties, I noted that Brazilians were constantly navigating through shifts of affiliation with or distancing from ‘Brazilianness’, depending on the meaning it acquired during social interaction with Brazilians and non-Brazilians. Yet, many moments of recognition also resulted in situations in which Brazilians reinforced the sexualised/exotic stereotype that they previously criticised. Demonstrating or teaching British acquaintances how to dance sexually, or saying that Brazilians, unlike the British, ‘are good in bed’ because ‘they know how to move their bodies, for instance, are typical examples. In these cases, Brazilian women were reinforcing stereotypes in situations in which they recognised that they could use the erotic/exotic representations of their body for potential empowerment (Lorde, 1984) - in other words, in situations in which such representations could work as a symbolic capital providing them with gains, whether material or symbolic. Nevertheless, it was not only Brazilian women whom I observed doing this, but also Brazilian men, as was the case with Manoel at Guanabara.

Manoel always complained about Brazilians' places of leisure, even before going to these places, as there he would find everything he is trying to distance himself from: the 'uncivilised Brazilian culture'. I was with him the first time he went to Guanabara because his friend was going to sing there. Once there, Manoel only spoke English with the staff, even with the waiters who were Brazilians. In addition to this, he kept complaining about how the people were uneducated, pushing each other all the time, and about the music. Yet, when his friend started singing Brazilian music, Manoel realised everyone, especially non-Brazilian women, were trying to sing and dance to the music. He then started dancing and singing along, close to the non-Brazilian women. At this point, singing and dancing properly became a form of symbolic capital. Manoel accessed his 'exotic Brazilianess' displaying his 'Brazilian corporeality', gaining the attention of the non-Brazilian girls around him. After dancing with them, he turned to me and commented, 'Here (Guanabara) is the only place in London that, sometimes, being Brazilian can be good'.

Thus, the same features of 'Brazilian corporeality' (speaking loudly, dancing sexually, pushing people and so on) which are identified as 'negative makers' by those who are critical of Brazilian places of leisure, are re-signified when 'Brazilianess' is taken as something positive. The very same people start manipulating the same characteristics they criticize, either as a way of distinguishing themselves, or as a defensive mechanism in response to situations of prejudice against themselves – as in Jacob's example described above. Nevertheless, 'exoticising' 'Brazilianess' can indeed empower the subject in interactions inside the field, working as a symbolic capital by inverting the scale of value of the stigma – positively essentialising (and homogenising) Brazilians as 'body', as warm, passionate, sexy and so on, and negatively essentialising British as 'mind', as cold, rigid, and weak. Yet, by doing this, Brazilians can end up reifying the same discourse that justifies inequalities in Brazil, and its 'peripheral' position in the world system, as well as sexualised accounts which racialise Brazilians, especially Brazilian women. Thus, their individual agency results in a perverse confluence with the narratives and discourses that subordinate Brazilians under the term exotic - perverse because by obtaining individual gains through mobilising 'exoticness' as a symbolic capital, they are legitimating the same features which have been historically used to stigmatise Brazilians and justify inequalities in the world system.

Turning on and off to be accepted

Brazilians I spoke to also use shifts of affiliation – alternately recognising and retreating from their ‘Brazilianess’ - to ‘survive’ abroad. Here, manipulating their representation of ‘Brazilians’ and ‘Europeans/British’ people, as well as ‘becoming’(or not) Brazilian, were justified, in some reflexive accounts as a means of dealing with prejudice or being accepted, as Karine told me.

I used to really avoid being among Brazilians, consuming Brazilian culture, going to Brazilian places. [I stayed] away from everything that was connected to Brazil. Then you become less radical with that. There is a moment that you become too embedded in the local customs, the way of dressing, behaving, eating. But there are also moments that you see yourself turning on your Brazilianess as well, because you will never be completely one of them. So, you turn on in certain moments and you turn off in another, without noticing. This is a way of surviving. It’s necessary, especially if you’re a Brazilian woman. I have a family which is partially French. As we go there a lot, I always make a huge effort to be as much as possible like them, to be close to their culture, it is an unconscious way to be more accepted.

Karine is a 35-year-old Brazilian medical doctor who did her medical residency in France, got married to a French man and moved to work and live in London. Like many other Brazilians, she also distances herself from ‘everything connected to Brazil’. She reflexively acknowledges ‘turning’ her ‘Brazilianess’ ‘off and on’, as an unconscious means of ‘surviving’ and ‘be[ing] more accepted’, which can be read as a strategy to avoid prejudice and being framed in the stigmatised representation of Brazilians (non-Europeans). Within this, ‘becoming Brazilian’ is also an important tool for dealing with discrimination in particular contexts. As Karine said, in some moments, ‘you see yourself turning on your “Brazilianess” as well, because you will never be completely one of them’. This unconscious mechanism of shifting affiliations, turning on and off, opens possibilities for managing the pressures and isolation of migration. Nevertheless, as Suki Ali (2005) notes, on one hand, ‘claims to multiple ethnic or “racial” affiliations go a long way to mitigating the discursive anomalies of racialised stereotypes, opening up space for the way they can be used to challenge the dangerous fixicity’ (170) of (essentialised) racialised stereotypes. On the other, this can end up legitimating the same stereotypes in strategies of subversion - including that of the ‘exotic’ as a symbolic capital and mechanism of empowerment. Moreover, as representation here inevitably

incorporates not only the ethnic, but also raced, classed and gendered cultural markers of difference which are inscribed on the body - including through language, clothing, religious, practice, and colour – there is always a limit to such shifts of affiliation. Not everyone can equally ‘turn on and off’ their multiple affiliations in the same way. Class, ‘race’, and gender interact to produce possibilities and generating constraints that regulate migrants’ attempts to be closer to the dominant culture – not everyone can be as close as they wish.

As Collins (2000) notes, ‘by meshing smoothly with intersecting oppressions of “race”, class, gender, and sexuality, they help justify the social practices that characterize the matrix of domination’ in particular contexts (84). Yet, each individual differently navigates the layers of oppression of a matrix of domination according to the way in which their social markers interact together and in relation to each other (Crenshaw, 1989; Brah, 1996). Karine, for instance, is white and highly-educated. She speaks three languages and can go to her partner’s family house in France and try to be as close as possible to them. She speaks French and tries to share their taste in conversations, food and fashion. A person who does not have such extensive cultural and economic capital most probably would not be able to use the ‘turn on and off’ mechanism in the same way that Karine does. This is the case for Elza, who (as discussed in Chapter 4), comes from a working class background, works as a cleaner, does not speak English and lives and socialises predominately with Brazilians.

Although class is an important marker in dealing with the racialised stigma of being a migrant, dealing with the stigma requires a continuous process of playing not only with their capitals, but also with the signs and markers available which would allow them (or not) to value themselves – such as gender and ‘colour’. In these cases, class, ‘race’ and gender not only simply interact with each other, but they can also cancel each other out, or one can compensate for others (Brah, 1996; Puwar, 2004). Karine’s described her experiences of discrimination, for instance, as being shaped by gender and nationality. Even though her capitals allow her to ‘turn on and off’ her ‘Brazilianess’, the fact she is a Brazilian woman is probably what anchors her assertion that she ‘will never be completely one of them’. As Piscitelli (2008) argues, even though the markers of class and ‘race’, as well the social context in which they are inserted, can increase or diminish the stigma against Brazilian women abroad, ‘a sexualised racialisation’ affects all of them due to ‘their nationality’ (269). On the other hand, Marcos, a 40 year-old man that I interviewed, who is also upper middle-

class and who also tries to distance himself as much as possible from his 'Brazilianess', but who is black, described experiencing many discriminatory situations due to his colour. Marcos works in a marketing company, has a Dutch partner, and speaks Dutch. He also claims that he changed his 'Brazilian culture', living something closer to 'a European lifestyle'. Yet, he often sees some white women in his (white) neighbourhood in South West London holding their bags and running away from him when they see him walking on the streets at night.

Conclusion

In this chapter I analysed how Brazilians both forge and break ties of affinity through essentialised representations of 'culture' (as well as 'race' and ethnicity). I argued that Brazilians in London are constantly negotiating these representations as a means of valuing themselves in the host society. Within this negotiation process, Brazilians navigate in contradictory narratives and actions when speaking of or interacting with Brazilians and other national, ethnic or 'racial' groups. Brazilians tend, firstly, to racialise Brazil and its people through reproducing and re-signifying narratives of 'culture' ('race' and ethnicity), which have been historically reproduced since colonisation. 'Brazilianess' was narrated as an inferior culture, which results in the constitution of uncivilized, uneducated immoral bodies and corrupt institutions (in Brazil). On the other hand, Western Europeans are polite, educated, civilized bodies, living in a country with rational, modern institutions. Such binary representations are also shaped by gender assumptions, which produce sexualised representations of Brazilian women and men. As a way of dealing with such racialised representations of 'Brazilianess', Brazilians use narratives of their 'assimilation' that promote a self-image as close as possible to the dominant and legitimate culture. They do so by: trying to distance themselves from their negative 'Brazilianess'; claiming to avoid relating to Brazilians and going to 'Brazilian places'; and, finally, reproducing some of the dominant local narratives that racialise particular migrant and ethnic groups and their 'neighbourhoods' in London. Nevertheless, in specific contexts, Brazilians also reframe representations of both 'Britishness' and 'Brazilianess', navigating through

often contradictory shifts of affiliation and narratives of subversion, in which 'Brazilianess' takes a positive value in its distinction from 'Britishness'.

Thus, by analysing how Brazilians are constantly having to navigate through narratives and strategies of 'assimilation', distancing and subversion when facing racialised representations of 'Brazilians', this chapter moves beyond the pre-assumption that ethnicity/nationality automatically results in the generation of narratives of 'ethnic communities' abroad. It also highlights that the constitution of ties based on commonalities is contextual and that, furthermore, it is shaped by historical representations that have long racialised certain bodies and spaces as inferior (uncivilised). Moreover, even though in many moments Brazilians value 'Brazilianess' and try to connect themselves to this representation in particular moments, this does not result, however, in accounts of a valued 'Brazilian migrant community' in London. As I will argue in detail in the next three chapters, Brazilians also negotiate the ideas of 'migrant' and 'community' through differences of class and region.

Chapter 7

(Re)making Brazilian differences in London: Negotiating class

There is the community there, but, we are not part of it. It might be a class prejudice of mine, but we have different lives. Once on the street there were these people listening to us speaking Portuguese. Then they said: ‘Ah you’re Brazilians?!’ ... ‘No, we’re English people learning Portuguese!’ Come on. We don’t talk to people or give our numbers to do things together just because they are Brazilians. As I say, I probably would never be friends with these people in Brazil (Elisa³⁹).

In the next two chapters, I analyse the role of class in the production and negotiation of difference among Brazilian Londoners. More specifically, I discuss how differences of class (often intersected with gender) are deployed and negotiated in creating divisions between them. By moving beyond the assumption that shared ethnicity/nationality automatically results in the constitution of unified communities, this chapter focuses on middle-class Brazilians. This group understands their journey to London as being an investment in cultural and human capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Becker, 1993), which they frame as part of a ‘cosmopolitan experience’ (Hannerz, 1990). Instead of speaking in terms of community membership, the narratives here show how differences of class are central to the distinct ways in which this group occupies, moves and uses spaces. Indeed, I will argue that middle-class Brazilians in the city reproduce class differences precisely by constructing and distancing their ‘cosmopolitan experience’ from representations of ‘the community’, as well as those of ‘the Brazilian (economic) migrant’.

Drawing on interviews and ethnographic research, I divide this chapter into four sections. In order to understand how middle-class Brazilians try to distance themselves from the representations of ‘the migrant’ and ‘the community’, I start by theoretically framing how contemporary literature on migration has produced distinct categories of mobile people, distinguishing between the ‘cosmopolitan’ and the ‘(transnational) migrant’. Following this, I empirically analyse how middle-class Brazilians in London performing so-called ‘high skilled jobs’ speak of class differences between themselves and ‘the Brazilian migrant’ living ‘inside the

³⁹ Fieldwork note: Opening party of the Brazilian Film Festival, London 2014.

community'. Yet, as I then move on to discuss, migration also results in occupational/economic downgrades for some of the Brazilian middle-class, blurring class boundaries. As a consequence, they need to constantly re-arrange the symbolic markers of class in their distancing strategies. I argue that the many middle-class Brazilians who are, or have been, performing so-called 'unskilled work' in London focus on cultural (education, taste, lifestyle) and moral (valued and non-valued lifestyles and behaviour) aspects of class when trying to re-make class boundaries in this new context.

Framing cosmopolitans and migrants

As noted by Victor Roudometof (2005), a global trans-national society has emerged with the production of new categories and forms of social divisions 'among classes and individuals' (114). Ulf Hannerz (1990), for instance, argues that the ways in which people relate to a global interconnected world result in the composition of two different groups: 'the cosmopolitans' and 'the locals' (237). His foundational definition of the cosmopolitan is framed in terms of an upper middle-class, occupational and experiential culture that implies 'an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences' (1990: 239). Locals, on the other hand, are ordinary people – 'ranging from transnational migrant workers to exiles or refugees' – who 'do not necessarily possess such cultural and intellectual predispositions' (Roudometof, 2005: 114). 'Representatives of more circumscribed territorial cultures' (Hannerz 1992: 252), locals, when moving, share 'structures of meaning carried by social networks' (1992: 248–9). In this sense, for the transnational migrant, 'going away may be, ideally, home plus higher income; often the involvement with another culture is not a fringe benefit but a necessary cost. A surrogate home is created with the help of compatriots, in whose circle one feels most comfortable' (Hannerz, 1992: 248).

Following Hannerz's distinction, as Paloma Gay y Blasco (2010) notes, scholars have 'upbraided each other for assuming that cosmopolitans have to come from the West', 'to belong to the elite', 'to be mobile metropolitan travellers' and to be 'consumers, rather than producers' (403). Yet, the notion of an intellectual and

aesthetic ‘openness’ in people’s attitudes towards the world, put forward in Hannerz’s definition of cosmopolitanism, started being ‘used as a new moral and ethic standpoint suitable for 21st-century global life’ (Roudometof, 2005: 113). In this sense, cosmopolitanism is framed as an individual attitude - the ‘willingness to engage with the Other’ (Hannerz 1990: 239) and an openness ‘to strangers and strangerhood’ (Werbner 1999: 26) - rather than as solely a feature of the Western elite. Cosmopolitanism has therefore been understood as a positive phenomena, in which people could develop a better way of living and relating to each other in a global world (see Beck and Sznaider, 2006; Delanty, 2009; Gilroy, 2000).

Framing cosmopolitanism as an attitude and orientation also allowed the literature to empirically analyse the phenomena as being more than a Western and upper class characteristic (Werbner, 1999; Diouf, 2000; Clifford, 1992). Working with British Pakistani communities, Pnina Werbner (1999), for instance, argues that working-class migrants are capable of developing and expressing ‘working class cosmopolitanism’. For her, transnational communities engage in a complex traffic of ‘objects-persons-places-sentiments’, along with an ‘openness to strangers and strangerhood or difference’ (26). Sometimes, she notes, ‘it is factory workers rather than wealthy merchants who display more openness’ (2006: 498). In this sense, cosmopolitans can be portrayed as any people who, desiring ‘unfamiliar cultural encounters’ (Ley, 2004: 159) ‘have a taste for difference’ (Schiller, 2015: 106).

Yet, scholars have problematized how cosmopolitanism may well be deeply implicated in economic inequalities and power relations around the world (see Calhoun, 2008; Igarashi and Saito, 2014). As Craig Calhoun (2008) highlights, cosmopolitanism claims openness to foreign others and cultures as if it were ‘simply a free-floating cultural taste, personal attitude, or ethical choice’ (109), detached from the material conditions in which people’s lives are embedded. As Igarashi and Saito (2014) argue, the acquisition of a cosmopolitan attitude is ‘often made possible by capital – social and cultural as well as economic’ (443), which are played out ‘in a global field’, ‘built on legacies of imperial expansion and colonial rule, which defy simple hierarchical ordering’ (234). For Mike Featherstone (2002), the ‘restless pursuit of experience, aesthetic sensations and novelty’, is something that ‘best fits anglophone societies such as the United States and Britain, in which the market values of the trader, who looks, deals and moves on, are often seen to be key formative features of the current world-view’ (1).

Valuing a certain attitude towards the global world, which is also materially dependent on the uneven distribution of capital at a global level, can also help to reproduce stratification among classes (Igarashi and Saito, 2014; Hannerz, 2004). As Igarashi and Saito (2014) point out, the ‘ability to speak foreign languages and navigate through foreign cultural environments is typically acquired through extensive international travels and experiences of studying or living abroad’, which are more ‘likely to be found among the upper class’ (225). Moreover, as Hannerz (2004) shows, ‘bottom-up’ (working-class) cosmopolitans ‘are unlikely to be recognized as such in their own environment’ (77). Therefore, cosmopolitanism can be seen as ‘a new kind of distinction’ (Lizardo, 2005:106).

Thus, following Roudometof (2005), ‘cosmopolitan’ and (transnational) ‘migrants’, also act as classed and racialised ‘labels’ or representations, which are ‘far from innocent descriptions of an actual situation’ (114). In fact, ‘national origin and cultural tradition play a critical role in the assignment of these labels’, which are ‘employed selectively with regard to people of different classes as well as different racial and ethnic backgrounds’ (114-5). As discussed in the previous two chapters, ‘migrant’, for instance, is a political, social and racialised category. Its social dimension is also shaped through class, since the representation of the migrant is often associated with the position of ‘the unskilled worker’. As Sayad (2004) highlights, despite migrants and ‘unskilled workers’ ostensibly constituting two different groups, ‘the migrant condition provides a description of the work that is done by “the migrant worker” or which devolves upon him [sic]’ (164). All jobs that are technically and socially despised are stigmatised as ‘migrant work’⁴⁰. As a consequence, the term ‘migrant’ has been constructed in relation to the ‘unskilled (poor) worker’, therefore becoming simultaneously figured as a classed category.

Drawing on the classed and racialised features present in the representations of ‘cosmopolitan’ and ‘migrant’, in next two chapters I analyse how Brazilians play upon these two representations in order to negotiate class distinctions in London. In this chapter, I specifically analyse how the Brazilian middle-class speak of their ‘cosmopolitan lifestyle’ as distinct from that of ‘the Brazilian migrant worker’. In the

⁴⁰ This association has a historical character, since ‘in urban and industrial societies the “lowest position” in the social and professional hierarchy almost systematically devolves upon the last group to arrive at the proletarian condition’ (Sayad, 2004: 165)

next chapter, I examine how working-class Brazilians dialogue with and negotiate the classed representations of the Brazilian migrant living within the community.

Cosmopolitans and the Brazilian migrant

In this section my data shows that, by stressing a combination of economic and social-cultural aspects of life, the Brazilian upper-middle class working in high skilled jobs speak of class differences as the main marker for creating symbolic boundaries between them and the ‘unskilled worker’ living ‘inside the community’. Following Bourdieu’s (1987) discussion on class as continuously made, in Chapter 1 I discussed how the class of an agent is defined relationally in social space by the volume and composition of capital (economic, cultural, social and symbolic), as well as by their trajectory (Bourdieu, 1990a). These three axes – volume, composition and trajectory of capital - are viewed as dimensions which produce differentiated positions in social space between, and within, social classes. These differentiated positions not only result in different classed lifestyles (*habitus*), but also tend to express a homologous position of the agent in the occupational division of labour. The agent’s location within the occupational system is also differentiated from, and related to, the distribution of capital (1984). Thus, for those performing high skilled jobs in London, occupation and lifestyle appear as pivotal markers that they use to distance themselves from the representation of ‘the Brazilian migrant’.

Work and lifestyle: making ‘the cosmopolitan’ and ‘the migrant’

Highly-skilled, upper-middle class Brazilians in London tend to talk about their migration as being a cultural experience, in which they are opened up to new cultures and (a certain type of) diversity. Similarly to Leonardo (Chapter 4), these people left Brazil seeking new work experiences abroad, through which to learn and grow professionally and culturally. The migration journeys of this group would fit with Hannerz’s foundational definition of cosmopolitanism as an upper middle-class orientation, ‘a willingness to engage with the Other’ (1990: 239). This can be seen when Carla, a 40-year-old lawyer, who was working in a bank, told me what it is like to be an international mobile cosmopolitan.

When I left [Brazil] in 2002, it was to have this [cultural] experience, not because of work itself. But, I didn't expect to live and work in so many different countries, with so many different people. It is a constant process of learning by dealing with diversity all the time. In the bank that I work in there is a great diversity of people - Portuguese, Brazilians, British, Spanish, Russian, French, South African. And, [we] expats end up relating, in everyday life with people from work as well because we don't have friends or family around. In London I don't socialise that much with Brazilians, for instance, because the Brazilians who work with me are married and they don't go out that much.

AMJ: But do you go to Brazilian places?

No, I don't. I mean, I go to a Brazilian beauty salon and I've been once to a restaurant in Kilburn, but that's all. But, to be honest, I believe this is a prejudice of mine, because if you say to me, 'Let's go to this Brazilian place', I would think that it's full of people from a low social level in Brazil. The fact that they are Brazilians won't necessarily create a link with me because I have a different lifestyle. My manicurist and hairdresser, for instance, are Brazilian. They were recommended by the wife of a Brazilian guy who works with me. I see their lives and hear the conversation they have when I'm in the salon; it's a completely different world that I'm not part of. Their work, preoccupations and lives are different. They go to the Brazilian church, live among Brazilians and just speak Portuguese.

As we can see, since Carla left Brazil to do an MBA in Law in the US, her journey has been marked by an openness to divergent cultural experiences, and she has worked in international banks in the US, Portugal, and London. However, she does not seem to be as open to Brazilians who do not share a similar 'lifestyle'. Her (classed) cosmopolitan lifestyle provides her with 'a constant process of learning by dealing with diversity' in her work and with relations with other expats. Yet, she has 'a prejudice' towards Brazilian places and reluctance to engage with Brazilians from 'a low social level' who 'live in a completely different world'. In other words, her openness to diversity seems to decrease when it comes to social class differences.

As Carla's interview suggests, when discussing their co-nationals abroad, instead of speaking of ethnic community (Light and Gold, 2000), Brazilian cosmopolitans talk openly about different occupational positions in the labour market and the different lifestyles that result in divisions within the population. Their high economic and cultural capital – which are stressed by their occupational position in the labour market - provide them with a cosmopolitan lifestyle which not only

differentiates them from the majority of Brazilians in London, but also allows them to avoid seeing themselves as ‘migrants’. My conversations with Jacob, the Informational Technology worker introduced in the previous chapter, is illustrative of this:

I don’t see myself as a migrant. I speak four languages. I travel a lot and I always have extra money, which gives me the autonomy to say no to things that I don’t want to do. I choose my jobs. My freedom comes from these things, and I also have documents, which makes a difference. So I’m more like a citizen of the world than a migrant. I don’t even need to look for jobs nowadays; a head-hunter keeps texting me all the time offering me jobs. [*He shows me the message he had just received from the head-hunter*]. These things give me freedom and make my life here different from Brazilians in general. Like, I went to a Brazilian place to watch the World Cup with my housemate [who is Brazilian], but I couldn’t interact with anyone there. The class difference [among Brazilians] here is huge. Going to Brazilian places here makes me have contact with some Brazilians that I would never have contact with in Brazil.

Jacob, like Carla and other ‘high-skilled workers’ who I interviewed, is a qualified professional, speaks many languages, has worked for different multinational companies in different countries, and he has dual Brazilian and Italian citizenship. His high economic, cultural and symbolic capital places him in a different position in London than many of his co-nationals. The variety and volume of his capital make him a desired professional, with a great ‘space of possibilities’ to act within in the field (Bourdieu, 1983: 317) – or in Jacob’s terms, it gives him ‘freedom’. He can have, for instance, a certain autonomy to say no to things and to choose his own jobs. As a consequence, his position in the social hierarchy compared to most ordinary migrants from Brazil, results in a lifestyle that, instead of creating ethnic links of affinities with his co-nationals, magnifies perceptions of class differences. As Jacob said, going to Brazilian places puts him in contact with people he would ‘never be in contact with in Brazil’. On the other hand, his privileged position allows him to call himself a ‘citizen of the world’, or as Carla called herself ‘an expat’, instead of using the stigmatised and classed term ‘migrant’.

As exemplified in Carla and Jacob’s experiences, being a ‘cosmopolitan/expat/citizen of the world’ requires an amount of economic, cultural and social capital likely to be limited to the upper levels of the middle-class and to the

elite. As a result, cosmopolitanism, taken as an open and inclusive attitude (Hannerz, 1990), can result in a 'class distinction' and form the basis of classed 'exclusion' (Igarashi and Saito, 2014:226).

(Classed) spatial segmentation: the 'needy' Brazilian worker and their community

Besides emphasising their high economic and cultural capital in terms of occupation and lifestyle as markers of class divisions among Brazilians in London, as we have begun to see, those working in high-skilled jobs also speak of classed spatial segmentations among the group. In the vast majority of my conversations and interviews with the Brazilian middle-class in London, they describe 'the Brazilian community' as areas with a high concentration of 'Brazilian migrants' - such as Queensway (Bayswater) and Willesden Junction. Thus, 'the community' is constructed in direct relation to the construction of 'the migrant', since 'the community' is understood to be the place of 'the Brazilian (economic) migrant'. For the cosmopolitans, the 'Brazilian migrant' is defined by their poverty, need and relegation to undesirable labour, or, as Elisa, an upper middle-class Brazilian woman who works in the creative industries in London, told me: 'those who need protection'. She explained:

(The migrant is) the person getting fucked over, poor, doing sub-jobs. We [she and her husband] aren't like that...People think that the Brazilians here are all like the ones on *America* [a Brazilian soap opera whose storyline focuses on undocumented Brazilian workers suffering in the US], but they aren't. We aren't part of it and we don't really know them [people from the community]. But the '*Americas*' are there, living there, because the community protects them. They need help to survive here without speaking the language. What is the name of that area?

AMJ: Willesden?

Yes, Willesden Junction! I've never been there. They're also in Queens-something.

AMJ: Queensway?

Yes, it's full of Brazilians there as well, right? Full of delivery drivers.

As we can see with Elisa, getting 'fucked over' and not speaking the language leads to the 'the migrant' working in 'sub-jobs' and also being dependent on the

protection of 'the community'. This lifestyle is, Elisa argues, something that the cosmopolitans are not part of. In other words, such narratives 'formed in the urban unconscious' produce a classed spatial distinction (Amin, 2012: 68) between 'the Brazilian migrant' as a needy, de-valued worker living in particular areas (identified as community areas) and the '(lifestyle) cosmopolitan', who claims they are not part of 'the community', or, in Elisa's case, claims to not even know where the community is located. Thus, while studies concerned with migration and community areas usually focus on the creation of boundaries and segmentation of the space dividing the locals and the 'migrant community' (see Park, 1967; Portes and Jensen, 1992), here we can see Brazilians producing such segmentation amongst themselves when speaking of 'community areas'. For the cosmopolitans, who claim to be open to diversity, the notion of 'community' is used to produce class boundaries instead of ethnic bonds. This is possible because when arriving in London, these individuals are not 'completely dis-located from space', but rather 'inhabit and rework space on the basis of past dispositions, knowingness, confidences and capital' (Taylor, 2009: 46). In London, Brazilian differences do not disappear into a new ethnic community. Rather, their economic, cultural and social capital directly shape how these groups differently occupy, move, negotiate and use spaces to produce various class distinctions.

However, from the narratives presented above, one could mistakenly conclude that the Brazilian population in London has a clear binary class and spatial division. On one side, we would have the minority of people, composed of middle-class Brazilians working in high skilled-jobs who do not interact with the majority of Brazilians, the unskilled migrants who live within the 'Brazilian community'. As shown in Chapter 2, such a configuration would resonate with research findings discussing Brazilians living in the US (Oliveira, 2003; Resende, 2003). Oliveira (2003), for instance, makes a direct spatial and classed division, measured by their positions in the labour market, among Brazilians living in two nearby districts of Florida. She divides the Brazilian population between 'the established' middle-class of small entrepreneurs living in Miami-Dade, and the 'outsiders', unskilled workers from the lower classes who live in Pompano Beach. Oliveira's research also shows that 'the established' group claim that they do not interact with 'the outsiders' or go to Pompano Beach.

However, such direct intersected divisions of class and space in London are present only to a certain extent. Such a clear cut through occupation and spatial

divisions does not occur in a straightforward way for everyone who considers themselves to be part of the Brazilian middle-class and who try to separate themselves from the majority of Brazilians in London. For the many Brazilians with a middle-class background who are, or have been, employed as unskilled labourers in London, representations of ‘the Brazilian migrant’ and ‘the community’ have to be re-constructed when they describe class and spatial divisions.

Rearranging class: the precarious cosmopolitans and the ‘*uneducated migrant worker*’

In this section my data shows that middle-class Brazilians whose migration resulted in an occupational and economic downgrade need to continuously re-arrange symbolic class markers in their distancing strategies from ‘the Brazilian (economic) migrant’ living within ‘the community’. I call this group ‘the precarious cosmopolitans’. Due to the lack of recognition of their academic/professional qualifications, racialised preconceptions on the part of employers, and/or being subject to immigration control, many Brazilians with a middle-class background are also performing unskilled work in London. These are jobs that they most likely would not have to perform in Brazil, as was the case with Manoel’s and Maria’s journeys (Chapter 4). Because migration can thus destabilize certain markers used to constitute social class boundaries – such as occupation - the representation of the migrant as being needy, poor, and doing dirty jobs, reproduced by those in highly skilled jobs, needs to be negotiated by the ‘precarious cosmopolitans’. They therefore constitute their representations of ‘the Brazilian migrant’ through other markers in the process of (re)constructing class differences. In order to distance themselves from the ‘Brazilian migrant (worker), I argue, they emphasise reasons for migrating, through temporality and education.

Furthermore, the moment of trying to re-establish a marker of class difference and to justify a ‘downgraded situation’ is signalled in the interviews through the use of rhetorical devices, such as the disclaimer. A disclaimer as Christina Scharff argues, is a ‘common face-saving device’ used to ward off potential critique (2008:14). It often takes the form of: ‘I am not being classist/racist/sexist, **BUT** poor

people/black/women...’. In the case of my research, as can be seen below, the disclaimer is often used by interview participants both to avoid being critiqued as prejudiced as well as to appeal to the interlocutor to not ‘pre-judge’ them on the basis of their ‘current position’ in London. Such disclaimers are constantly used in the passages discussed in the next three sections of this chapter.

Distinction: migrating for cultural capital

Reasons for migrating that are associated with improving their cultural – not their economic – capital, is the first maker used by the ‘precarious cosmopolitans’ to distance themselves from the representation of ‘the Brazilian migrant’. Manoel, for instance, explained to me what makes his journey different from the majority of Brazilians in London:

People say migrant is someone who goes to another country. But, in my opinion, it is right there that shows the difference: in the reason for this displacement. Brazilians who are here didn’t come with the same objectives as me, they aren’t in the same direction. If they had come here to study, travel, develop themselves, then it would be different. But, they come here to do other things, to save money and do “their [illegal] business”. The reason to leave the country is what makes the difference.

My conversation with Manoel represents a very common argument used by the Brazilian middle-class who have done, or are still doing, so-called ‘migrant jobs’. Insisting that they migrated to ‘develop themselves’ through the life experience is often used as a means to establish that they aren’t like the ‘poor migrant’, as well as to justify the many precarious conditions they have faced in their journeys that they would not face in Brazil. Laura’s journey is illustrative of this. She comes from an upper middle-class family of European descent from Rio de Janeiro. She studied in private schools, graduated from university with a BA (Hons) in Law and, before coming to London, was employed as a lawyer. The decision to come to London came in 2007, when she was 30 years old; unhappy with the way her relationship was going on and feeling bored with her job, Laura felt that she needed to ‘develop herself’:

I was sure that not coming to London would be a big frustration in my life. I wanted to see the world, have experiences. I knew that having this experience of life was important for my evolution. I didn’t want to leave Brazil to go and live in the USA, though, no way! The USA is

not a country for me. I hate their consumerist lifestyle, mentality. If I were going to leave Brazil, it had to be Europe, and Europe for me would be London. It was the place I was sure I had to live.

As with many other Brazilians that I met in London who claimed they were chasing life experience, Laura contrasted a supposedly sophisticated, culturally rich European lifestyle with a base, 'consumerist' American lifestyle. Laura narrates going to the USA as being motivated by the desire to acquire money and assets, similar to Elisa, who, as we saw above, used the term 'the Americas' to describe 'economic migrants'. As Featherstone (2002) notes, 'cosmopolitan dispositions are closely associated with cities', as they are 'the sites for markets and the mixing of people, commodities, ideas and cultures'. Cities such as 'Paris, London and New York, which have now become centres of cultural heritage tourism', have been 'the homes of a wide range of intellectual and artistic social and cultural movements and institutions' (1-2). Thus in emphasising that she had a stable economic life in Brazil and that her reason for moving to London was to improve her English and to have experiences that would help her 'evolve', Laura constructs a set of markers through which she positions herself as a 'cosmopolitan', in opposition to the image of the 'the Brazilian migrant', who migrates in order to increase their economic capital.

Precarities as a temporary life experience

Even though the Brazilian middle-class use their cultural motivations as a marker to distance themselves from 'the Brazilian migrant', their ability to fulfil their ambitions in this regard can be attenuated by several levels of precarity. As we have seen happening with many others in Chapter 4, Laura also became enchanted with her lifestyle in London – with its new experiences, individual freedom, and access to cultural goods and services – and she decided to stay longer than the initial nine months she had planned. By 2014, when I met Laura, she had endured many precarious working and living conditions; the practical realities she experienced resembled the features characteristic of the lives of 'migrant workers' (see Anderson, 2010). Yet, she justified these conditions as part of the process of the cultural life experience she so wanted to have.

Leaving Brazil working as a lawyer and becoming a glass collector here? I was crying every night! It was too hard and my body couldn't

stand it. One day a customer ordered a beer from me. I had to say to him, 'Sorry but I'm a glass collector, I can't take your order'. He turned to me and said: 'Fuck you!' I left there crying. I was very angry. Firstly, because of his aggression and secondly because I thought, 'I could be there as well, on the other side of the bar'. It was hard for me to accept I was in that situation, because I spoke English, looked well presented - why do I have to be there?

She then went on to say:

The first time I went [back] to Brazil I thought I would feel inferior to my friends. They all had good jobs, houses, and of course this all matters. But, I think that doing well professionally is not everything in life. I don't believe that being professionally successful brings you happiness. They [her friends in Brazil] never took food from the reduced area in the supermarket. They never cried because of jam, like when...I wanted to eat jam and had no money. I left the supermarket crying because of the jam [laughs]. It's ridiculous not to be able to afford to buy jam. My mum went mad at me when I told her. She said that I should have told her, but I couldn't tell her. I had to live it! But, I loved it all. In Brazil, I wouldn't go to the reduced area. So, of course if I were in Brazil, I would be in a much better position than I am here, professionally. But, personally, we acquire values here that you can't even explain to people. It's a very personal development, that only by living you understand.

Laura's transnational mobility generated contradictory spaces where symbolic ideas of cosmopolitanism interacted with the materialities of restrictive and precarious dynamics. The meaning of 'being in London' as indicative of a cosmopolitan lifestyle is, in practical terms, sustained by realities of precarious work and life conditions. This is what Gay y Blasco (2010) calls 'precarious and antiheroic cosmopolitanism' (408). In other words, many emphasise the positive aspects of the cultural life experience acquired by going through precarious situations – for instance, Laura buying reduced food in the supermarket – that, due to their class conditions, they would probably not have experienced in Brazil. These narratives are constructed, then, alongside the rejection of the stigmatised view of the economic migrant whose precarious conditions are not justified by narratives of cultural enrichment.

It is necessary to note here that seeing the precarious aspects of their cosmopolitan lifestyle as a positive sacrifice is enabled by the fact that many of them see their experience, initially, as something temporary. During my ethnography of places of work (Martins Jr, 2014), many respondents made comments such as, 'This is just a gap in my life for while', or 'This is not part of my real life'. Thus these

migrants see the precarious work performed as 'purely instrumental'. This is similar to what Michael Piore (1979) noted, in his research with migrant workers in the U.S, who also framed their experience as 'a means to an end' (34). Yet, the 'end' claimed by middle-class Brazilians is defined differently, as a cultural and not economic practice, which is understood to be more morally and spiritually profound. Nevertheless, middle-class Brazilians like Laura are, of course, aware of their downgraded situation but they struggle to do their jobs and to accept their positions, even though it's not 'part of their real life'. Laura, for instance, struggled being behind the counter, serving and not being served. Moreover, they are constantly making comparisons to their relatives and friends' lives, who have 'good jobs and houses' in Brazil, and struggle with potential feelings of inferiority in comparison to them. In this sense, Laura's class downgrade problematizes and makes her continuously re-think and negotiate her own 'cosmopolitan experience'. The cosmopolitan experience is even further problematised for those who did not return to Brazil as they had initially planned, and are still in London, without having reached their desired occupational mobility. In this case, the matter of temporality as a justification for having a life experience starts to lose strength, and other markers need to be used to distinguish themselves from 'the Brazilian migrant'.

Negotiating a more permanent downgrade through education

Education is an important marker for those who did not acquire occupational mobility in London. They use the notion of education not only to indicate qualifications, but also politeness, knowing how to behave – having a middle-class habitus (Bourdieu, 1990b). In other words, emphasising their cultural capital and 'middle-class values' is a way to differentiate themselves from 'the other' in a moment that they feel themselves 'out of place'. Following the work of Bourdieu, a number of scholars (see Aarseth et al, 2016; Skeggs, 1997; Puwar, 2004) have given accounts of how the socialized body (habitus) is involved in processes of social change, being 'out of place'. Being out of place means a lack of 'ontological complicity' between one's habitus and the field, a moment in which a 'habitus encounters a social world' that it is not a product of (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 127). Bourdieu, for instance, notes how due to his own class trajectory - being raised by a working-class family in a peasant village in France, he continued to have a deep-

rooted feeling of being ‘a stranger in the intellectual universe’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 209). In her work, Puwar (2004) has focused on how upward social mobility produces a misfit between habitus and field in which (black/women) working-class people feel like ‘a fish out of water’ (153) in (white/male) middle-class environments. My data shows similar struggles among Brazilians. In distinction to both Puwar and Bourdieu, however, I examine middle-class Brazilians ‘out of place’ in the UK through a trajectory of downward mobility.

Feeling out of place, for middle-class Brazilians, comes from the change in their position in social space. This is expressed by, firstly, their occupational position in the labour market - for example when Laura stated it was hard for her to be on the other side of the bar (serving and not being served). And, secondly, because of their downgraded position, they have to interact, in a symmetrical or subordinated way, with bodies that used to serve them. Within the workplace, I was told many times that those from the Brazilian middle-class do not only have to work and compete with other Brazilians who they consider to be from a lower class, but also be subordinated by them. These moments of encounter with dissonant bodies in a situation of a more equal – if not inverted – ‘hierarchical position’, often resulted in conflicts (see Martins Jr, 2014). Within these new class exposures, middle-class Brazilians further stress the cultural and moral aspects of social class in an attempt to re-establish the hierarchy that has been threatened by their occupational/economic downgrade. This can be seen with Rose, as she related that she was sad with her life because she was doing the same sort of job in 2014 as she was when I first interviewed her in 2011.

I am very sad with my life and I think it’s a lot of things [frustrations] are coming together now. I don’t want to keep working as a waitress for the rest of my life. It’s not preconception, but it’s not for me. I want to at least work in a clothes shop. I have applied for a few positions but they never get back to me. I don’t think it’s because of my English because I am the best waitress at the hotel. My name always appears in the feedback list with a lot of compliments from the customers. I talk to people, I know how to handle a conversation, I have the knowledge and culture to do so. This is why I love serving rich people here, because I know how to behave next to them, how to talk to them. I talk about *Punta del Leste*⁴¹ and so on. But I’m there serving them and working with ignorant people. I’m tired of working with uneducated people. It’s not prejudice, but here [London], just like in Brazil, it’s

⁴¹ Punta Del Leste is a popular tourist destination with expensive resorts on the coast of Uruguay.

ignorant poor who does these sorts of jobs, without culture and ambitions in life. I'm sick of having to do this mechanical job, working and interacting with people who don't even speak their own language [Portuguese] properly and they want to tell you how to do your job.

Being positioned in an occupation that she considered undervalued and in proximity to 'the ignorant poor', makes her feel 'out of place'. Talking to her customers, on the other hand, is the moment when she feels like a fish in the water, a moment of 'ontological complicity', when her habitus and capital allow her to easily navigate the interactions with her customers. The same is not true, according to her, when she interacts with her work colleagues. Although she is doing a 'migrant job', she is not like them: she has 'knowledge', 'culture' and 'ambitions'. Thus, in such contexts in which hierarchies are levelled or inverted in the workplace, 'precarious cosmopolitans' turn to culture and education as the main markers with which to shore up eroding class boundaries. When Brazilians are angrily speaking of the 'inferior' co-nationals that they have to work with, it is common to hear comments such as, 'They can have money, but they are poor in spirit', and, 'Education [politeness] comes from the crib [and not from money]'.

Making and negotiating (spatialised) class through morality

In this section my data shows that a moral hierarchy of acceptable and non-acceptable ways of behaving and living is also used by the 'precarious cosmopolitans' to distance themselves from both the image of the 'Brazilian migrant' and 'the community'. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Cartesian mind/body split, used to 'racially' rank people and places is also expressed in terms of social class (Bourdieu, 1984; Lawler, 2005; Gidley and Rooke, 2010). The working classes and their places have long been 'characterized in terms of a pathological lack' (Gidley and Rooke, 2010: 97). As Stephanie Lawler (2005) notes, 'certain kinds of clothing, location, and bodily appearance indicate a deeper, underlying pathology' which associates the poor with 'the material and the embodied' in contraposition to the rational upper-classes and their distinct places (432). In a context of economic/occupational downgrade, the Brazilian middle class also emphasise such historically entrenched notions of

(modern) rational conduct as being at the core of the values that distance them from ‘Brazilian migrants’ and ‘the community’. Nevertheless, these markers are also negotiated according to their own living situations in London.

Making class through the (immoral) Brazilians and community

In their strategies to re-construct class differences in London, the precarious middle class frame ‘the Brazilian migrant’ as lacking good morals and values. The delineation of moral hierarchies is central in constructing (classed) ties of solidarity, on the one hand, and prejudice on the other (Bourdieu, 1990b). Laura, for example, told me about her prejudice towards Brazilians in London, discussing her experience with a Brazilian woman that she worked for.

This is my preconception with this type of Brazilian here - they are rude by nature. They’re already like that, and it won’t change, not even when they reach a better position in life. When these people manage to reach a better level here, with a lot of money, they won’t change. They won’t become educated because of money. They will keep screaming and doing anything for money. I didn’t come to London to live in this micro-Brazilian universe, full of wrong things, gossiping, people taking advantage of each other. I’m not in Europe to deal with values that I never had, not even in Brazil.

In this passage, the mental representation of the migrant is imbued with moral connotations that begin to re-establish former hierarchies. Even though they are all doing the same types of jobs in the same places, the economic (poor) migrant is greedy - they will ‘[do] anything for money’. Also, ‘they are rude by nature’; they lack (middle-class) values. This hierarchy of lifestyles is a translation of the hierarchy of classes, in which ‘the lower-classes’ are seen to lack valued middle-class morality. As the constitution of ‘the Brazilian migrant’ is held to lack everything perceived as having value, community is also reconstructed as ‘lacking morals’. Here, community no longer only represents a place that provides protection for the needy, as it was described by ‘the high skilled workers’. Rather, community is constructed as the place that lacks good values and morality, ‘the Brazilian micro universe’, as Laura puts it. In this sense, as Ben Gidley and Alison Rooke (2010) argue, ‘immorality works discursively to incite judgement and generate classed positioning’ in the cultural, and, I would add, urban landscape (104). Thus, specific areas in London are cast as repulsive, as they come to be associated with populations who ‘are similarly

understood' (Lawler, 2005: 431). Laura, for example, described Willesden Junction in the following manner:

They are here but they live as if they are still in Brazil. I don't go, but you just need to go to 'Wilsdon Johnsons' [ridiculing these Brazilians' mispronunciation] and you will see them there, doing their business in the very strong community, their shops, their church. It's disgusting; this [living within the community] irritates me so much! It's a missed opportunity. I have many friends, brilliant people, who were spit out of London because they didn't have documents, and they could be here dedicating themselves to learning, studying, doing nice things, adding value to society, and they can't, because they don't have documents. And these people are here, living there as if they were still in Brazil. It's unfair and disrespectful. They don't even strive to learn different things or speak English.

When the 'precarious cosmopolitans' explain why the way 'these people' live in London is 'disrespectful', they tend to frame their conditions, as Laura did, as if they were determined by individual psychology ('living there as if they were still in Brazil', not 'striving' to speak English) (see Walkerdine, 2003; Lawler, 2005) or biology/culture ('they are rude by nature'). Such narratives bury alive (Goldberg and Giroux, 2014) any existing social constraints in the individuals' lives and choices and eclipse any reference to the social inequalities and exploitation present in the constitution and reproduction of such 'lacking'. Her account dismisses the economic and cultural capital to necessary obtain a 'cosmopolitan lifestyle' (Igarashi and Saito, 2014). Rather, lacking a 'cosmopolitan lifestyle' or middle-class cultural capital and habitus, which in Laura's terms would mean 'dedicating themselves to learning, studying, [and] doing nice things', is presented as an individual choice or behaviour. Moreover, this lack is also disrespectful towards those who could be here 'adding value to society' but are not because they don't have documents. In this case, 'adding value' certainly does not refer to economic value, since the majority of them, including Laura herself, work long hours, for low pay, and pay high rents to live in precarious conditions. Instead, value refers to the cultural value imagined to result from their middle-class, morally superior cosmopolitan lifestyle.

Thus, living as if 'still in Brazil' –going to Brazilian shops and churches and speaking Portuguese - is seen as 'irritating', 'unfair and disrespectful'. Here, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 6, the same 'communitarian' aesthetic markers, which theoretically would offer a comfort zone to the migrant who lives in 'the community',

are also used to characterise its space as ‘wrong’ and filled with ‘wrong’ people (Levine-Rasky, 2016; Goldberg, 1996). Yet, not every middle-class Brazilian is able to avoid going to or living in such places.

Negotiating the immoral community

Due to their precarious economic conditions, many middle-class Brazilians cannot be selective about where they live in London, especially given recent the situation of the housing market in the city⁴². As a result, many of them end up living in ‘the Brazilian communities’ that they used to claim they would never live in. In such cases, the parameters for belonging - or not belonging - to the community have to shift from being defined by actual geographical space. Since the space itself is no longer enough to produce the distinction, morality and the different modes of appropriating that particular space become the distinct markers in their narratives. Within this context, the contrast between valued and inferior lifestyles becomes particularly important in middle-class Brazilians definition of community, as Manoel explained to me. After always categorising Willesden Junction as a disgusting place, Manoel and his housemates moved to the area. The area in South London in which they previously lived had become too expensive and they found a ‘good and affordable house in Willesden’. This move prompted Manoel to re-signify his narrative about the Brazilian community by moving beyond geographical definitions.

Yes, [the Brazilian community] is Willesden Junction, **but** I do not feel part of it and didn't want to be part of it. I don't hang out with Brazilians. I mean, of course, you know I live with Brazilians, but they aren't like the Brazilians as you see in the pubs over here. They just want to party, go to Guanabara, exploit one another, do illegal things, ... they come to your home, eat and drink like animals, monsters, and don't even have the manners to bring a drink. Also, I don't watch Brazilian TV, don't go to Brazilian places. Community is also Brazilian News [a Brazilian newspaper in London], Leros [a Brazilian magazine in London], Guanabara.

As we can see with Manoel, for those who end up having to live in places considered to be ‘Brazilian areas’ and with Brazilians, community is redefined. It is

⁴² According to research conducted by Movehub (Yanik, 2015), Londoners were paying three times the price of an UK average property for their homes.

therefore not only the area that is identified as ‘Brazilian’, but also the connections between the space and the inferior body. As we saw in Chapter 6, the body and space are important markers in the articulation of morality and power which produces ‘racial’/ethnic hierarchies through ‘culture’. Here, the Brazilian middle class produces similar accounts of ‘the Brazilian migrant’ and ‘community’. Even though they are living in the same area, they do not share their morality. As Manoel said using animalistic imagery, he and his housemates are not part of the community, because they are not ‘like the Brazilians you see...over here,’ who take advantage of each other, and eat and drink like animals or monsters. Thus, ‘the migrant living in the community’ is defined through their failure to conform to, or disinterest in, the ‘right ways of being and doing’ (Bourdieu, 1986: 511). Within this logic, ‘having good values/lifestyle’ becomes, as Lawler notes, part of claiming a ‘monopoly on humanity’ (2005: 439). Those marked as properly human have good values, morality and possess the innate ability to appreciate beauty (to have ‘taste’), while ‘those lacking these properties are lacking in humanity’ (*idem*: 437). Being part of the community is narrated as something more than just living in a ‘Brazilian area’; it means living there and not knowing how to behave. Moreover, what you consume also takes an important role in the negotiation of ‘being part of the community’. As Manoel explained, ‘the Brazilians you see [in Willesden]’, consume the community culture (such as Brazilian media) and go to Brazilian places of leisure. This is something that Manoel claims he does not do.

Negotiating class through (disgusting) bodies and taste

My data shows in this section that, through intersecting class and space, the ‘precarious cosmopolitan’ also continuously tries to redefine class differences in London through mapping legitimate and illegitimate ways of being and consuming. As discussed in Chapter 1, for Bourdieu (1984), dominant groups often legitimise their own culture and ways (lifestyles/tastes) as superior to those of the lower classes, producing class distinction through taste. In this logic, ‘aesthetics are translated into morality’, since those taken as lacking ‘taste’ are also represented as morally lacking (Lawler, 2005: 441). As migration disrupts the boundaries between middle- and

working-class Brazilians in London, both groups are economically able to access similar goods, services and places. As a consequence, the narratives that produce difference are mainly focused upon ‘disgusting’ things and places that the middle-class claim they do not do or go. The work of Bourdieu (1984) and Mary Douglas (1966) highlight how disgust is not an intrinsic feature of the ‘disgusting’ object. As noted by Douglas, there is no such thing ‘as absolute dirt’: ‘it exists in the eye of the beholder’ (2). In this sense, disgust (the feeling produced by dirt, for instance) is a ‘by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter’ (Douglas, 1966: 36) which helps to draw class boundaries (Bourdieu, 1984). Following this, Lawler (2005) argues that disgust is ‘an indicator of the interface between the personal and the social’, being ‘a powerful emotion involved in the work of drawing [class] distinctions’ (438). In this sense, my data shows how middle-class Brazilians’ narration of disgust towards the ‘Brazilian migrant’s’ taste, and their lower morality, is at the very core of their subjectivity, since their selves are produced in opposition to ‘the low’, which repulses them.

Making class through places of leisure and music

As noted, the Brazilian middle-class frequently discusses the ‘disgusting’ ‘Brazilian’ places of leisure and their strict aversion to them. The consumption of leisure is one of the examples the ‘precarious cosmopolitan’ use most often in their construction of the ‘inferior Brazilian’ lacking in taste and manners. It would be in these places that one would find the ‘actual migrant’ behaving in an immoral way and listening to their equally immoral music. According to Maria, the presence of these bodies is what made her stop going to Brazilian places.

I used to attend many Brazilian places. I saw all of this being born [Brazilian places of leisure opening in London], but I also saw these places being attended by these other Brazilians, bringing this *funk ostentação* and *sertanejo*. The lyrics are ridiculous, there is no education or culture. It’s all about buying goods, superficiality of consumerism, emptiness, lack of morality. It’s too low-brow, encouraging promiscuity.

From Maria’s quote we can see how taste (or the perceived lack of it) and morality intersect with space in the constitution of middle class disgust at ‘Brazilian’ places of leisure. Maria marks the presence of these ‘other Brazilians’ through their

inferior popular music, funk ostentação and sertanejo. Funk ostentação (literally, ostentation funk), is a Brazilian music style created in the late 2000s in the poor urban peripheries of São Paulo. The majority of its followers are the poor and lower-middle class youth from these areas who aspire a materialistic lifestyle⁴³. Sertanejo, on the other hand, is Brazilian country music. Originating in the 1920s, its lyrics traditionally focused on the lifestyle of the Brazilian countryside (Dicionário Cravo Albin da Música Popular Brasileira, 2002). They represent both bodies that the ‘cosmopolitan’ middle-class finds repulsive: the urban poor and the ‘non-modern’ countrymen. Yet, just as ‘being part of the community’ was negotiated to not be defined merely by living in the area itself, consuming Brazilian leisure and music is also open for negotiation.

Negotiating places of leisure and music

As we will see, mapping the cultural boundaries of (il)legitimate leisure in London is not necessarily straightforward. Firstly, places categorised as ‘Brazilian’, and thus to be avoided, by the Brazilian middle-class are not necessarily Brazilian clubs. Secondly, not all places in which Brazilian culture is consumed are deemed ‘Brazilian’ and therefore off-limits. And, thirdly, it is not the case that middle-class Brazilians never consume Brazilian music. Once again, their narratives shift and what makes places and music ‘inferior’ are the bodies connected to them and the manner in which they are used and consumed. In his research on class and cultural consumption in Brazil, for instance, Edison Bertoncelo (2015) shows how individuals with higher economic and cultural capital produce distinction between and among classes through two factors within their ‘taste repertoire’ (461): diverse selective combination and modes of appropriating a cultural activity.

According to Bertoncelo, selective combination means ‘the combination of diverse preferences spanning across ‘traditional’ cultural divides’. Bertoncelo shows how some music preferences are, in fact, exclusive to highly culturally engaged individuals, such as jazz and classical music. Conversely preferences for sertanejo and funk are more frequent among less culturally engaged individuals (the groups with lower levels of economic and cultural capital), but not restricted to them. Even though

⁴³ The central themes addressed in the songs are the conspicuous consumption of cars, motorcycles, drink and women, and the ambition to leave the impoverished urban periphery (Zileli, 2014)

highly engaged individuals ‘tend to avoid’ (463) these genres, they are not exclusive to less culturally engaged individuals. Consuming a combination of sertanejo, for instance, and a music genre (or other cultural activity) associated strictly with highly culturally engaged individuals still produces class distinction for those who have a privileged position in social space. Moreover, the mode of appropriation of these cultural activities is another factor in producing class boundaries. For instance, watching TV is an activity present in all groups Bertonecelo analyses. However, he found that ‘their different taste repertoires regarding TV programmes indicate that TV watching is differently appropriated and integrated into their lifestyles’ (464-5). My conversation with Bruna, a 24 year-old woman from São Paulo who was in London doing her master’s degree and working part-time, is illustrative of these processes among Brazilians in London.

I met Bruna at Clube do Choro, a monthly Brazilian party in Camden Town. She was there, for the third time, with some non-Brazilian friends from her university. Even though Bruna was at a party organised by Brazilians, with Brazilian music and named in Portuguese, she told me that she does not go to Brazilian places of leisure in London, like ‘the majority of Brazilians stupidly do’. Then, when I interjected saying that ‘Clube do Choro’, where we were, was also a Brazilian place, she said:

Yes, it is, **but**, it is different. You don’t want to compare people who come here to those who go to Guanabara or, compare *chorinho*⁴⁴ to the music they play there. Come on, you are Brazilian, you know exactly what I’m talking about. Once I went to Guanabara because my friends [non-Brazilians] wanted to dance to Brazilian music. I took them there, but I will never go back. They were playing just *axé* [popular music originally from the Northeast of Brazil] and sertanejo. I do not have preconceptions and I like listening to sertanejo sometimes to dance. In São Paulo, I used to go to Villa Country [a Sertanejo club frequented by the young middle-class]. **But**, Guanabara is different. Everything there is disgusting. It’s full of ugly people. They put the lowest class of Brazilians all together in that place ... So this is what I mean, it’s not only the music or the place itself, it’s all these things together. For example, I like O’Neal’s [an Irish pub in central London]. They play live music that I like, it’s a nice venue - but it’s full of Brazilians, ugly people. So I don’t go there anymore because for me it’s a Brazilian place now.

⁴⁴ Chorinho (‘little cry’) is a popular Brazilian instrumental music genre, which originated in 19th century Rio de Janeiro. With influences of musical styles and rhythms coming from Europe and Africa, most of contemporary Brazilian classical composers recognize the sophistication of choro and its central importance in Brazilian instrumental music (Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia, 2005).

For Bruna, what constitutes a ‘Brazilian place’ of leisure is the combination of the type of (classed) bodies one would find at these places and the different modes of appropriation of the space and the music. In this logic, she categorises O’Neal’s, an Irish pub, as a ‘Brazilian place’, but not Club do Choro. Following the same logic, listening to sertanejo⁴⁵ in São Paulo at Villa Country is not as ‘disgusting’ as listening to sertanejo in London at Guanabara. At Guanabara, those who are listening to it are ‘ugly people’, ‘the lowest class of Brazilians all together’. On the other hand, in São Paulo, Bruna ‘sometimes’ listens to sertanejo, and, when she does, it is for dancing and having fun in a middle-class club.

Bruna’s categorization of the types of bodies occupying a place and/or doing an activity as a means of classifying that place or activity resonates with O’Dougherty’s (2002) findings on middle-class lifestyles in Brazil. O’Dougherty shows how during the 1990s crisis, many people from the middle-classes in São Paulo could not find jobs in their areas of expertise, and thus became small entrepreneurs. In this process, they turned small business ventures, such as bakeries, into middle-class enterprises by investing symbolic values in the re-signification and re-naming of these activities. In this context, the classed ‘defining criterion’ of the places and activities becomes flexible, ‘following the decree of the speaker: ‘If we do it, then it’s a middle-class job’ (93).

Making class through ‘ugly’ and ‘consumerist’ bodies

Within a context of great social inequality, the connection between social class, beauty and the ‘access to and control of’ material ‘and symbolic resources’ (Skeggs, 2005: 973) is extremely marked in Brazil (see Machado-Borges, 2009). When Bruna, and many other Brazilians in London, explain that they do not like going to Brazilian places in London because they are full of ‘ugly people’, they are making a direct reference to social class boundaries being constructed through beauty.

⁴⁵ Sertanejo is a good example of not just of Bertoncelo’s (2015) argument about how the mode of appropriation may be more distinctive than appropriation per se in contemporary capitalist societies, but also of how these cultural activities can be re-signified in an upper-class repertoire of taste. When it comes to sertanejo, there is also a generational aspect to the way the music is classified. Sertanejo has always been considered countryside music, or a *caipira* (redneck) music. However, in the 2000s a subgenre called *sertanejo universitário* (University Country) emerged. With more commercial and dance oriented songs, it became very popular among Brazilian youth, in particular, as its name suggests, among college students (Dicionário Cravo Albin da Música Popular Brasileira, 2002).

It's common to hear in some parts of Brazil that 'there is no such a thing as ugly people, only poor people'. As Thaís Machado-Borges (2009) highlights, consumption through (diets, fashion) and around the body (visits to spas, beauty treatments, cosmetic surgery), which are associated with education and occupation, 'are symbolical and material means to position oneself within contemporary Brazilian social hierarchies of gender, class and "race"' (214). In other words, as Lawler (2005) notes, bodies, 'their appearance, their bearing and their adornment', are strong social class markers in coding groups as desirable or undesirable (432). It is also through the body, as Bourdieu (1984) shows, that we classify a whole way of life as admirable or repulsive/disgusting.

As a consequence, there is an assumption that working-class people should cease to show the signs of their working-classness by changing their tastes, their behaviour and their bodies. However, when working-class people do show signs of 'middle-classness', especially through consumption, they can also be condemned and ridiculed as 'pretentious' or 'tacky'. In these cases, lacking taste and being tacky is associated with consumer culture, something that, apparently, the middle-class are 'immune' from (Lawler, 2005: 434), as Laura explained when she told me how she could identify 'a Brazilian migrant' in London.

Women I can recognise by the straightened hair, wearing jeans and Nike. Jeans and Nike! Seriously, who wears that?! Tacky, only Americans and these Brazilians. If you see white Nike Shox, that skinny 'camel toe trouser' and the straightened hair, it's a Brazilian! I used to feel embarrassed when I'd go with my boyfriend [who is French] to Bayswater to eat in a Brazilian restaurant and we'd see these people there. The men are also tacky. It's the topic of their conversation, the way they dress, and they're always wearing that big watch. These people don't have money in Brazil. Here they can buy everything, so they have iPads, iPhones. They love buying, they'll have no money in the end, but they will buy the bag they want. It's like an inferiority complex, this thing of colonised and coloniser. For me, this is very clear: it's a rule that a colonised person will always be colonised, you can check it out. Check the French people, they're more discreet, they don't need it. Although the Italians don't follow the rule. They're tacky as well, they like those Dolce and Gabbana things, but this is just the way they are. There's no explanation, but with [these] Brazilians it's strong, this mentality of coloniser and colonised.

As we can see with Laura, when 'the Brazilian migrant' achieves the economic resources to acquire goods that only people like her were able to buy in

Brazil, they are marked as being too materialistic; this ‘excessive materiality’ is then used to code the working-class body as repulsive. As Bourdieu (1984) argues, lifestyle choices are constrained by economic possibilities, but they are also constructed on the basis of habitus, the system of dispositions through which different social classes assess their life chances and the cultural practices to which they can aspire. The dominant classes profit from their formal education and family background, which supplies them with the cultural codes that enable them to display their appreciation of legitimate culture. Those who have not been through this long process of cultural apprenticeship for ‘good taste’, but have reached the economic means to access certain assets that they previously could not, are usually stigmatised by the dominant group as vulgar (see also Miller, 2007). However, for Laura, this lack of codes can be explained by an ‘inferiority complex’ rooted in ‘this thing of colonised and coloniser’; for her the colonised person will always be a colonised body. Thus, the ‘Brazilian migrant’s’ ‘tackiness’ is representative of ‘the rule’: they have a ‘colonised mentality’ following American consumerism (the US being the coloniser, in this case). As a way to demonstrate her ‘rule’, Laura then makes reference to supposedly sophisticated and discreet French taste – one that she admires and takes as legitimate and one that does not suffer from the ‘colonised mentality’. At the same time, ‘the tackiness’ present in the Italian’s allegedly excessive fashion is seen as an exception to the rule, which is explained as being ‘just the way they are’, rather than the inherent lack of the colonized.

In a way, one might agree with Laura, since her idea is based on the fact that colonialism was a process that colonised not only places and bodies, but also people’s souls (Sayad, 2004). As a result, colonial logic has been reproduced long after the end of colonial administrations, in which the Western or Northern world is perceived as the example to be followed (Quijano, 2000). However, Laura speaks of the ‘colonized mentality’ in order to construct class differences between her and the consumerist, Americanized ‘Brazilian migrant’. By legitimising what she perceives as the sophisticated French culture that influences her classed taste, rather than ‘breaking with colonisation’, Laura is validating its logic and aligning herself with the coloniser.

Making gendered class through bodies

As I discussed in Chapter 6, the most violent and direct criticism made of emigration - by the society of origin, the host society and migrants alike - is against the female population and their bodies (Sayad, 2004). Moreover, Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (1989) and McClintock (1993), have shown how women work as symbolic markers in the attempt to draw boundaries between nations, communities and groups. McClintock (1993) demonstrates, for instance, how representations of a 'pure' Afrikaner woman and the 'decorous surrender of their sexuality to the patriarch' (69) helped to build Afrikaner nationalism and its boundaries from other white South Africans. Such gendered representations, I would argue, are also employed by Brazilians in producing class boundaries, since in every single conversation about 'the Brazilian migrant' in London, there is an emphasis on women's bodies and behaviours. For example, after telling me that she would never go back to Guanabara because it was full of 'ugly people' and the 'lowest class' of Brazilians, I asked Bruna what she meant. She said:

I mean - I know this is a prejudice of mine - but it was full of *piriguetes*⁴⁶.

AMJ: But what do you really mean when you say they were *piriguetes*?

I can't really explain. I can only describe them by their behaviour and attitudes: tacky in the way they dress, the way they behave with men. Wearing micro shorts showing their ass; speaking loudly and moving their hair when dancing in front of the men. *Piriguite* is a mix of everything that makes you feel embarrassed; their behaviour, the way they talk, what they talk about, and the way they move.

As we can see from Bruna's discussion, women's bodies and femininity have an important place in the construction of the immoral 'Brazilian migrant' in London. As many scholars have pointed out, since the nineteenth century (Gidley, 2000; Hall et al, 2000) narratives have produced boundaries between 'respectable' and 'unrespectable' women through the axis of social class. Working-class women's bodies are always at risk of being judged as dis-respectable and not 'proper feminine' by

⁴⁶ The term *piriguite*, which is exclusively used for women, is similar to the UK term 'chav'. Like the *chav*, the figure of the *piriguetes* is often held up as evidence of the moral delinquency of working-class girls and women (Tyler and Bennett, 2010).

‘middle-class observers’ (Lawler, 2005: 435). The constant focus on women’s bodies and behaviour is a constant marker in justifying why middle-class Brazilians tend to avoid going to places they view as part of ‘the community.’

Conclusion

I show in this chapter how the middle-class Brazilians speak of class differences resulting in divisions among the population, instead of ‘ethnic community’. They not only avoid calling themselves ‘migrants’, but they also claim they are not part of the Brazilian community. This is done through distancing narratives that reinforce class divisions between them and ‘the Brazilian migrant’ on the basis of a set of systematic binary oppositions, which are assumed to produce two antithetical forms of migration. Occupation, level of education, space, morality and taste are the main markers through which such divisions are produced. These narratives, I argue, in agreement with Martes (2011), are the means that allow the reconstruction of differences often obscured by the generic categories ‘Brazilian migrant’ and ‘migrant community’. These categories are not rigid, nor do they constitute a clear classificatory system of representation. In a context in which migration fractures the boundaries of class by producing situations of occupational downgrade, for instance, the markers used by the middle-class to reinvigorate class boundaries are constantly negotiated and re-signified according to their position in social space. As a result, the construction of ‘the Brazilian migrant’, as well as ‘the community’, is not only contradictory, but also malleable.

As we have seen, by going through situations of occupational downgrade and having to share spaces with Brazilians from lower classes, the ways in which the Brazilian middle-class speak about ‘the Brazilian migrant’ in London is not only full of contradictions, but is also hyperbolic. As was shown in Chapter 1, the Brazilian population abroad is diverse and is not composed of the country’s poorest or most uneducated (Martes, 2011; Oliveira, 2014), as middle-class Brazilians claimed in this chapter. The most economically and educationally deprived Brazilians would rarely have the means to migrate to another country (Martes, 2011). It is also necessary to keep in mind that among this diverse group of migrants, differences of class not only

shape their journeys to and within London, but also how they speak of divisions among the population. The next chapter focuses on how working-class Brazilians in London speak of and negotiate class differences.

Chapter 8

Negotiating the (classed) ‘Brazilian migrant’ and ‘community’

There is no community. What I see is hypocrisy. I think that, in the end, the creator of the word “community” had something to gain from it, I don’t know what, but I am sure there was something, because it only gives you hope. Community is a way to keep hope in people, because in practice it never works (Tiago).

In order to continue analysing the production of difference occurring among Brazilians in London, in this chapter I discuss how the Brazilian working class also speak of division within the ‘Brazilian population’ in London, rather than ethnic solidarity. Drawing on interviews and ethnographic notes, I organise the chapter in four sections. I start by analysing how classed and racialised representations of ‘the Brazilian migrant’ and ‘the community’ become imbricated in the ways in which working-class Brazilians speak of differences among Brazilians. Engaging with such stigmatised representations often generates contradictions and anxieties in oscillating narratives of recognition, subversion, dissimulations and denial. Then, I analyse how some reflexive working-class accounts consider how structural constraints and class prejudice shape the ways in which the Brazilian working class negotiate and dialogue with the stigma of ‘the Brazilian migrant living within the community’. In the end, I explore how, for a fragmented working class, class differences can result in the formation of contextual class affinities and solidarity when comparing themselves to the middle class. The way they classify the Brazilian population in class terms, however, is differentiated between two groups, distinguished both by their own ‘class trajectories’ as well as their personal journeys in London.

It is important to highlight here that rather than discussing class ‘identification’ (see Willis, 1977) or ‘dis-identification’ (see Skeggs, 1997), this chapter highlights how working-class people navigate through the existing ambivalences and contradictions in the very terms ‘migrant’ and ‘community’ through strategies of recognition, subversion and dissimulation. As Savage et al (2010) note, using class ‘dis-identification’ raises critical analytical issues. One of these issues, relevant to my argument, is that the use of the term can implicitly suggest that there is a ‘false

consciousness' in people's accounts and that only 'skilful researchers are able to read behind what people actually say', revealing then their 'deeper identity'. Thus, it might be preferable to demonstrate 'the performative ways in which class is actively effaced, exploring the precise terms in which it is dissimulated', rather than 'seeing "dis-identification" as an absence of class identity' (62).

In dialogue with the stigmatised 'Brazilian migrant' and 'the community'

In this section my data shows that the Brazilian working class are constantly negotiating the ways they approach representations of the 'migrant' and 'community'. The working-class positioning of 'the migrant worker' does not easily allow them to avoid seeing themselves as migrants. Yet, they still engage with its stigmatised representation through a series of (contradictory) manipulations that shift between strategies of recognition and dissimulations. In the next two sections, I examine how the ways in which the working class speak of and measure themselves are continuously constructed in dialogue with the representations that the 'respectable and judgmental' (Skeggs, 1997: 74) and, in this case, 'cosmopolitan' middle class construct their designated 'other' and 'their places'.

Recognising the migrant

For Brazilians who cited economic reasons for migrated, the representation of 'the migrant' as a degraded and impoverished labourer acts as a mirror which they have to face when defining the word 'migrant'. The first strategy for negotiating the stigma is to use narratives of recognition – 'I am a migrant' - in which the speaker still reproduces the representation of 'migrant' as applying only to economic migrants. Yet, they try to break with the negative aspects attached to it. This strategy can be seen in Tiago's definition of 'migrant':

A [migrant] is a brave person, someone who leaves everything behind and has the courage to face everything here. We should deserve more respect. We just want to improve our life a bit in a place with more [economic] opportunities.

Due to his own journey, Tiago tends to focus on the positive aspects of ‘the migrant’, such as their ‘bravery’, acknowledging, thus, the suffering behind migration. Tiago had to learn how to navigate precarious conditions from childhood, when his family migrated to São Paulo trying to find a ‘better life’. Coming to London and facing many difficulties was therefore only part of his journey as a migrant (Chapter 4). In claiming that migrants ‘deserve more respect’, since they ‘want to improve [their] life’, Tiago shows that he is aware of, and in dialogue with, the prejudice against the migrant. However, in so doing, he uncritically shares the classed representation of ‘the migrant’ as the ‘economic migrant’, who wants to materially improve their life.

Tiago thus reproduces the representation of ‘the migrant’ as ‘*homo economicus*’, even though his own journey challenges such a strict representation. Issues of class and the desire to live in a country where English (a language he ‘always found chic’) was spoken intersected in Tiago’s decision to migrate. Moreover, Tiago also quickly gave up on his initial idea of living in London for a few years, working and saving money to send to Brazil, and decided to live in London ‘for good’ as he grew attached to his lifestyle in the city. Yet, by trying to break with the stigma attached to ‘the migrant’ himself, despite arguing that the migrant deserves respect, Tiago fixes the category to the economic migrant.

Dissimulating ‘the migrant’

A second strategy for managing the classed representation of the migrant involves dissimulation. Narratives of dissimulation tend to focus on what they are not. Not in a position to disregard the economic necessities⁴⁷ connected to their migration, the working class do not have the cultural and economic capital to claim they are ‘cosmopolitans’ (Igarashi and Saito, 2014), for instance. Nevertheless, they try to distance themselves from the stigmatised representation of ‘the Brazilian migrant’ by claiming they do not have a ‘migrant lifestyle’, or a migrant ‘mentality’.

When I met Rebeca in Villa Country, a Brazilian nightclub in Willesden Junction, I asked her if she was a regular. She told me she liked going out there with her friends because she liked the music and she lived close by. However, she also

⁴⁷ Disregarding money and/or distancing oneself from economic necessity, Bourdieu (1984) notes, are discourses found among the upper middle classes, which are also used to produce distinction.

made sure to emphasise to me that she does not only go to Brazilian places, in contrast to her friends who, she complained, ‘have too much of a migrant mentality’. I asked her what she meant by ‘migrant mentality’ and what migrant meant to her. She replied:

Migration is about opportunity, to improve your life, but, not only financially. You need to take it as an opportunity to grow culturally as well, as a person, to get to know, learn and respect other religions and people. I won’t deny that I came here with the ‘American dream’ of working to get rich, because I did. **But**, once you are here, you see things are different – especially because you notice you won’t be rich. You have to diversify your experiences, expand your mind. You can’t have the migrant mentality of living in the ‘ghetto’, only going to Brazilian places, only hanging around with Brazilians, and living here only to work and save money, like many Brazilians.

AMJ: All Brazilians?

Not all Brazilians. I’m talking about the workers. Students don’t come here for money, they already have it. They work here but they spend money travelling, trying different foods, and meeting different people. Like this girl, I met her in my job [at a restaurant]. She came here to study English. She worked for two years with me, saving all her money to travel. Then she travelled for six months. She went to Thailand, Australia, China. That’s the difference and that’s what I want to do as well. I want to meet different people, see the world. I don’t want to be in the ghetto.

Rebeca’s relationship with the representation of ‘the migrant’, reflective of that I heard expressed by many other working-class Brazilians, ends up reproducing its stigma, even as she does not deny being ‘a migrant’. She asserts that Brazilians ‘workers’ have ‘the migrant mentality of living in the ghetto...only to work and save money’, rather than ‘expanding’ their minds. She points to her own desire to ‘grow culturally’ and to ‘diversify [her] experiences’ to differentiate herself from her working-class friends through the same middle-class, cosmopolitan narrative that frames migrants as ‘the economic poor’ living a ‘communitarian’ or materialistic lifestyle.

Nevertheless, Rebeca is not in a position to narrate her journey as being without economic necessity. Even though she makes an effort to distance herself from the negative representation of ‘the Brazilian migrant’, she does not have enough capital to classify herself as a ‘student’ (or as a cosmopolitan). In other words, in this

particular moment, her 'class positioning (alongside the other social positions of "race"/nationality and gender) was the omnipresent underpinning which informed and circumscribed her ability to be' (Skeggs, 1997: 74). Thus, the way she was able to distance herself from the stigmatised representation of the migrant was to focus on her cosmopolitan mentality. Even though she migrated to save money, lives in Willesden Junction and attends Brazilian parties, she does not have what she sees as a migrant's values or habits.

Negating community

Even though there is a common narrative that Brazilians remain 'in the ghetto', the Brazilian working class tend to deny the existence of a 'Brazilian community' in London. The classed and spatial representation of the community is another mirror that the working class are confronted with. In order to try to value themselves, they use narratives that attempt to distance themselves from such de-valued representation. Nevertheless, since the working class does not have enough capital to distinguish themselves in classed terms, and since many of them live in places considered to be 'Brazilian areas', they negotiate this in two ways. Firstly, they speak about the absence of a 'community'. Secondly, they blame 'others' - who have an inferior morality and value - to explain this absence and to distinguish themselves. For example, Rita, a 35 year-old woman from São Paulo, related her opinions to me at a barbecue held at a house of Brazilians in Willesden Junction.

In my opinion there isn't a Brazilian community in London. Brazilians have this mentality of staying in the ghetto, living only with Brazilians, going only to Brazilian parties and shops - but people being part of this common thing because of their nationality, helping each other? No, there isn't. It's the other way around, they just stab you in the back. This is why I want to move out from here [Willesden Junction]. There is only Brazilians here, too many for my taste. It's not being racist, but our race here sucks. They don't know how to behave properly. They just talk about shit all the time. They want to know everything about your life and just think about money. Goianos are the worst, to be honest. The worst of the Brazilian race here.

Rita's claim that there is no such a thing as a Brazilian community in London, was repeated by many other working-class Brazilians I spoke to who would probably be identified as part of 'the community' by their middle-class co-nationals. For Rita,

community is not defined by its geographical features, but by solidarity – people ‘helping each other out’. However, she claims, because Brazilians instead ‘just stab you in the back’, she asserts that there is no community as well as her desire to move away from ‘the ghetto’. For her, ‘stay[ing] in the ghetto’ is a combination of space and behaviour and mentality. The ‘ghetto’ symbolises those ‘living only with Brazilians, going only to Brazilian parties and shops’- places where they take advantage of each other. Thus, Rita also focuses on an inferior way of behaving and an inferior morality when talking about ‘the ghetto’.

Nevertheless, as Rita does not have the means to distinguish herself in terms of class, she focuses on other markers, such as ‘race’ and region to attempt to place herself in a distinguished, valued position. Rita, who is from São Paulo, managed to navigate from ‘our race’, which ‘sucks’ and ‘[doesn’t] know how to behave’, to arrive at ‘the Goiano’, a person from Goiás - in her account ‘the worst of the Brazilian race’ in London. Here, we can see how social markers such as class, ‘race’ and gender not only interact with each other but in different contexts one of these markers, or a combination of them, might compensate for or cancel out others (Brah, 1996). In this specific case, Rita employs ‘race’ and region in an attempt to offset the class positioning that would align her in the stigmatised representation of the ‘Brazilian migrant worker living within the community’. The markers that Brazilians like Rita use to try to value themselves vary according to specific contexts and to the resources that they have available. As I showed in Chapter 6, Brazilians in London tend to distance themselves from a racialised ‘Brazilianess’, making references to the “Brazilian culture”, sometimes spoken of explicitly as ‘race’, as is the case here with Rita, as uncivilised⁴⁸.

Reflection and self-critique: negotiating ‘Brazilians’ and ‘community’

During my fieldwork, I also came across a few self-critical and reflexive accounts, which, as I will discuss in this section, bring to light the effects of class prejudice on ways in which the working-class Brazilians deal with stigma. These accounts still claim that there is no solidarity among Brazilians in London, however,

⁴⁸ Discussion on region as a racialised/classed marker will be discussed further in the next chapter.

they consider some of the broader constraints that work to limit acts of solidarity. Moreover, they problematize how the ways in which working-class deal with classed and racialised representations of ‘the migrant’ and ‘the community’ resonate with the ways in which Brazilians at home manage classed representations of poor neighbourhoods in Brazilian cities. Similar reflexive and self-critical accounts are also made regarding middle-class disdain of ‘Brazilian consumerism’ and illegitimate working class modes of living in and consuming the city.

Highlighting structural constraints

In such accounts, the speakers tend to avoid ‘blaming others’ for the absence of solidarity, which could constitute a Brazilian community and instead reflect on underlying structural dimensions. Furthermore, they problematize how the classed (and ‘racial’) stigma connected to the representation of ‘the migrant’ and ‘the community’ also shapes working-class narratives of ‘avoiding Brazilians’. Elza, for example, commented:

Is there solidarity just because you are Brazilian? No, there isn’t it. But I won’t generalise and say I’m going to avoid Brazilians. We need to see that, first, there are many different Brazilians here, and they don’t like mixing. There is this Brazilian house that I clean here, the owners have money, and they make me take my own cup, cutlery, everything, because I can’t use theirs. They treat us like we had a contagious disease. But there are many people who are like us, simple people who are here working and living in the same area, who also act like them and they do the same thing. They say they don’t like Brazilians, they don’t go to Brazilian places, don’t listen to Brazilian music and say that Brazilians take advantage of everyone because they’re Brazilians. But, just think: how can I expect people to help me just because I come from the same country, when many of them are struggling here to survive as well? They’re working hard, many times without documents, competing for jobs. Of course it will be hard for people to help each other. Also, it will be easier for those who want to make their money by exploiting the weak, and, of course many of those who will be exploiting you will be Brazilians, because you just arrived in the country, you don’t speak the language, you don’t have a job, you don’t have documents. You will be relating to Brazilians - some will help you and some will exploit you.

Elza’s reflexive account of the absence of a ‘Brazilian community’ is analytically important for several reasons. Firstly, by acknowledging that she cannot

expect people to help her just because they ‘come from the same country’, Elza breaks with the nostalgic and romanticised image of local ethnic communities often constructed ‘in both political and academic discourses’ (Kosnick, 2009: 21). Secondly, by asserting that some Brazilians seek to support each other within and others to profit from a context in which many are struggling without documents, English or stable employment, Elza’s highlights how ethnic ties are forged through co-dependency as well as tension and exploitation (Martes and Fazito, 2010). Yet, Elza does not essentialise the lack of solidarity by attributing it to Brazilian culture, ‘race’ or region. Rather, she analyses the exploitation among Brazilians as being the result of Brazilians struggling for limited resources in a landscape marked by high competition and structural constraints. Some of these constraints are produced by the state limiting the rights of those without a regular documental status, as I discussed in Chapter 5, facilitating exploitation for ‘those who want to make their money’.

Moreover, besides bringing the structural dimension of the ‘lack of solidarity’ to the fore, Elza, also highlights the importance of taking into account class differences in the ways in which Brazilians talk about divisions in London - problematizing the idea of ‘the community’ as a homogenous group. Elza’s narrative not only highlights divisions among people ‘with money’ and ‘simple people’, she is also aware that ‘simple people’, ‘people who are like us’, claim ‘they don’t like Brazilians’ and that ‘they don’t go to Brazilian places’. For Elza, in so doing, they help to reproduce the middle-class narrative against ‘the Brazilian migrant (worker)’, since they ‘act like them’, the ones ‘with money’, who ‘treat treat us like we had a contagious disease’.

Connecting classed and racialised places and bodies

Reflexive accounts are also developed by some Brazilians regarding the divisions produced through classed bodies and spaces - the legitimate and illegitimate ways of being and living in London. These accounts link working-class distancing discourses in London with those common in Brazilian cities, as my conversation with Barbara, a 35 year-old woman, at Guanabara illustrates.

When I first met Barbara, she was at Guanabara for the second time. Barbara comes from a working-class family from Rio de Janeiro. As a teenager, she worked and studied, eventually receiving a degree, the first in her family, in Education. Her

family always saw education as a means of class mobility and ‘improving life’. When she finished university, she met a British man, an engineer, living in Rio. They got married after she became pregnant. In 2005, her husband was sent to work in the US, where they moved with their daughter. In 2009, they came to live in the UK, where they lived together until 2012, when they divorced. Until this time, Barbara says she was a person full of preconceptions, very ‘classist and racist’. She never saw herself as a migrant as she never had to work in London and she used to avoid ‘going to Brazilian places and hanging around with Brazilians’. After she divorced, she started receiving help from Brazilians in London. Through them, she started working as a baby-sitter, doing ‘migrant jobs for the first time’, and began to frequent Brazilian places. As she spoke, her friend Larissa, who was part of the conversation, asked her why she said she used to be classist, as she comes from a working-class family and grew up in the deprived suburbs of Rio de Janeiro. Barbara explained:

Because it is exactly there that the preconception is placed and settled, because we don’t want to be seen as *surburbano* [a person from the suburbs]. We want to be seen like people from the South Zone [the area in which the wealthiest districts of Rio are located]. To be seen as such, you need to displace yourself from where you live and try to live that life that they live, thinking - hypothetically - that you have something to do with that. You are going to listen to the music that they listen to, try to have the lifestyle, behave like them, dress up, have the same haircut. For instance, I’m *mestiça* [mixed], black and white. I got my colour more from my dad, but my hair I got from my mum. My hair, naturally, is actually long and curly, so no one considered me totally white there because of my hair. If you have curly hair, you have *cabelo ruim* [bad hair], which means you are mixed, ‘you have a foot in the kitchen’, so everyone goes to straighten it, as I did. But, later, you realise you were never one of them, they would never fully see you like them, and you were always going back to the *suburbio*. But, I grew up full of preconceptions against people from the *suburbio*, wanting to leave there, not wanting to be like them. But it was a preconception because not everyone in the *suburbio* is a bad person. It’s the same here. I never saw myself as a migrant. I had never done migrant jobs and I used to have preconceptions about Brazilian migrants, not going to Brazilian areas, avoiding everything from Brazil and saying that all of them have the *jeitinho Brasileiro*, and they are here to take advantage of you because they only think of money. But when I needed help, it was Brazilians who started helping me. So, I was, here, being racist and classist again.

Barbara’s narrative highlights a number of important points. Firstly, she makes clear how she grew up trying to improve her class positioning through an

attempt to distinguish herself across markers of gender, 'race' and space⁴⁹. She spent her life making an effort to improve her appearance, her body, her (musical) taste, lifestyle, mind, housing situation, and even her 'colour' by straightening her hair. As Monica Figueroa and Megan Rivers-Moore (2013: 132) argue, 'ideas about beauty, appearance, physical characteristics, and racialised perceptions of skin colour and the body inform each other within the specific historical configuration of mestizaje (racial mixing) in a Latin American and Caribbean context'. As Barbara had a lighter skin colour, her hair was the main marker of her being racially mixed, or having 'a foot in the kitchen'. 'Having a foot in the kitchen' is a common Brazilian expression used to describe the features of persons with mixed African ancestry. Reflecting the magnitude of slavery in Brazilian history and its ongoing legacy, the expression 'incorporates the historical image of black slaves as domestics in the kitchen, while whites ruled the house, indicating the different social positions ascribed to each group' (Joseph, 2015: 108). As a consequence, trying to distance themselves from their undervalued 'blackness', Brazilian 'black/mixed women use techniques to modify the body as a way to widen (or diminish) the gap between women from different classes/skin colours' (Gordon, 2013: 204). As Doreen Gordon (2013) has shown, straightening the hair is one of the main beauty practices women employ to modify their racialised appearance and signify upward mobility, as straight hair 'is associated with a "European" appearance' (212). Thus, in order to be as close as possible to the upper class people living in the South Zone, Barbara not only had to make an effort to try to share both their classed lifestyle and bodily appearance. At the same time, Barbara tried to differentiate herself from her '*suburbano*' neighbours who did not or could not improve their class positioning.

Here, once again, the body becomes the site where the relations of class, gender and 'race', come together and are experienced and practised for consecrating privilege (Bourdieu, 1977a; Ramos-Zaya, 2004; Skeggs, 1997). As Skeggs (1997) argues, 'a respectable body is white, desexualized, hetero-feminine and usually middle-class' (82). Thus, for Barbara, moulding her body was a way to try to mark it as middle-class and white. As a consequence, in attempts at 'improvement', narratives

⁴⁹ Barbara's quote highlights how the intersection of abstract concepts such as class, 'race' and gender have 'real' and variegated effects upon different groups of women. As Brah (1996) states, 'when black and white women share a broadly similar class position, they constitute distinctive fractions within that specific class location'. Therefore, 'their everyday life experiences' are 'characterised by certain commonalities, but also by crucial differences' (88).

of the body intersects with those of space. The 'respectable' body is only fully respectable when it is also in the right space, especially in a context in which the suburban and peripheral area has not only a strong negative connotation, but it is also a site of virulent state violence, particularly against the young mixed/black bodies who inhabit these spaces (especially within suburban places such as the favelas) (see Cunha and Feltran, 2013). This connection of bodies and space is the reason Barbara had 'the same classist and racist' preconceptions in London. She avoid 'going to Brazilian places and hanging around with Brazilian' migrants, who she understood to be as poor, greedy and immoral. As such, Barbara was re-working Rio de Janeiro's classed and racialised spatial logic in London. In an attempt to improve her 'migrant' situation in London, she negotiated bodies and spaces by dialoguing with the ways in which the middle-class claim to occupy (or not) the 'Brazilian areas' in London.

Nevertheless, in Brazil, even though Barbara spent her life 'trying to be like them' and trying to not be *surburbana* she realized that she would never be able to completely be one of them. Barbara was never able to convert the cultural and economic capital that she acquired with the 'improvements in her life' - like going to university - into symbolic capital that would be 'legitimated by those with power' (Skeggs, 1997: 87). Barbara realised she would always be 'going back to the *suburbio*' in the end. In London, when she divorced and lost the support from her husband, Barbara started interacting with Brazilians and got her first 'migrant job'. This, made her reflect that, once again, she was being 'classist and racist', but now against 'the Brazilian migrant' and 'their places'.

Reflecting consumption

Reflexive and self-critical accounts were also provided regarding 'working-class consumerism' in London. These accounts tend to navigate, contradictorily, from a self-critique of working-class migrant 'consumerism' to the emphasis on the fact that such consumerism is not only the result of fulfilling desires that were repressed in Brazil, but is also a means of valuing oneself. As Guilherme explained:

I get mad with these guys who are living here only to buy clothes, trainers and phones. But then, I think and I understand. Here we can buy the things that we always wanted, that only the middle class could buy in Brazil: computers, iPhones and Nikes. But, here, we also have

the right to buy and feel good, and they don't like it. They [middle class] criticise us for buying things because they always had these things there, so it is not an issue for them. So, being poor is being fucked twice; we never get it right, because we buy all these things and the middle class still mock Brazilians here about the clothes they wear, the things that they buy. So, people work hard, trying to improve their life, get old and didn't really change their lives, because consumption doesn't change your life. People increasingly believe that they will become rich. I'm not intelligent. If I were intelligent I would have studied, but I was intelligent enough to understand that I won't be rich. I came from a family without money. I didn't study. I know my reality. I was in a Brazilian party here and the guy was showing me his 'gold', telling me about all the money he spent on his necklace, watch, earrings. I found that absurd. He's here working as a cleaner, without documents, doesn't speak English, can be deported at any time and is working hard to spend all his money buying stuff to go to Brazilian night clubs, instead of studying or learning English. Consuming won't make you rich, having a computer and a leased car doesn't mean you left class Z and moved to class Y. You change your class when you have quality of life, when you don't have to work so much to give a good life to yourself and your kids, when your kids have good education, good life, health, knowledge. This comes with education, schooling, and not with access to consumption.

Here Guilherme reflects on the ways in which consumption is central to understanding divisions within Brazilian population in London. He navigates in narratives of contradictions and anxieties when addressing the stigma against 'the working-class consumption' in London. He firstly criticised 'those who live in London only to buy' goods. Then, he developed a reflexive and self-critical understanding - 'here we can buy things...that only the middle class could buy in Brazil'. He asserts 'the right' of the working class to also buy and 'to feel good'. As Skeggs (1997) highlights, 'clothing and objects are experienced intimately'. They are not just about difference, but also about 'deflecting associations of negative value': 'they signify the worth of the person' (86). Yet, after acknowledging that consumption is means for working-class migrants to value themselves, Guilherme concluded that, in fact, 'being poor is being fucked twice'. The working class is still mocked by the middle class for 'never get[ting] it right'. As Skeggs notes in her study of working-class women in northern England, 'not getting it right' is rooted in the working class individual's inability to access the required amounts of cultural capital - the right kind of 'knowledge and history' - 'which would enable them to know what getting it right really means' (Skeggs, 1997: 87). For Guilherme, for Brazilian

migrants to improve their class positioning and then be able to ‘get it right’ would require not ‘access to consumption’ but achieving a quality of life that comes with ‘education, schooling’, in which ‘you don’t have to work so much’ to give your children ‘good education, good life, health [and] knowledge’. In other words, migration results in the increase of working-class Brazilians’ economic capital, improving their consumption power, but true class ‘improvement’ can only be made possible by ‘generating, accruing or displaying cultural capital’ (Skeggs, 1997: 82).

Nevertheless, Guilherme later reproduces the same individualizing narrative of the middle class when he blames the working class for their own lack of cultural capital, positioning this lack as a choice, criticizing his fellow migrants for preferring to buy ‘their gold’ instead of studying. This individualising narrative is further stressed by his self-depreciation - if he were ‘intelligent, [he] would have studied’. By blaming himself, Guilherme buries alive (Goldberg and Giroux, 2014) all the social constraints present in his own life and class trajectory. Moreover, Guilherme also differentiates himself from those who think they are rich because they have ‘a computer and leased car’, as he is at least ‘intelligent enough to understand that [he] won’t be rich’, as he does not have education (cultural capital). Thus, even reflexive narratives like Guilherme’s are not narratives of ‘Brazilian communities’, through which they position themselves within a valorised social category (Willis, 1977). Yet, in their accounts, we can see that there is an emergence of ‘us’ (working class) when comparing themselves to the middle class.

Drawing class boundaries: workers and students

In the next two sections I will show how working-class Brazilians’ responses to class differences in London can also result in specific social acts of class empathy, affinity and solidarity within a fractured working class. As we have seen above, class solidarity did not figure strongly in working-class Brazilians’ accounts. When reflecting on the stigma of ‘the migrant’ and ‘the community’, several recounted stories of divisions, conflicts and exploitation among Brazilians. Yet, similarly to what Brah noted among the fractured white working class in Southall, internal Brazilian working class fissions can be also ‘subsumed within the boundary of “us”

when facing comparison with the middle classes' (1999: 14). However, my data also shows that the ways in which working-class Brazilians narrate the existing classed 'categories' and how they position themselves are not homogenous. It varies according to both their personal journey in London as well as to their '(class) trajectory' (Bourdieu, 1984) which differently position themselves in the social space within class factions, as discussed in Chapter 1 and 7. Focusing on the class trajectory and the journey in London of two working-class Brazilians, I show how fractures among the Brazilian working-class affect the way they talk about class divisions in London. Within my interviews, the narratives tend to differ between two groups: 'the workers' and 'the in-betweeners'. In this section, using Guilherme's narrative, I analyse the first group, which often make a clear cut between themselves (the migrant workers) and the middle class (students/cosmopolitans).

Segmenting Brazilians, the class trajectory and journey from Brazil to London: Guilherme

When speaking of differences in reasons for migrating and in the lifestyles of Brazilians in London, the first working class group analysed here tends to share views similar to the middle class, discussed in the previous chapter, about class differences producing divisions. Yet, they do it without middle-class Brazilians' exaggerated manner of describing 'the migrant (poor)'. Even though some of them mention the presence of 'a few very rich Brazilians', narratives focus on the 'migrant workers' – 'us'- and the 'middle-class students' – 'them'. For this group, migration also produces a spatial re-arrangement of class, placing Brazilians from different classes in the same spaces. The ways in which they construct these categories and perceptions in their new city is connected to both their 'class trajectory' in Brazil, as well as to their journey in London, as we can see with Guilherme.

Guilherme grew up in the countryside of the state of São Paulo. Coming from a low-income family, he worked in informal and precarious jobs from a very young age to help his single mother and four siblings. While doing informal work, Guilherme also unsuccessfully tried to play football professionally. Like many of his friends, Guilherme saw football as his best chance to achieve social mobility in Brazil. Guilherme managed to finish high school in his 20s, as a mature student in a public school. He never saw 'studying and going to university as part of' his reality. Before

traveling to London, he was working in a petrol station and receiving the Brazilian minimum wage. Not having a job that would give him ‘good prospects in Brazil’, Guilherme decided to come to London in 2007, aged 25. Receiving support from his cousin who had previously migrated to London, Guilherme borrowed money from relatives, sold his motorcycle and came to London with the idea of working for three years, saving money and going back to Brazil.

Guilherme did not return to Brazil and was still in London, living with his cousin and other Brazilians, when I interviewed him for the first time in 2011. Like his cousin and friends, Guilherme went through many precarious situations working as an irregular migrant in the service sector (cleaning and catering). When I interviewed him for the second time in 2014, Guilherme had regularised his legal situation in the country. He was working on a regular contract for the first time, as a chef in a restaurant. It is at his work place, and in places of leisure, that Guilherme constructs his perceptions of class differences among Brazilians.

It is well segmented [Brazilian population in London] and you can see it at work. There are very few rich guys, that we do not see that much, but sometimes we serve them. Then, there are the students, who are the middle class who went to university and they come here to study, but they usually work with us to save money to travel. And us, the workers, who did not study and came to London to work and save money - many are ‘illegal’. We work together, but the lifestyle is still different here. The students are always together because they share the same ideas, they travel together, get to know places together. Same with ‘the workers’. When I go to Guanabara or Canecão [Brazilian clubs/pub in London], many people that I see there are similar to the ones from my neighbourhood in Brazil. You recognise them by the clothes, the haircut, the sort of music they like, the subject of the conversations. But, even though it is very different [the lifestyle], many times here we bump into each other, something that doesn’t happen in Brazil. We meet people from other classes in Brazil, but it’s very rare to stay close because the lifestyle is different and we don’t share the same spaces. We don’t go to the same schools, we don’t live in the same neighbourhood, we don’t go to the same clubs or shops, they don’t use public transport. For example, that coffee place I went with you [in central London], in Brazil I wouldn’t go to that place, because it’s posh, it’s not for us. So we don’t have much contact with them there. Here, we go to the same places and they need to work with us, which can be a problem, they don’t like being there with us and we also react to it.

As he describes Brazilian ‘students’ and ‘workers’, Guilherme recognises differences through corporeality, subjects of conversation and tastes, thus using the

same markers used by the middle class to express Brazilians class differences in London. He also emphasises the cultural or economic motivations for migrating as well as lifestyle and taste, and the continuity of these markers between Brazil and London. The students who went to university in Brazil ‘are always together’ and work in London only to save money for travelling. On the other hand, ‘the workers’, many of whom are illegal, did not study in Brazil and came to London ‘to save money’, and they wear the same clothes, have the same hairstyles and listen to the same as people from Guilherme’s neighbourhood in Brazil. Thus, Guilherme’s categorisation is directly connected to his personal class trajectory in Brazil as well as to his journey in London – part of which was an ‘irregular situation’.

Like the middle-class Brazilians I spoke to, Guilherme also shares the perception that migration produces a spatial re-arrangement of class among Brazilians. From his narrative, we can see that, in Brazil, there was a clearer spatial segmentation, in which each classes occupies different spaces. The working class don’t go to private school or ‘posh’ cafes because, as Guilherme asserts, those places aren’t ‘for us’. As such, in Brazil they felt they did not have the same rights to access certain spaces in the city. But, in London, they start occupying similar spaces, as they ‘bump into each other,’ which ‘can be a problem’. Here, Guilherme also shares the middle-class perception that, when differently classed Brazilians occupy the same space abroad, rather than resulting in ‘ethnic solidarity’, it magnifies differences and creates new conflicts.

Negotiating new class exposures

As my middle-class respondents alluded to in the previous chapter, for the Brazilian working-class, the spatial rearrangements of class that wrought through migration place them in a situation of relatively more equality, which can result in tension. Guilherme described this situation above noting that ‘they don’t like being there with us and we also react to it’. ‘Reacting to it’ is seen as a positive opportunity to ‘pay back’ situations of class discrimination that they suffered in Brazil, as Guilherme explains:

I was a guy who suffered a lot of prejudice [in Brazil] because I didn’t have money. Walking down the street and seeing a lady hiding her

purse when she saw me walking in her direction. Entering a shop and everyone there staring at you, checking if you stole anything. So, I grew up being humiliated by these guys, but, here, we are more equal. Over there the guy is the son of the doctor, here he is a waiter. It doesn't matter if he is white and blond; he will pay rent, take public transport, just like I do. He doesn't have his big car here. So, when these guys come here and they have to work with us, it's time for me to get payback for everything I went through. I'm very harsh on them. I know sometimes that the guy is even a nice guy, but it's my time. Here, I have the possibility to reverse the situation.

Guilherme's comment illustrates how the politics of class and 'race'⁵⁰ are embedded in strong feelings and lived through city spaces and places. Moments of class encounter, both in Brazil and in London, are narrated as emotional encounters, saturated with desire, resentment, hatred and humiliations, 'which can generate violence, degradation and resistance' (Skeggs, 1997: 93). After suffering class prejudice in Brazil, these different (classed) bodies are placed in a newly configured context in London, allowing the working class to 'reverse the situation' of the prejudice they endured in Brazil by being 'harsh' on those who used to be humiliate them. This results in a situation in which both parties engage in a process of mutual rejection and/or accusation.

On one hand, the middle class objectively reject their working-class co-nationals to distance themselves from the representation of 'the migrant'. On the other hand, in some narratives of subversion of class stigma, the working class also distance themselves from the middle class. Importantly, the fact that the majority of the narratives tend to focus on the division between the groups does not mean that there will be no interactions among them. Guilherme, for instance, has student friends and housemates. When I asked about this, he used the same mechanism employed by others – the disclaimer 'but'. It is very common to hear people in similar situation to Guilherme, saying that they are friends with some middle class people, but their friends 'do not have the middle-class attitude' or 'think they are superior than others'; 'they don't mind going from luxury to trash'. Moreover, this situation is further complicated by another group that transcends the simple division between 'middle class' and 'migrant worker'.

⁵⁰ By stating that 'over there the guy is the son of the doctor, here he is a waiter' and that 'it doesn't matter if he is white and blond', Guilherme underlines the strength of the relationship between class and colour ('race') in Brazil, as we saw earlier in this chapter with Barbara's narrative as well as in Chapter 2.

Re-drawing class boundaries: ‘the in-betweeners’

The second working-class group also talk about class divisions between middle-class cosmopolitans and students and working-class migrants. Yet, focusing on their class trajectory, which they narrate as one of improvement, as well as on their journeys in London, they classify themselves as ‘student-workers’, able to navigate between the other two groups. The main means through which they articulate the improvement in their lives, which places them ‘in between’ class boundaries, is through narratives that focus on generating, accruing and/or displaying cultural capital, especially by talking about education. Ana’s journey is illustrative of how her class trajectory allowed her to acquire more capital – especially social and cultural - which placed her in a position in which she was exposed to different possibilities in her life, compared to her own relatives and friends. These possibilities shaped not only her journey in London, but also how she speaks of class differences among Brazilians.

Segmenting Brazilians, the class trajectory and journey from Brazil to London: Ana

Ana is a 36 year-old woman who, like Guilherme, grew up in a working class family. However, due to her trajectory, which, she asserts, was shaped by ‘family structure and values’, she went through a slightly different journey in her life than Guilherme or many of her ‘relatives and neighbourhood friends’. Ana grew up in Belo Horizonte, the capital of the state of Minas Gerais. Unlike Guilherme, Ana worked only part-time during high school. Her mother tried to keep her ‘studying as much as [she] could’, as her family valued education and saw it as the track to social mobility. Ana attended high school in ‘one of the few still good public schools’ in her city and was thus ‘able to relate to middle-class classmates who were studying to go to the university’. Ana never thought about going to university: ‘It was not something common in my family.’ Nevertheless, through her relations with middle-class students, she started ‘thinking that higher education could be possible’ for her.

Ana also received support from relatives who had a better economic situation. An aunt supported her and her siblings by ‘giving them books, computers and incentives to study’. With this family assistance, working part-time and taking a preparation course for low-income students, Ana passed the *vestibular*, the entrance

exam for university. Four years later, she finished her BA in Education at a good university. Thus, Ana increased her cultural and social capital, which provided her a lifestyle different from her family and childhood friends.

Ana decided to come to London in 2005, when she was already working as a teacher in Brazil. The initial idea was to come to London for two years to ‘work and save money quickly’ to buy a house for her mother, ‘as well as to have a cultural experience in Europe’. Ana arrived in London with a student visa to study English. In her first house, she lived with Brazilians who had not gone to university in Brazil and were ‘illegal workers in London’. Living with them helped her to feel settled in London, as ‘they were very similar to people from my neighbourhood and family’. They helped her find jobs and she started a relationship with one of them, Luiz. Ana decided to stay for a longer period in London, working in precarious jobs in the service sector until she started teaching private Portuguese lessons. Even though her housemates and boyfriend had an irregular status, Ana had ‘always saved money to renew her visas’ as she ‘wouldn’t accept staying here illegally’. After renewing her student visa in language schools three times, she saved money and did an MA in Education at King’s College. Later, Ana found work in a primary school in London, which provided her with a work visa. In 2015 she was granted indefinite leave to remain in the UK. Ana described her journey in London, like her journey in Brazil, as being marked by a class dis-adjustment, since throughout her 10 years in London, Ana explained, she developed ‘very closed relationships with Brazilians from the working class, lower and upper middle class’, which placed her in a ‘privileged position to be able to closely see’ the class divisions between the middle class and the ‘illegal worker’.

It is class stratified and they have different lifestyles here that separate them. I’m in between, a student-worker. I was once an exploited worker as well, but never an illegal worker because I came here to study and work. I haven’t met many people from the same social class as me who came here to study and work.

AMJ: But, what is your social class?

Low, like Luiz. I mean, economically, I’m not middle-class. I’m like Luiz and his friends, probably they even have more money than me, but culturally I am not like them. This is connected to my trajectory, the different education that I had in my life makes me have a different

lifestyle than them, and this puts me in the middle of them [the middle and working classes].

AMJ: What do you mean by different lifestyle?

The sort of things that you have access to, things that you like, topics of conversations that you find interesting. It is this sort of thing that creates links with people. They have different lifestyles, they're separated and I'm in the middle. I can relate to both of them. But there are many things that they [the middle class] do...and say that I know it's because of their class position, things that I do, or that I think differently.

As we can see, Anna's categorisation of herself as 'a student-worker', as she puts it, in between the middle class and the ('illegal') worker, is directly connected to her personal class trajectory in Brazil as well as to her journey in London. Even though 'economically' she considers herself 'low class', Ana sees herself as positioned differently to her boyfriend and friends. It is through her acquisition of cultural capital, and her ability to display it, that Ana sees an improvement in her 'class situation'. Her access to legitimate culture ('things that you like, subjects of conversations that you find interesting') allows her to 'create links' with the middle class. Although Ana claimed she hadn't met many people from her class background who came to London to study, when doing interviews and ethnography in places of work (Martins Jr, 2014) and leisure, I commonly heard similar stories of class improvement through the acquisition of cultural capital from Brazilians in London. These journeys, including my own, have very similar features, which generates a feeling of being 'in between'.

It is important to note that among this group documental status is an important marker, one which they use to differentiate themselves from 'the migrant worker'⁵¹. As we have seen, Ana, for example, asserts that she once an 'exploited worker, but never an illegal worker'. Accepting, or not accepting, being in the country irregularly has both heavy moral and classed connotations in drawing boundaries between them and 'the (illegal) migrant worker'. On the other hand, even though 'in-betweeners' claim they have similar interests, lifestyle and taste, they still do not see themselves as middle-class. I would suggest that, firstly, they still lack the 'self-certainty of the

⁵¹ As shown in chapter 5, 'illegality' is usually narrated as a classed feature, despite the blurriness between 'the legal' and 'illegal'.

middle-class habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984: 66), to define themselves as just 'cosmopolitans' or 'students'. As Ana said, 'there are many things that they do...and say' that she does not, and she is aware that this is 'because of their class position'. Secondly, the 'student-worker's' trajectory in London objectively limits their ability to classify themselves as firmly within the middle class, as their journey was differently constrained by economic necessities and desires.

Navigating 'in between'

The way in which those 'in between' navigate their class position, in London, is constantly marked by contradictions and anxieties. That Anna claims middle-class Brazilians' speech and behaviour marks their class position differently to hers reveals a lack of ontological complicity between her habitus and the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Moments in which she becomes aware of these differences might make her feel 'like fish out of water'. As Reay (1997) notes, when agents make class transitions and/or improvements, 'through education, the conjunction of working-class habitus and middle-class field produces not only discordance, but can generate alarm, fear and panic' (231). In Ana's case, such moments have often resulted in embarrassment and anxiety.

When I used to talk about Luiz with middle-class acquaintances, there would be an awkward situation, people making faces or comments that actually meant: 'What are you doing being with him?' Or when someone just made a bad comment about Brazilians who work as kitchen porters in London, then later they asked me what my boyfriend does and I'd say 'kitchen porter'. There was this uncomfortable and embarrassing situation all the time, and there was the issue of illegality as well, that I always had to hide, not because someone could denounce him, but because of the preconception against 'the illegal'. So I had to listen their comments and stay quiet. The middle class is full of prejudice here against the migrant worker, so they never expected me to have a boyfriend like 'this', or that I had links with 'these Brazilians', because of my position here. I did my masters here, I speak English, I am a teacher in a British primary school, I have quite similar taste to them. But, I am not completely like them.

Ana does not have 'a migrant job' and, with British educational credentials and a 'respectable' profession, she probably no longer displays 'the resignation of the inevitable' (Bourdieu, 1984: 372), characteristic of working-class habitus - as she

notes, she has ‘quite similar taste to [the middle class]’. Thus, her middle-class friends and colleagues did not expect her to have a boyfriend who is an ‘ilegal’ kitchen porter or ‘links with “these Brazilians”’. They felt comfortable to making comments about the ‘Brazilian migrant’ in front of her as they expected her to share the same classed view. These moments of disjuncture between her middle-class friends’ expectations and the realities of her life not only made it clear to Ana that she was not completely ‘like them’, but also that she did not want to take on what Skeggs calls ‘the whole package of being middle class’ (Skeggs 1997: 93). There are many middle-class ways of being that Anna is familiar with and does not want to emulate, their contradictory denunciation of migrant worker being one of them.

I know I can sound like a hypocrite here, because there is this preconception about people who go to Guanabara etc, and sometimes I have that as well. I say I don’t like going to certain Brazilian places, I don’t like Guanabara, the piriguetes that go there. I don’t like sertanejo and funk. I value other things. But the times that I went there, I enjoyed it. Even though things that I like are more connected to my middle-class friends, I don’t have as much prejudice as them. I know the reality of it. When my middle-class friends make comments about ‘these people’, I always defend them because I know their view of them. They judge without having contact with ‘these people’, saying things that aren’t true. It’s a class preconception. I know them [‘the workers’], as real people, and these people [her middle-class friends] don’t. The way they speak of the people I lived with, like Luiz, is a far cry from the way those people actually are. They say "Ah, the Brazilian migrants", “the illegal”, that bad thing. But, this ‘bad thing’ are people who are here with lives, stories. It is Luiz, my friends. They’re human beings. So, when they say ‘Brazilians’ are like this, I say: ‘No, they’re not. They’re people who have access to different resources, but they’re not like you describe’. What they say is not only full of preconceptions, not based in reality, but it’s also contradictory and ridiculous. They criticise ‘the migrant lifestyle’ and they do similar things. I have a musician friend here, he is a DJ, likes rock and criticise all the “music for poor people”: Sertanejo, funk, pop, a clear class prejudice. But then, when you listen to his music, he is remixing the pop music from here and the US: Lily Allen, Beyonce. So, just because it’s in English it’s better? Look at the lyrics of this music. They talk about the same things, but in English.

Ana’s ‘in-between’ positioning of herself allows her to navigate through narratives that distance her from the stigmatised image of ‘the illegal’ as well as from the prejudice of the ‘middle class’. Even though Ana attempts to value herself by distinguishing herself from the image of ‘people who go to Guanabara’, the

‘piriguetes’ who listen to sertanejo and funk and do not know how to behave, she does not want to be seen as fully middle-class, as they are also often ‘a source of ridicule and contempt’ (Skeggs, 1997: 94). For Ana, who feels she knows the working class ‘as real people’, the preconceptions of her middle-class friends are not only unfounded, but also ‘contradictory and ridiculous’. She points out that while they often criticise ‘the migrant’s’ affinity for popular music, they listen to similar popular musical genres in English; ‘just because it’s in English,’ she notes, it’s seen as ‘better’. Therefore, at the same time those ‘in between’ cannot completely pass as middle-class, they often do not want to. They respect ‘the power of the middle classes but despise them for the power they effect’ (Skeggs, 1997:93), especially when the middle class pathologise those close to them.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed how working class Brazilians speak of class divisions among the Brazilian population in London, rather than of “ethnic community”. I argued that classed and racialised representations of ‘the Brazilian migrant’ and ‘the community’ shape the ways in which working-class migrants in London negotiate those divisions, as they are constantly trying to not be completely fixed or measured by them. Their migrant positioning, oriented through their nationality, class and gender, generates tension, contradiction, and, at times, self-reflection, in narratives that vacillate between recognition and dissimulation. While the Brazilian middle class used class narratives to distance themselves from the community, the Brazilian working class tend to deny that there is such a thing as a Brazilian community in London, claiming that the solidarity necessary for constituting a community is conspicuously absent. While there is some variation in the reasons they cite for this lack, the main mechanism employed in their explanatory narratives is that of blaming ‘others’. Yet, some self-critical and reflexive accounts do emerge in narratives that bring the effects of structural constraints and class prejudice to the centre of the discussion. Even though working class Brazilians do not necessarily speak about the formation of a ‘working class community’, highlighting instead division and conflict, in specific contexts in which they compare themselves to the middle class, class

affinities and solidarity seem to emerge as social acts inside of a fractured and diverse group.

Overall, this was a chapter that explored how the working class positioning of the 'migrant worker' generates narratives of doubt, insecurity and unease as part of the emotional politics of class (and 'race') in a world on the move. However, the 'Brazilian migrant worker' is often conceptualised in regional terms. Regionalism takes a central role in how Brazilians produce and negotiate difference in London. In the next chapter, I analyse how the figure of 'Goiano', briefly introduced in this chapter, crystallises the image of the '(inferior) Brazilian migrant' as un-modern body devoid of taste and morality.

Chapter 9

(Re)making Brazilian regional differences in London

In this chapter, I analyse how regional Brazilian differences, often intersected with class and ‘race’, are re-inscribed and re-signified in the British context. Regionalism, I argue, is taken as the main marker in the materialization of the (inferior) Brazilian migrant body for both the middle and working classes. Struggles over regionalism, as noted by Bourdieu (1991), is part of the struggle over ‘the properties (stigmata or emblems) linked with’ the ‘place of origin and its associated durable marks, such as accent’, are also part of ‘the struggles over classifications’ (221), discussed in Chapter 1. In other words, regionalisms are part of ‘the struggles over the monopoly of the power to make people see and believe’, ‘to impose a legitimate definition of the divisions of the social world in a process of making and unmaking groups’ (*Ibid.*).

As Bourdieu (1991) argues, ‘regionalist discourse is a performative discourse which aims to impose’ as legitimate, through symbolic power, ‘a new definition of the spatial frontiers and to get people to know and recognize the region’ (223). The frontier, often ‘a product of a legal act of delimitation, produces cultural difference as much as it is produced by it’ (222). Thus, regional differences are another ‘representation through which social agents imagine the divisions of reality and which contribute to the reality of the divisions’ (226), since they are part of the ‘individual and collective strategies (such as regionalist demands) by which agents seek to put these classifications at the service of their material or symbolic interests, or to conserve and transform them’ (227). Yet, like any other representation, regional representations are also full of contradiction and can never be finally fixed, as Stuart Hall has shown (1997a; 1997b). Following this, in this chapter I analyse regional representations as Hall (1997b) analyses ‘race’: as a ‘floating signifier’. As Hall (1997b) delineates, signifiers refer to ‘the system and concepts of a classification of a culture to its making meaning practices’. And, those things gain ‘their meaning not because of what they contain in their essence but in the shifting relations of difference which they establish with other concepts and ideas in a signifying field’ (8) – or in the symbolic field, in Bourdieusian terms (Bourdieu, 1991). Their meaning, because it is

relational and not essential, is subject to the constant process of redefinition and appropriation in different moments. Taking regionalism as a floating signifier allows me, then, to show how Brazilians are constantly negotiating and re-defining regional representations through multiple layers of differentiation, such as class and 'race' (Brah and Phoenix, 2004). Therefore, I discuss how regional differences are produced and negotiated through 'multi-layered discourses' that embody the often contradictory 'relationality of "race", gender and class' (Brah, 1999: 15).

Thus, using theories of social representations to frame the data drawn from my interviews and fieldwork notes, in this chapter I examine how the element of region interacts with other markers, such as class, 'race' and gender. In the struggle over classification among Brazilians in London, I argue, region and these other markers continuously magnify, compensate for and/or cancel each other out, according to the context (Brah, 1996; Puwar, 2004). As theoretical discussion about the interplay of class, 'race' and gender in the construction of stigmatised representations has already been developed throughout this thesis, in this chapter I focus on empirical notes and interview quotes to illustrate how these markers also interact with region.

I organise this chapter in three sections. I start by analysing how Brazilians in London reproduce and negotiate the main regional stigma in Brazil, that against people from the Northeast, the poorest region of the country. Then, I discuss how Brazilians in London produce another regional stigma, that against the Goiano. The figure of the Goiano is generally referenced by Brazilians in London as the most 'inferior' element of their population. Finally, I discuss how this crystallised figure is produced and negotiated by both Goianos and non-Goianos in London.

Reproducing and negotiating Brazilian regional difference in London

In this section I will discuss the representation of the *Nordestino*, a person from the Northeast of Brazil, in London. As discussed in Chapter 2, the moral hierarchy justifying the domination of white 'civilization' across the globe was intertwined with spatiality, positioning the 'rationality' (mind) of the West and the North against the 'savagery' (body) of the East and the South. This mind and body distinction was constructed through a colonial matrix of power intersected by class,

gender, race, sexuality and religion (Quijano, 2000). Yet, this intersected matrix of power, which racialised spaces and places, has not only been used to distinguish North and South on a global scale. It also works to hierarchize regions within the North and the South (Balibar and Wallerstein, 1991) – as is the case with the ‘under developed’ North(east) and the ‘developed’ South in Brazil. Within this discourse of discrimination against the Nordeste, the figure of the *Baiano*, a person from Bahia, is particularly prominent in São Paulo state. In Rio de Janeiro, the focus is often upon the *Paraíba*, the derogatory term for a person from Paraíba (for whom the proper term is *Paraibano*). When in London, these stigmatised regional differences do not disappear, but rather, are often reproduced in social interactions.

The (classed/racial) un-modern Nordeste (Northern)

In London, jokes about language and accent are often the first way to make reference to regional differences in conversations between Brazilians from different places. People also talk about differences related to food and weather. However, ‘jokes’ regarding accent can become offensive and expose prejudices, especially when they employ the stigma against Nordestinos. A conversation at Manoel’s house provides an interesting example through which to understand how responses to accents express how regions and ‘their’ bodies have been hierarchically categorised in Brazil.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Manoel was born in Santos, a city on the coast of São Paulo state, but he and his brother, Mario, grew up in Salvador, the capital of Bahia. We were at Manoel’s house celebrating Mario’s birthday. Mario was talking to Carlos, a young man from São Jose do Rio Preto, another city in São Paulo state, and two other non-Brazilians. As we spoke about language in Brazil, someone mentioned that it is hard to understand some of the slang and accents within the country since it is so large and full of regional differences. At this point, Carlos began to reproduce the stigmatic representations of the Northeast commonly heard in the South:

We (Mario and Carlos) were watching a TV show from Bahia. The way they talked is so weird, like, what the hell is he saying? But, to be honest, it’s because it’s from Bahia, you know, where there’s just *gente burra* [dumb people] and lazy people. They don’t even know how to speak Portuguese there.

Carlos expressed this as a ‘joke’, but it was equally very aggressively and offensive. The assertions that people from Bahia ‘[talk] weird’ or that ‘they don’t even know to speak Portuguese’ reflect how language is not merely a method of communication, but also a mechanism of power (Harrison, 2014; Bourdieu, 1991). This power acts through forms of mental representations that are acknowledged and noticed as objective representations, through signs and/or symbols (Bourdieu, 1991). These signs and symbols transform language into an agency of power, since they are ‘the audible’ expression of ‘cultural capital’ (Harrison, 2014: 263). As Gai Harrison (2014) highlights, in dialogue with Bourdieu (1986; 1991), ‘cultural capital constitutes the knowledge, credentials and other lifestyle factors acquired by an individual via socialisation and education’. In this sense, ‘a person’s language competencies are an embodied form of cultural capital (a “linguistic capital”)’. This linguistic capital ‘can be converted into economic capital through procuring additional resources such as educational qualifications’. As a consequence, ‘language competencies play an influential role in regulating access to public resources, education, employment and income’ (Harrison, 2014: 262).

Thus, the language one uses is related to one’s relational position in a field or social space (Bourdieu, 1991). Yet, linguistic capital can be subdivided into language, dialects and accents. A person’s accent is the product of history, it is not acquired on a conscious level, but rather developed through a process of socialisation in a specific social context. Thus, the use of different accents in an area can represent individuals’ varied social status, as they are an indicative of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). As a consequence, accents can be the expression of power relations and classifications within a population (Bourdieu, 1991), as when Carlos attributed the supposedly peculiar manner in which Baianos speak to the fact that they are ‘dumb’ and ‘lazy’. His accent, from the South of Brazil - the most economically developed and ‘modern’ region of the country – works as ‘an index of authority’, signalling his hierarchical social standing (Bourdieu, 1977b: 653) in relation to the poor and ‘backwards’ Northeast.

Negotiating the regional stigma

As a regional stigma is a representation, it is also open for negotiation through the intersection of other social markers, as class and ‘race’, the conversation at

Manoel's house illustrates. After Carlos 'joked' about people from Bahia being 'dumb' and not speaking Portuguese properly, I could tell that Mario felt very uncomfortable. As a response, Mario tried to explain to the non-Brazilians why Carlos was saying those things, while at the same time trying to distance himself from the image of Bahians that Carlos produced:

Bahia is a state in Brazil where the majority is black, with around 70 or 60% of the population being Black. It's a state full of lazy people, who don't want to work. You go to a place to fix a small problem in your car, and you ask the worker to help you with this and he turns to you and say: 'No, I'm on my lunch now'. They're lazy people - it's the culture there. It's all about corruption and lazy people. That's why it's full of poverty and misery.

As we can see, Mario's description about Bahia and its people is constructed, initially, through an interweaving region, 'race' and culture. For Mario, Bahia is a non-modern place, with a non-modern people because the majority of its population is black, and they are culturally lazy and corrupt. Here, Mario helps to reproduce the stigma against Bahia by linking culture and 'race'. Thus, despite Mario not liking the joke Carlos made, instead of questioning the stigma against Bahia, he tries to distance himself from it by emphasising that, even though he grew up in Bahia, he was '*not like them*', because he's white and middle-class.

This racialised/classed stigma against Baianos is rooted in colonialism, but it has been re-signified since the Brazilian modernisation period (1930), as discussed in Chapter 2. As Guimarães (2002) notes, Salvador was the capital of the Portuguese America. During the colonial period, Baianos considered themselves 'the only civilised people in Brazil'. As a consequence, the term Baiano was used by the rest of the country, especially by people from the South, as 'a connotation to feminine men, full of manners, the typical urban men – compared to the masculine rural males of the south' (125). Thus, the term had both, at that time, 'characteristics of valorisation and de-valorisation' (126). The first unambiguously negative stigma against Baianos began during the Brazilian First Republic, when the republican elite wanted to distance themselves from the nation's colonial heritage – from their non-modern Luso-Brazilian habits and customs. And, 'there was nothing more "colonial and traditional" than Bahia' (126). The term Baiano then lost its connotation of civility from the colonial period and instead came to signify one who was 'ignorant, servile,

lazy, without entrepreneurial spirit' (132-3), an inferior non-modern body antithetical to the modern South. Thus Baianos represent 'the kind of people that southern Brazilian would not want to be Brazilians' (133), an obstacle to Brazil's quest to become a fully modern nation.

The stigma becomes more intense when people from the North and Northeast migrate to work in the 'developed' South and Southeast. Brazilian migrants from the Northeast are taken as the 'space invaders' (Puwar, 2004) of the 'modern' South, usually blamed by the 'deterioration' of the standard of living of the Southern cities (Zaluar, 1994): they are poor, uneducated migrants doing dirty jobs, exiled from subsistence farming by hunger and drought. As such, the stigma against Nordestino in Brazil is a good example to illustrate how processes of racialisation in the present continue to reproduce and restructure hierarchical relationships constructed in the colonial and post-colonial era (Quijano, 2000). Yet, as it emerges from the intersection of region, 'race' and class, the stigma connected to these 'space invaders' not only opens room for negotiation for those who come from these regions, but it also allows the stigma to transcend the region itself.

Region as a floating signifier: A Paraíba (Nordestino) not from Paraíba

The stigmatised terms Nordestino, Baiano or Paraíba are often used by Brazilians from the South, not only to refer to someone from the Northern part of the country, but to anyone who is seen as having a particular 'un-modern' corporeality, a 'Nordestino way of being'. Rose's comments as she tried to explain to me what a Paraíba looks like highlight that the stigma is not always associated directly to the place itself, but to an 'inferior' corporeality that comes to represent it.

A 'Paraíba', in Rio, is not necessarily a person from Paraíba. A Paraíba is a person without education. It's any person who acts like a Paraíba, who dresses like a Paraíba, who walks like a Paraíba. A Paraíba is the guy who went to Rio to try for a better life there and lives, eats, works and dresses very badly in Rio.

AMJ: Is it the migrant then?

Yes! Exactly, it is the migrant! It's the guy who is completely fucked, who had nothing back home and went to Rio to improve his life!

AMJ: So, don't you think that for English people you're a Paraíba?

No! Because I have education.

As we can see with Rose, the designation of 'Paraíba' is determined by a particular set representations rather than the fact that someone comes from that region itself. Here, regional representations, like 'race', work as a 'floating signifier' (Hall, 1997b), which can be linked to other signifiers in a representation. In this sense, the regional stigma is used and justified through a variety of axes (Brah and Phoenix, 2004) present in its constitution - class and 'race', as well as region, with the emphasis on one or more axes varying according to the context. Rose, for instance, highlighted the economic and cultural aspects of class as part of the definition of a Paraíba, who, for her, is someone who went to Rio 'to try for a better life there' and who 'lives, eats, works, and dresses very badly'. Her account resulted in a linkage between the representation of the 'Paraíba' to that of 'the migrant' in Rio. When I asked her if British people would see her as a 'Paraíba', since she is 'a migrant' in London, she quickly tried to distance herself from that linkage, using the cultural aspect of class - 'having education'. In other words, as the middle classes do not see themselves as 'migrants' (Chapter 7), to them, the 'Paraíba's' in London are those Brazilians whom they classify as 'economic migrants'. However, while the degraded images of the Paraíba and Baiano are reproduced by Brazilians in London, the main signifying figure produced and used by Brazilians in London is the Goiano.

Remaking the regional other: From the Nordestino to the Goiano

In this section, I discuss how Brazilians in London produce and negotiate regional differences with reference to the Central Western state of Goiás. As we will see, the same discourses used to describe the Nordestino in the South are often used to describe the Goiano in London. There are striking similarities not only how often the Goiano is constructed by the middle class as the classed space invader in London, but also in how the Goiano is attributed a specific corporeality and morality which is understood to be more important than whether or not the marked individual comes from the stigmatised region itself.

Producing the regional/classed invader: Goianos invading middle-class 'Brazilwater' (Bayswater)

Historical accounts, especially those made by the Brazilian middle class, tend to describe the presence of Goianos in London as disrupting the 'better living standards' previously held by the Brazilian population. Like Nordestinos in the Brazil South, Goianos in London are considered to be space invaders who came in the late 1990s, deteriorating the 'Brazilian community' in the city with their inferior lifestyle and morals, as reflected in Maria's narrative below.

To be honest, this thing against the Brazilian community goes back to the 1970s, when Bayswater was full of Brazilians. My brother came here at the end of the 70s and when I came here in the 80s. He told me that Bayswater was actually 'Brazilwater', so I should stay away from there. But, I have to tell you something, at that time, people who were here were middle-class, from the South, the great majority was students, who worked here to save money to travel around Europe. We were fewer people. There were more jobs and our [social] profile was very similar. We were more united and helped each other more. Today, if you hear someone speaking Portuguese, you cross the street [laughs]. I witnessed this change happening, when people started coming more because of economic reasons, no longer the middle class from the South who liked travelling. It was around the late 1990s, early 2000s. They came here in high quantity, and they were living and eating very badly, didn't want to study, didn't learn English, bringing the whole family and living and sleeping all in the same room in bad conditions. Firstly it was Mineiros [people from the State of Minas Gerais], then came Goianos en masse, boys and girls. Goiana girls, they work as cleaners or prostitutes and the boys, they are couriers and or deal with fake documents, bank frauds. This is the Brazilian community in London. The great majority do not study at all. It's funny because when I lived in Brazil, I never had this thing against Goianos, because in Sao Paulo we have it against Nordestinos - Baianos - but here in London it's rare to see Nordestinos. There are more Goianos.

Bringing together many issues which were analysed throughout this thesis, Maria's account of the historical changes and the resulting divisions within the 'Brazilian community' in London, which she describes in regional terms that are also classed and gendered, is very interesting for several reasons. Maria, firstly, claimed that even in the early 1980s, when the Brazilian population in London was smaller and more homogenous, composed primarily of middle-class Southerners, there was already a sense that interaction with Brazilians and going to areas considered to be 'the Brazilian community' should be avoided. As Maria notes, her brother told her 'to

stay away' from 'Brazilwater'. Later in her account, she develops a romanticised and contradictory narrative of the past, when the 'Brazilian community' in London was 'more united and helped each other more'. Yet, everything changed with the invasion of people from other classes and regions of Brazil who had different reasons for migrating. This happened, according to Maria, in the late 1990s and early 2000s when 'when people started coming more because of economic reasons', in large numbers, 'living and eating very badly', with no ambition for self-improvement or cultural enhancement. Even though Maria mentioned that in the past there were less Brazilians and more jobs available, which would reduce the necessity for competition among co-nationals, she stresses that the main problem was the arrival of these 'other Brazilians'. 'The other', the Goiano, thus, invaded their homogenous space of solidarity, bringing their inferior morality – practising illegalities (men) and promiscuity (women) - to the Brazilian population in London, resulting in a lack of solidarity among Brazilians.

Another important aspect of Maria's 'historical' reflection on Brazilians in London is the automatic reference that she makes to Nordestinos in Brazil when describing the stigma against Goianos in London. It was very common for Brazilians I spoke to, especially those who are middle-class and from the South, to claim that in Brazil they 'never had this thing against Goianos' and that it emerged from their experiences in London. In Brazil, they had, or were aware of, the prejudice against Nordestino, but, as Maria put it, Nordestinos are 'rare' in London. Thus, the Goiano becomes, in London, the key regional other among Brazilians. In this sense, we can see how the new context and power struggles of migration not only reformulate historical regional prejudices but actually, also, create new ones.

Producing regional/classed taste

In middle-class analogies between Goianos in London and Nordestinos in Brazil, class intersects with region in discussions of taste. Besides being the 'en masse' space invaders in London, as Maria describes, Goianos are also perceived to acquire the same bad taste as Paraibas and Baianos in the South of Brazil, and, like with the images of the Nordestino, these tastes are perceived to be inscribed on the body. Laura comments:

Luckily, we don't have this Sertanejo [countryside man, another way of referring to a Goiano] thing in Rio [laughs]. But, to be honest, I don't like this thing of Paraíba, Baiano, Goiano. I believe this is a Brazilian tendency to pre-judge people. But, the Goiano here would be the equivalent of the Paraíba in Rio. They're that kind of person that makes you feel embarrassed of being Brazilian, because they do everything wrong: listen to bad music, dress very badly, speak wrong. This agonizes me: This person [the Goiano] does not represent me here.

In the continuous process of producing 'the Goiano', in London, as an analogy to the 'Nordestino' in the South of Brazil, the Goiano body is narrated as having the same inferior lifestyle and taste that embarrasses the middle class. Even though Laura claims she does not like the 'Brazilian tendency to pre-judge people', she asserts that the Goiano and Nordestino 'do everything wrong', they 'listen to bad music, dress very badly, speak wrong'. In other words, they are the bodies that carry an 'un-modern', 'non-urban' disgusting lifestyle.

Middle-class production of the crystallised other

As the figure of the Goiano is attributed distinctly classed features, many middle-class accounts of Goianos go beyond the region itself. During interviews or conversations in my fieldwork with middle-class Brazilians, they often emphasised how 'Goianos' had 'invaded' London and that 'you can see and recognise them everywhere'. Yet, as the conversation developed, they often contradictorily claimed that the meaning of 'the Goiano', for them, was not tied to region. Manoel, for example, told me:

There is a strong regional issue here, yes. What the hell: Goianos invaded London!

AMJ: Is there really a lot of them, in London?

Of course there is. I see many of them at the hospital because they work as couriers transporting blood.

AMJ: How do you know they are Goianos?

Firstly, because of the physical aspect: they are a bit chubby, meaty lips, brown, and their accent. They look like Baianos [laughs]. But Baianos I would know how to recognise properly because I grew up there [in Bahia]. To be honest, the Goiano in London is not necessarily someone from Goiás. It's the stereotype of that type of citizen who is

in the lift in a hospital talking on his mobile, speaking Portuguese, with doctor, patient beside him, and he's there, talking bullshit, saying bad words, not behaving himself. This is the Goiano for me and this is the image that I have of Brazilian migrants here: these guys who are here doing dodgy things, tricking the system, taking advantage of people, living in the community.

As we can see with Manoel, at the same time that he affirms that 'Goianos invaded London', and even describes a specific, Nordeste-esque Goiano corporeality, he then opens the definition of 'Goiano' to class, rather than regional, determinants. As was the case with Rose's description of Paraíba in Rio de Janeiro, here, the Goiano is defined by a classed way of being and behaving that is representative of what Manoel, and other middle-class Brazilians in London, define as the 'Brazilian migrant'. As Manoel asserts, the Goiano 'is not necessarily someone from Goiás', but the stereotypical migrant: 'these guys who are here doing dodgy things, tricking the system, taking advantage of people'. In other words, the Goiano, for the middle class, is the crystallised representation of what they consider to be 'the real migrant', a poor, un-educated, tacky, immoral, dirty body 'living within the community' (Chapter 7). Yet, even though Goiano is clearly characterized by class, the working class also manipulates the stigmatized representation of the Goiano.

Working-class production of the crystallised other

The Brazilian working class also use region to distinguish themselves from inferior Brazilian 'others' in London, as discussed in Chapter 8. As the working class does not have enough capital to and value themselves in terms of class, and as many of them live in areas considered to be 'Brazilian areas', those who are not from Goiás tend to blame 'Goianos' – focusing on their allegedly degraded morality – for the absence of 'community'. In Chapter 8, for example, we saw Rita claiming that Goianos are the 'worst of Brazil in London'. During the same conversation, she told me that listening to Goianos on the bus made her 'feel sick'. I asked her why and she answered:

Because I hate goianos! When I arrived in London, in my first month, I met a guy who told me to be careful with Goianos here. After a few months of living here, I saw that he was right. Because I didn't know that Goianos were like that. I learnt this here.

AMJ: Like how?

Bad people. They're the ones doing everything wrong that people say about Brazilians here. They want things to go bad for you, they want to exploit you. When Goianos came to London, they came all together at once, invading London, gathering together and doing just dodgy and dirty things. You can go and ask around. Who are the strippers in London? Goianas! Who are the prostitutes? Goianas! Who are the pimps? Goianos! If you need a fake document? A Goiano will make it and sell it to you. They're all Goianos, they're the criminals who control it all.

AMJ: But do you think there is no one from São Paulo involved in these activities as well?

Of course there might be, but Goianos end up getting the reputation of it because Goianos are a bit tricky, naughty. They'll find a way to manipulate the situation without being in a bad situation themselves. I don't know what it's like in that region, I've never been there. But I would like to go there and see how they live because they are all like that. All the worst cases you hear in London, they're from Goiás.

As we can see with Rita, while for the middle class, the Goiano emerges as the crystallised figure of the Brazilian (economic) migrant living within the community, for the working class they become the crystallised representation of the immoral Brazilian in London. The Goiano is the one to blame for 'everything wrong that people say about Brazilians in London' - they are the strippers, prostitutes, pimps, criminals.

Negotiating the floating signifier

In this section, I show that even though the Goiano becomes a crystallised other for both the middle and working classes, as a signifier figure, the image of the Goiano is being constantly negotiated by Brazilians in London. Both middle-class and working-class Brazilians need to manipulate their definition of the Goiano, for instance, when asked further about their own personal experience with people from Goiás. Moreover, the figure of Goiano is further problematised by those who actually come from Goiás. As we will see, Goianos try to use all resources and social markers that they have available to be mobilised in an attempt to distance themselves from the

stigmatised image, a strategy which often works to reproduce it. Yet, among my respondents, there were also a few reflexive accounts that attempted to question and break with the stigma against the group.

Looking for 'the Goiano'

Brazilians in London across classes tend to contradict themselves when asked to detail direct personal interaction with Goianos. After they would tell me about the Goianos 'everywhere', 'invading' London and doing 'bad things', I asked respondents how many people from Goiás they actually knew. The contradictory answers often emerged in two ways. Firstly, many people said they do not really know anyone from Goiás. Reproducing the stereotype to justify this fact, I heard explanations such as 'I am not illegal, so I don't know them' or 'I never worked in the kitchen [in restaurants], because they're all working in the kitchen'. Yet, when people told me they actually knew Goianos, they quickly (and contradictorily) claimed that the ones they knew do not fit to the stereotype. In these cases, they used other markers to justify the distinction - such as direct references to class or morality.

Laura, for instance, told me she had a friend who was Goiana, but 'she didn't come here to save money. She's a normal girl, educated, with culture, class. We even need to watch ourselves when we're around her because she doesn't like jokes about Goianos'. For Laura her friend's class positioning cancel's the stigma of her region, as she is 'educated', with 'culture' and 'class' - 'she's a normal girl'. Normality here is synonymous with a valued middle-class habitus and lifestyle (Scharff, 2008). Yet, I also heard similar accounts from working-class people, talking about Goiano friends that do not fit with their stereotype of the Goiano. This is exemplified in the conversation that I had with Rita. After she had just told me how much she hated 'Goianos' in London, I asked her if she could direct me to anyone from Goiás that might be willing to be interviewed.

Actually, I believe I only know two people who are in fact from Goiás. There is a guy and a girl that I used to work with. I can put you in touch with them, but, to be honest, I'm not sure if their stories would be interesting for your research because they are from Goiás but they aren't here to trick the system, stealing people like the *Goianada* ['mass of Goianos'] do. They are a different type of Goiano. They're good. They go to church.

As we can see, even though Rita claimed that the majority of Goianos in London are ‘tricking the system and stealing from people’, she only knows two people from Goiás in London. Yet, those two are a ‘different type of Goiano’, they have good values and morals: ‘They go to church’. Thus, having good values is the marker that distinguishes the only two people from Goiás that Rita actually knows from the ‘Goianada’ in London that she imagines.

Distancing from the floating signifier through class and space

Those who are from Goiás are also constantly trying to negotiate the stigma against themselves. Those who have a middle-class background tend to distance themselves from the stigma through social class differences. This was the case with Andrea, a 34 year-old woman, from Goiânia, the capital city. When I met Andrea, she had been living in London for only one year. She was studying English and working as a waitress. We started talking at ‘Clube do Choro’, the Brazilian monthly music event discussed in Chapter 7, where she was celebrating her friend’s birthday. After telling her that I was doing my PhD in London, researching the different experiences of Brazilians here, one of the first questions that I asked her was where she was from. She said she was from Goiás. And, from that moment on, without me asking anything else, she quickly began to bring a series of ‘but’s into the conversation as she tried to distance herself from the stigma against Goianos.

Goiano has this image of being bad here, but when I say I’m Goiana people think I’m *Paulista* [from São Paulo]. No one thinks I’m from Goiás. So when they ask me where I’m from and I say Goiás, they say: ‘But you don’t look like a Goiana! You can’t be Goiana, you’re too nice...’ It’s not judging them here [Goianos in London], but they aren’t able to expand their minds. Live and work only with Brazilians, socialize only with Brazilians.

AMJ: But aren’t you Goiana?

Yes, I am. But, this Goiano who’s not honest here is the one from the Novo Mundo [‘New World’, a neighbourhood of Goiânia). This is the slum of the city. They are the typical Brazilian here: work as couriers, they wear Nike Shox, fake gold watch, necklace, Hollister shirt, and the girls are all wearing that dress so tight it seems to be glued to their body, high-heels, a lot of make-up, long-hair down to the waist, strapless top, impeccably well done nails, and a small bag hanging on

the side. But when they open their mouth you feel like vomiting [because of the content of what they say]. So, it's the poor people, from the periphery.

By identifying class differences - identifying the neighbourhood the 'real' Goianos in London and their nauseating taste and interests, in direct contrast to her own 'Paulista' appearance and 'nice' demeanor - she is trying to re-signify the 'floating signifier' Goiano. In so doing, Andrea reproduces the very stigma against Goianos she attempts to escape, but with a 'class cut'. Even though she is Goiana, it is the poor person from the slums of Goiânia' who becomes the 'dishonest' badly dressed and badly behaved Goiano in London.

Distancing from the floating signifier through morality and space

Those who come from a working-class background from Goiás are not able to use class, marked by their neighbourhood in Goiânia, for instance, as a distinctive mark. Yet, they still try to distance themselves from the stigma against Goianos and to create a position of value for themselves in London through other markers they have available. This is the case with Amanda, a 31 year-old woman, also from Goiânia, but from a working-class background. Interviewing Amanda, I asked her how she feels when she hears Brazilians saying things about Goianos in London.

I don't like it, you know. It's very bad. Whenever you say you are from Goiás, people make a joke. Or you're in a conversation and some people there don't know you are from Goiás, then they say something bad about it. It's very embarrassing, but then I need to defend myself. But the Goianos that people talk about here are the ones from the countryside - the country boy who wears boots, *caipiras* [rednecks] who come from the middle of nowhere. They are the ones here doing frauds in banks, exploiting people, dealing drugs. I don't know any Goianense [a person from Goiânia] here who is bad.

As we can see, even though Amanda needs to constantly deal with the stigmatised representation of Goianos in her everyday life, making her feel devalued, embarrassed and defensive, she also helps to reproduce the stigma by trying re-signify the 'bad' Goiano. As Amanda comes from a working-class family from the urban periphery of Goiânia, migrated to London with the initial idea of working to save money, and now lives in Willesden Junction, she cannot use the markers of class that

Andrea uses to distinguish herself. Yet, space still works for her as a marker of distinction. After complaining about the stigma, Andrea then claims that the Goianos ‘that people talk about’ in London, the ones ‘doing frauds in banks, exploiting people [and] dealing drugs’, are from the countryside of the state, the ‘caipiras who come from the middle of nowhere’. Andrea, as someone who lives in the capital of the state, distinguishes from these ‘country boys’ - she does not know anyone from Goiânia ‘who is bad’ – at the same time that she legitimises the same stigma that places her in embarrassing situations.

Questioning the floating signifier: ‘Ain’t I Goiana?’

While, as we have seen, both middle-class and working-class Goianos defend themselves from regional stigma by identifying its rightful targets, some reflexive accounts of regional discrimination in London avoid inferiorizing ‘others’. Some Goiano respondents, like Elza, instead, use their own position as Goiano in London to question the representation:

Usually Paulistas don’t like us. I don’t know why they mock Goianos so much here. They keep saying we talk like *roceiros* [rednecks], but even Mineiros here, who also have a countryside accent, mock us. I believe that people who talk badly about Goianos are jealous of us [laughs]. When they start talking badly about Goianos, I tell them, ‘Don’t worry, you won’t go to Goiás that easily. We require passport to enter’ [laugh]. They might find the way we pronounce the ‘R’ funny. It’s all a joke, but I get angry sometimes, depending on what they say. It’s not only a joke, it’s offensive. I think people generalise too much. That’s the problem, they generalise to try to feel better than others. They say: ‘Goianos are like this, Goianos do that’... They say a lot of things about Goianos, but I’m not like that, and I’m Goiana, ain’t I?!

As we can see, Elza first tries to take the stigma against Goiano as a regional joke, rooted in accent, since ‘[Paulistas] find the way we pronounce the ‘R’ funny’. However, she also notes that even Mineiros, who also have ‘a countryside accent’, mock Goianos. Thus, although she tried to frame it as a light-hearted matter, Elza then reflects and say it is not only a joke, ‘it is offensive’. It is offensive because this ‘joke’ produces hierarchical relations based on generalisations; as she puts it, people ‘generalise to try to feel better than others’. In order to break such generalisations, Elza then uses her own position as a Goiana to challenge what people say: ‘I’m not like that, and I’m Goiana, ain’t I?’

Conclusion

In this chapter I showed how regionalism is taken as a primary marker in the materialization of the (inferior) Brazilian migrant body in London, for both middle- and working-class Brazilians. The Goiano, the regionally ‘inferior’ Brazilian in the city, my data showed, was also constructed through the Cartesian dichotomy between ‘body and mind’. Goianos are taken as body- morally ‘dirty’, rude, ignorant and poor. I argued that ‘the Goiano’ in London acquires the same features used by Southerners to racialise Nordestinos in Brazil – the ‘uncivilized’ northern bodies who debase the ‘civilised’ South with their presence. Narratives of the ‘Nordestinos’ do not disappear from Brazilians’ vocabulary upon migration, however, as they claim there are not many Nordestinos in London, the same hierarchical features are used to distinguish the ‘Goiano’.

Goianos represents, for the middle class, the (classed) ‘space invader’, narrated as invading London in the early 2000s. They are the ‘mass’ that infected the morally clean and ‘united’ Brazilian community, with their immoral and inferior bodies and lifestyles. They are understood as a mass, the Goianada, as they are so readily recognisable through their debased ‘appearance’ (bad clothes, bad taste, bad living, bad accent) (Lawler, 2005). Thus, for the middle class, the Goiano is characterized through classed features and becomes the crystallised image of the Brazilian migrant worker living within the community, a body that does not display valued ‘middle-classness’. As a result, the representation of the Goiano transcends the regionalism itself, applying to anybody who defines what the middle class ‘is’ by opposition. Within this logic, the Goiano is the consecrated materiality of the ‘other’, used not only to reconstruct class boundaries, but also to reassure the middle class that despite their precarious situation in London, they are still valued, moral, distinct: they are still mind and not body, like ‘the Goiano’.

On the other hand, for the working class, the Goiano becomes a marker used to deal with the classed stigmatised representation of ‘the Brazilian migrant worker’. The Goiano is the one to blame for everything bad that people say about Brazilians in London. For the working class, ‘Goiano’ also transcends the region itself. Therefore, this specific regional label is described in an exaggerated and ambiguous manner, but, as such, is also open for manipulation. Firstly, as we saw in Chapter 4, quantitative

studies of Brazilians in London (Evans et al, 2011) have shown not only that they do not come from the poorest strata of the Brazil's population; the majority is well educated and from Southern and Southeastern states, such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul, and not from Goiás, as people tend to say. Thus, the assertions that Brazilian migrants about a 'Goiano invasion' are not necessarily significant from a quantitative point of view.

Secondly, the Goiano, as a signifier figure (Hall, 1997b), is constantly manipulated by Brazilians in London, subject to processes of redefinition and appropriation in different moments. Both middle-class and working-class Brazilians need to contradictorily negotiate their definition of Goiano when asked further about their own personal experience with people from Goiás, as they often claim they do not actually know any Goianos, or the ones they know are 'good people'. Those who come from Goiás, on the other hand, are constantly forced to engage with the stigmatised representation of the Goiano through narratives that produce contradiction and anxiety. Often, Goianos in London help to reproduce the stigma against the group by defining the 'bad' Goiano, and then distancing themselves from that image through whatever capital they can mobilise. Therefore, by adding the element of region to the discussion developed throughout this thesis, this chapter adds another dimension that problematises the assumption that transnational migration automatically result in the constitution of ethnic community, based on ethnic solidarities. Brazilians in London, rather, embed themselves in struggles over classifications which often result in divisions among the population through regionalisms.

Chapter 10

Conclusion

In this thesis I have argued that difference and processes of social differentiation are important for understanding how Brazilians live, make and reinvent their lives in London. The relationship between the (re)production of difference and international migration has been neglected in migration studies, in which a presumed ‘ethnic solidarity’ among migrants has often been celebrated far too easily (Light and Gold, 2000). Analysing the lived experiences and narratives of Brazilian migrants in London, my thesis makes important empirical and theoretical contributions to studies of migration by demonstrating that differences are constantly being re-created and negotiated in the everyday making of the global world. It is through the production of ‘cultural’, classed, and regional differences - which are shaped in important ways by gender, ‘race’, immigration status and colonial legacies - that Brazilians assert affinities with, and repudiations of, particular bodies and city spaces in London. More specifically, this thesis offers an in-depth ethnographic approach towards understanding the specific contours of difference to the study of Brazilian migration.

This thesis, thus, responds to calls among scholars to investigate migration processes beyond of the assumed production of ‘ethnic commonalities’ (see Bhabra, 2013; Amin, 2012; Kosnick, 2009; Grosfoguel, 2014). I worked with a range of theoretical traditions, including feminism and post- and decolonial studies, to examine Brazilian migratory experiences in relation to colonial legacies and the multiple distinctions that exist among and between migrants. Drawing on feminist discussions of multiple forms of social differentiation (Brah, 1996; see also Yuval-Davies, 2006), the Latin American de-colonial concept of ‘coloniality of power’ (Quijano, 2000) as well as a more flexible and multi-varied Bourdieusian approach (Puwar, 2004; see also Silva, 2016) that takes into account social forces such as the state (Bourdieu, 2014), class domination (*ibid.*, 1984) and the production of power relations through social practices of distinction (*ibid.*, 1990a), I have been able to empirically examine the complex and nuanced ways in which Brazilians in London understand, manage and, sometimes, contest boundaries of social difference. In this concluding chapter, I gather the principal themes and arguments of my research in relation to my original

research questions, outlining the conceptual and empirical findings of the study. I then point to some pathways for future research.

Brazilians' production and negotiation of difference in London

With a focus on how the continuous production and negotiation of difference affects the way migrants live in a global world I explored the diverse journeys of Brazilians, including the distinct ways in which they forge lives in London. Examining both the sending and receiving contexts, focusing on the lives of Brazilians before migrating, as well as processes of displacement and working and living conditions in London, my study revealed that the London's Brazilian population is diverse, comprised of individuals from different class backgrounds, regions, and genders, which shape both their reasons for migrating, as well as how their journeys are performed. As a consequence, I have argued that we need to understand migrant journeys as constant manoeuvring. This allows us to move beyond homogenising categories of migration, such as the transnational migrant 'flowing' from the global south in pursuit of economic opportunities, and the 'lifestyle migrant' moving from the global north in pursuit of a better quality of life. My data showed that even for Brazilians who cited economic factors as, in part, driving their decisions to migrate, quality of life, including the negotiation of the work-life balance and freedom from prior constraints, was also important; problematising the presumed dichotomy in which lifestyle migrants from the Global North are defined in opposition to the transnational migrants from the Global South. Yet, my data also revealed that relations of power at the global level – deeply imprinted with colonial legacies – play an important role in the production of the desire to travel to London for an improvement in life/lifestyle. Brazilians in London, I have argued, often believe that moving to the city will allow them to achieve the material and cultural ideals of the Western 'modern' lifestyle impossible to obtain in Brazil, which is seen as 'not fully modern'.

My study revealed that migrants' journeys towards a 'modern' lifestyle, as well as how their journeys are navigated, are facilitated and limited in distinct ways by markers of class, gender, nationality and documental status. Thus, I propose that in

order to further problematise how these journeys are differentially developed and negotiated, we need to understand the factors that shape them. Giving a structural dimension to the concept of journey (Knowles, 2014), I argue, provides us with an analytical tool with which we can examine the connection of the micro and macro aspects of the everyday social production of the world on the move. We can see how people differently negotiate their lives according to the desires and resources that they have to play with in particular structural contexts. Drawing on my empirical analysis, I suggested that journeys are highly dependent on two sets of factors: firstly, on the economic, political and cultural contexts in which they are performed, what Bourdieu (2014) would call the 'repertoire' or space of possibilities offered by the system; and secondly, on the resources and attributes that differently configure an individual's life chances, constructed in the intersections of multiple social markers of distinction, including class, gender, sexuality, 'race' and nationality. These social markers not only differently shape their journeys by opening up or closing down their (structural) space of possibilities, but they also produce differential subjective and experiential responses to their journeys, such as their desires and decisions to move along, stay or return.

More significantly, my study has explored how different social markers also affect the ways in which Brazilians in London produce attachments and exclusions that are both embodied and spatial. Although some studies on Brazilian populations in US cities have reported conflicts and pronounced spatial and classed divisions (Margolis, 2003; Martes, 2003; Oliveira, 2003), the majority of the literature on Brazilians in the late 1990s and 2000s (Soares, 2003; Goza, 2003; Assis et al, 2010) takes solidarity among migrants of the same national group as a given and not as an object of research. As a consequence, studies overlook the conflicts, competition and processes of social differentiation in their analysis often presented a homogenous 'Brazilian community'. Thus, these issues became a central focus of my study, reflecting my interest in exploring how different social markers affect how Brazilians speak of, and interact with, each other and with other national, 'racial' and ethnic groups in London. I also explored how they negotiate difference through the ways in which they inhabit and classify places in London. My research revealed that instead of speaking about being part of a Brazilian community, processes of social differentiation and racialisation affect how Brazilians relate to each other and to city spaces. Six important elements of social differentiation appeared as relevant in my

data: 'culture', class and region, often intersected with gender, 'race' and documental status.

My data showed how documental status produced social differentiation. Other studies (Roggeveen and Meeteren, 2013, Oliveira, 2003; Resende, 2003), have argued that there is a classed division among the Brazilian population between irregular migrants, who belong to the lower classes, and the regular migrants, who belong to the middle-class. Even though Brazilians in London tend to reproduce a similar classed/legal distinction in their narratives, my data showed that this distinction is not straightforward. I have argued that migrant 'illegality' is stigmatised, criminalised and naturalised as a matter of individual morality within a neoliberal context. When empirically examining the divide between 'legal' and 'illegal', I highlighted that '(il)legality' is, however, strongly dependent upon structural constraints that open opportunities for some and foreclose them for others. Migrants, including middle-class Brazilians, are constantly navigating within a blurred space of possibilities between the 'illegal'/'legal', often using the 'illegal' means to keep their 'legal' situation. Accordingly, I have argued that 'legality', and 'citizenship', are more than simple legal categories; they are blurry concepts shaped by racialised and classed representations.

As a consequence, Brazilians in London tend to produce social differentiations and speak of divisions among the population when trying to distance themselves from the stigmatised representation of 'the illegal'. They often do this by contradictorily intersecting 'illegality' with class and/or region, depending on the markers that they used to legitimate themselves. Moreover, in dialogue with border scholars (Mezzadra, 2005; De Genova, 2005), my study has also revealed that the blurred divide 'legal' and 'illegal' results in a differential (racialised and classed) inclusion which affects, both at a material and symbolic level, how Brazilians live and structure their lives in London. Such differential inclusion often results in situations of exploitation and conflict among Brazilians, in which they speak not of 'ethnic solidarity', but of its conspicuous absence.

Another key empirical contribution of my study, is my examination of the role that racialised representations of 'culture' play in how Brazilians both forge and break ties of affinity with specific bodies and places. While my findings concur with other studies that Brazilians are negative about co-nationals: drawing on post- and de-colonial studies, I have argued that these studies (Bhambra, 2013; Grosfoguel, 2011),

overlook how the categories that their participants avoid identifying with – ‘Brazilian’, ‘migrant’, and ‘community’ – are loaded with racialised stigma. Focusing on body and space, I revealed that Brazilians in London are constantly negotiating these representations as a means of valuing themselves in the host society. Instead of affiliating themselves with specific categories in ways that result in a perceived ‘cultural commonality’, they use strategies of ‘assimilation’ and distancing to constantly reinvent and contradictorily negotiate cultural (as well as ‘racial’, ethnic, and gendered) representations when speaking of or interacting with Brazilians and other national, ethnic or ‘racial’ groups and ‘their places’. This means drawing closer to the dominant culture and distancing themselves from their ‘Brazilianess’ as well as from Brazilian and other racialised migrant places in London. Yet, they also develop strategies of subversion and/or recognition when dealing with direct prejudice, or in contexts in which ‘being Brazilian’ takes a positive value. Therefore, my data highlighted that the constitution of ties based on commonalities is contextual and shaped by historical representations that have racialised certain bodies and spaces as inferior and uncivilised.

The examination of the ways in which Brazilians distance themselves from the categories of ‘migrant’ and ‘community’ led to another important empirical contribution from my research. Such categories, I have argued, are not only shaped by ‘racial’ and ethnic representation, but also by class. My data showed that social class, intersected with gender, plays a significant role in how Brazilians produce and negotiate relations of affinity and exclusion. Firstly, my study revealed that, instead of speaking of being part of a ‘Brazilian community’, the Brazilian middle class continually seek to reinforce classed divisions. They do so by constructing their journey to London as being part of a ‘cosmopolitan experience’ (Hannerz, 1990), in which migration is conceptualised as an investment in cultural capital, characterized by an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences. In so doing, they distance themselves from classed representations of the ‘Brazilian migrant’, who migrated for economic reasons, is ‘illegal’, performs ‘unskilled’ labour and interacts only with Brazilians because they are dependent upon ‘the Brazilian community’. In this sense, differences of class are central to how the Brazilian middle class differently occupies, moves within and uses city spaces to produce class distinctions for themselves. These findings resonate with research on Brazilians in the US (Oliveira, 2003; Resende, 2003), yet, in contrast to these studies,

which describe a direct spatial and classed division based on the narratives of middle-class Brazilians who are small entrepreneurs and measured by migrants' positions in the labour market, I suggested that a more complex scenario was at work for the middle class in London.

My study revealed that migration not only results in new class exposures among Brazilians but also in the occupational/economic downgrade of some of the Brazilian middle class. This therefore blurs class boundaries. As a consequence, middle-class Brazilians are constantly re-making and negotiating class boundaries by invoking every marker – economic, cultural, moral and spatial - that can allow them to define themselves as a distinguished (cosmopolitan) Brazilian group in London. For those who experienced such an occupational downgrade, who I refer to as 'precarious cosmopolitans', the emphasis on the cultural and moral aspects of class formation (expressed through body and space) become central in processes of re-making class boundaries. As the class markers used by the middle class to distinguish themselves need to be constantly manipulated according to their position in the social space, the construction of 'the Brazilian migrant', as well as 'the community' is not only often contradictory, but also open to negotiation.

My research shows that social class is important for how the working class discuss divisions and conflicts within the migrant Brazilian population. I have argued that a series of contradictions and manipulations are also present when they dialogue with stigmatised representations of 'the migrant' and 'the community'. My data revealed that the Brazilian working class do not have the material and cultural conditions to claim they are cosmopolitans or students rather than migrants. Yet, they nevertheless try to distance themselves from the classed representation of 'the migrant worker' living within 'the community'. They often do so by claiming they do not have 'the migrant mentality', which would mean living and relating only with Brazilians, and by denying that there is such a thing as a 'Brazilian community' in London. The non-existence of a community is attributed to the perceived lack of solidarity among Brazilians. My data shows that the reasons given to explain this oscillate; nevertheless, the main mechanism of explanation is to blame 'others', resulting in narratives of divisions. The Brazilian working class also contradictorily produce, reinvent and negotiate social differentiations through other social markers, such as 'culture' and region. Yet, my study demonstrated that even though the working class does not necessarily discuss the formation of a 'working class

community', in specific contexts in which they compare themselves to the middle class, social acts of class affinity and solidarity emerge from within a fractured and diverse working-class group.

In this continuous contextual and selective production of affiliations and disassociations among Brazilians, my study also revealed how Brazilian regionalisms are re-invented and re-inscribed in the British context. This also results in divisions among the population. Based on my data, I have argued that, for both middle and working-class Brazilians, region is taken as the main marker of migrant inferiority in London, embodied in the figure of the Goiano. The image of the Goiano is produced in London in a very similar manner to the way in which the figure of the Nordesteño is racialised in the South of Brazil. As is the case with Nordesteños in the South, my data has shown that the representation of the Goiano is constructed through different layers of differentiation, by both Goianos and non-Goianos. In this sense, I have argued that 'Goiano' is a floating signifier, a representation of the 'other' continually cultivated and dependant on the interactional context as well as on other markers of differentiation, such as class, 'race' and gender.

Thus, my work provides important empirical evidence that the world on the move does not necessarily result in an automatic constitution of ethnic commonality abroad. Rather, people are constantly producing, reinventing and negotiating differences in new contexts. The experience of migration is full of contradictions, constraints and anxieties that people must constantly manage, in dialogue with historically entrenched social markers and representations of valued and non-valued ways of being in the world. The ways in which people interact with bodies and spaces in their new transnational social landscapes are constrained by the emotional politics of migration – itself embedded in the politics of class, gender and 'race' – which constantly generates doubt, unease and contradiction.

From the largely empirical contributions outlined above, my study makes some key theoretical interventions to the body of work that seeks to understand the everyday production of the globalized world through migration. Importantly, my arguments explore the experiences of migrants in the Global North and highlights some important theoretical approaches to their analysis. My study reveals that migration needs to be theoretically framed as a dynamic and diverse process, composed of a multiplicity of people and journeys - which are also structurally shaped.

My study also highlights how the ways in which people relate to each other are equally dynamic and often mediated by racialised and classed representations of ‘the migrant worker’, ‘the illegal’, ‘the cosmopolitan’ and ‘the community’, however blurred these categories become when empirically analysed. Being labelled as ‘legal’ or ‘illegal’, as an ‘economic migrant’, a ‘cosmopolitan’, an ‘expat’ or a ‘lifestyle migrant’, I argue, is part of a system of differential social judgments and opportunities, which is consecrated by the state and, often, by the social sciences. Even though studies on cosmopolitanism, for instance, have argued that the intellectual and aesthetic ‘open’ attitude towards the world and the ‘other’, seen to define the contemporary cosmopolitan, is not limited to the upper-classes of the Western world (see Werbner, 2006), my data revealed how such an attitude is not detached from the material conditions in which people’s lives are embedded. Not everyone has the material and symbolic means to be (seen as) a cosmopolitan. Being a cosmopolitan or an expat, my work showed, allowed middle class Brazilians to create racialised and classed distinctions in opposition to the image of the ‘economic migrant’. Within this logic, the community is also framed as a racialised and classed category, since it is the place where the migrant lives in the developed world.

Taking the findings above into account, I argue, enables us to build a theoretical bridge between migration and de-colonial studies in order to understand the production of the global, mobile world and how its categories of analysis are often loaded with racialised and classed stigma. Migration studies, I suggest, needs to submit itself to a process of “delegitimising” what is legitimate, of what goes without saying’, ‘in the sense of objectifying what is most deeply rooted within us, what is most deeply hidden in our social unconscious’, breaking, then, with ‘the doxa’ of the migrant (Sayad, 2004: 281). This is possible through de-colonising the current global world and its categories, which means reflexively taking into account how categories of difference in the present still reproduce and restructure hierarchical relationships constructed in the colonial and post-colonial eras. Social scientists can then analyse how people live in a world on the move, challenging racialised and classed frameworks and categories, instead of naturalising and legitimising them.

Pathways for future research

My research developed a specific case study of the production and negotiation of difference within a particular group, Brazilians living in London. Yet it provides some important insights for the study of difference and migration more broadly, and illuminates a number of potential areas for research in a wider context. I briefly outline below some of the ways in which the insights from my study could be taken further.

First, Brazilians are a small part of a vast array of migrant groups in London, groups with different internal compositions and historical relationships with the U.K. Future research focusing on how other migrant groups re-signify difference in London would allow for a wider, comparative approach. Future researchers could further highlight the contextual and mobile features of the production and negotiation of solidarities and/or exclusion among migrant groups. They could also focus on other markers of differentiation important to the production of divisions among the migrant population, such as sexuality. This leads us to a second avenue for future research.

During my fieldwork markers of sexuality and 'race', intersecting with class, appeared as important markers in constituting divisions among Brazilians in London. These social markers deserve further in-depth research and analysis. How Brazilians negotiate 'race' in London, as many of them consider themselves white in Brazil, but in London the local population does not see them as such, deserves further exploration. Secondly, sexuality, particularly examining its role in motivating some Brazilians to migrate, as well as how LGBT Brazilians in London also speak of divisions among themselves in classed terms, could be further investigated. These situations were constantly present during my fieldwork, but were unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis. Thirdly, new studies on Brazilian emigration could also take into account the experience of highly-skilled Brazilians who work for multinational companies. Studies on Brazilian emigration tend to not take into account the mobile experiences of this group, focusing instead on the experiences of those who perform so-called unskilled labour.

Conclusion

My thesis reveals how transnational migration, far from nullifying pre-migration processes of differentiation, creates new social relations and contexts within which difference is reinvented, produced and negotiated, underpinning how people live their lives, and furthermore, how they relate to bodies and spaces. A migrant is not an actor flowing through networks and building relationships of reciprocity and solidarity based on 'ethnic commonalities'. There are many categories of social actors moving through and composing the world on the move. A world of movement brings together a plurality and diversity of experiences. When bumping into each other, co-nationals will not necessarily automatically share a sense of collective belonging. A consideration of how migrants both create and are subject to processes of differentiation in their everyday lives and in the spaces they inhabit has wider scope, transcending migration studies itself, and transcending the lives of the Brazilians in London.

Appendix: Short social biography of interviewees

Name	Age	State of Origin in Brazil	Gender (M/F)	Level of Education	Year of Arrival in London	Occupation (First / Current job in London)
Amanda	31	Goías	F	Ensino Médio*	2005	Cleaner / baby-sitter
Elza	30	Goías	F	Ensino Médio	2007	Cleaner / Cleaner
Roberto	24	Minas Gerais	M	Ensino Médio	2008	Cleaner / bricklayer
Rose	38	Rio de Janeiro	F	Ensino Superior**	2007	Cleaner / waitress
Gustavo	35	São Paulo	M	Ensino Médio	2003	Cleaner / Chef
Mauro	36	São Paulo	M	Ensino Superior	2007	Bartender / Salesmen
Adriano	44	São Paulo	M	Ensino Médio	2004	Cleaner / Bricklayer
Ernesto	39	São Paulo	M	Ensino Médio	2008	Kitchen Porter / Waiter
Priscila	36	Pernambuco	F	Ensino Superior	2007	Waitress / cleaner
Rachel	42	Mato Grosso do Sul	F	Ensino Superior	1999	Cleaner / unemployed
Guilherme	35	São Paulo	M	Ensino Médio	2007	Kitchen Porter / Chef
Laura	38	Rio de Janeiro	F	Ensino Superior	2007	Glass collector / Lawyer
Ana	36	Minas Gerais	F	Ensino Superior	2005	Cleaner / Primary school teacher
Larissa	49	Rio Grande do Sul	F	Ensino Superior	1994	Sex worker / Charity worker
Barbara	35	Rio de Janeiro	F	Ensino superior	2009	Baby-sitter / make up artist
Maria	54	São Paulo	F	Ensino Superior	1985	Baby-sitter / Charity worker
Jairo	31	Rio de Janeiro	M	Ensino Superior	2009	Waiter / Master student
Tiago	49	Bahia	M	Ensino Médio	1999	Hairdresser / Owner of a Beauty salon
Michel	48	São Paulo	M	Ensino Superior	2001	Cleaner / Marketing
Manoel	39	São Paulo	M	Ensino Superior	2003	Factory worker / Informational Technology worker
Fernando	39	Paraná	M	Ensino superior	2004	Kitchen Porter / Marketing
Milton	37	São Paulo	M	Ensino superior	2004	Kitchen porter / e-commerce
Carla	40	Rio de Janeiro	F	Ensino superior	2011	Lawyer

Karine	35	São Paulo	F	Ensino superior	2012	Medical doctor
Diana	21	Paraná	F	Ensino superior	2011	BA student
Cora	34	Rio Grande do Sul	F	Ensino superior	2012	PhD student
Leonardo	30	São Paulo	M	Ensino superior	2012	Marketing
Jacob	49	Rio Grande do Sul	M	Ensino superior	2008	Informational Technology Worker
Marcos	40	São Paulo	M	Ensino superior	2004	Marketing
Elisa	36	Rio de Janeiro	F	Ensino superior	2009	Creative industry
Bruna	24	São Paulo	F	Ensino superior	2013	Masters student
Bruno	37	Pernambuco	M	Ensino superior	2009	Lawyer
Anderson	39	Minas Gerais	M	Ensino superior	2007	Informational Technology Worker

**Ensino Médio equivalent to GCSE level*

***Ensino Superior equivalent to undergraduate degree level*

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