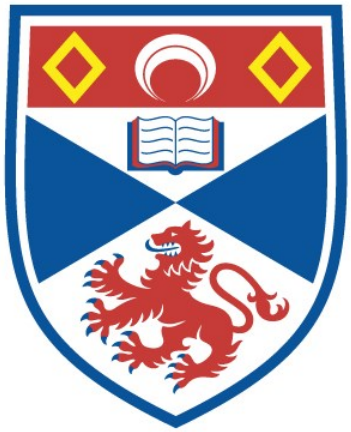
Ideological migration: lifestyle, belonging and the geographical imagination between London and São Paulo

Daniel Jacob Robins

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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Related Publications:

Imagining London: the role of the geographical imagination in migrant subjectivity and decision-making, December 2018, *Area.* https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12519

Lifestyle migration from the Global South to the Global North: Individualism, social class, and freedom in a centre of "superdiversity', June 2019, *Population, Space and Place*. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2236

Abstract

This thesis uses Brazilian migration to London to explore the ideological aspects of people's motivations for and experiences of mobility and immobility. It stems from nine months of fieldwork consisting of sixty-three recorded interviews as well as participant observation and unrecorded interviews in London and São Paulo. The thesis seeks to critically examine the concept of lifestyle migration by applying it to Brazilian migration to London. Lifestyle migration is a term traditionally associated with migration from or within the Global North but can also be usefully applied to middle-class migration from the Global South. For the migrants themselves, lifestyle migration appears to be informed by an individualist ideology and is thus related to their geographical imaginary of London as a 'world city' and themselves as 'world citizens'. In their rhetoric and practices as migrants, this imaginary is contrasted with the collectivist imaginary of London's transnational Brazilian 'community'. The thesis also employs the ideas of 'lifestyle' and the geographical imagination to those who remain in Brazil to explore how immobility is rationalised and experienced by those with the socio-economic means to emigrate but who do not. The thesis ultimately frames class as a key marker of difference amongst migrants. It thus problematises the idea of homogeneity amongst migrant diasporas, showing how social class, racial and regional disparities in Brazil are reinterpreted through migration. Finally, it reveals how the rise of populism has complicated people's experience of immobility as belonging, leading to contested understandings of national identity and citizenship for those who remain in Brazil.

Chapter One: Introduction

1. Brazilian mobility and immobility: research questions

This thesis focuses on the phenomenon of the growing numbers of middle-class Brazilians who either intend to emigrate or have already done so. To put this into context, a recent poll found that 43% of those interviewed in Brazil expressed a desire to leave (Datafolha 2018). In fact, rates of Brazilian emigration have been steadily increasing (see figure 1.).

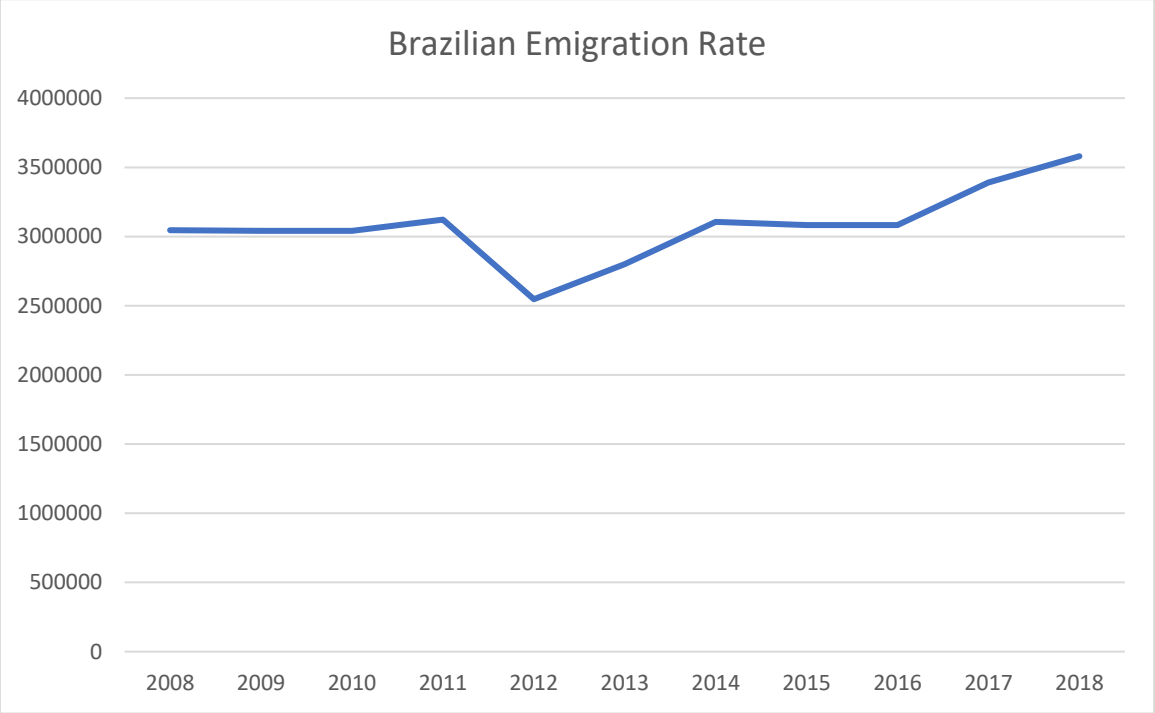

Figure 1. Total rate of Brazilian emigration. From Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brazil. Available at: www.itamaraty.gov.br/en/

The most popular destination has always been the United States, but Europe has long been a close second (see figure 2) with the UK and Portugal competing for first place as the most popular destination within Europe and the UK the most popular in recent years (see figure 3). Within the UK, London is the most popular destination by far (Evans, 2011). Traditionally, Brazilians who migrate to London have hailed from the middle-class of the country (Margolis 2013; Torresan 1994).

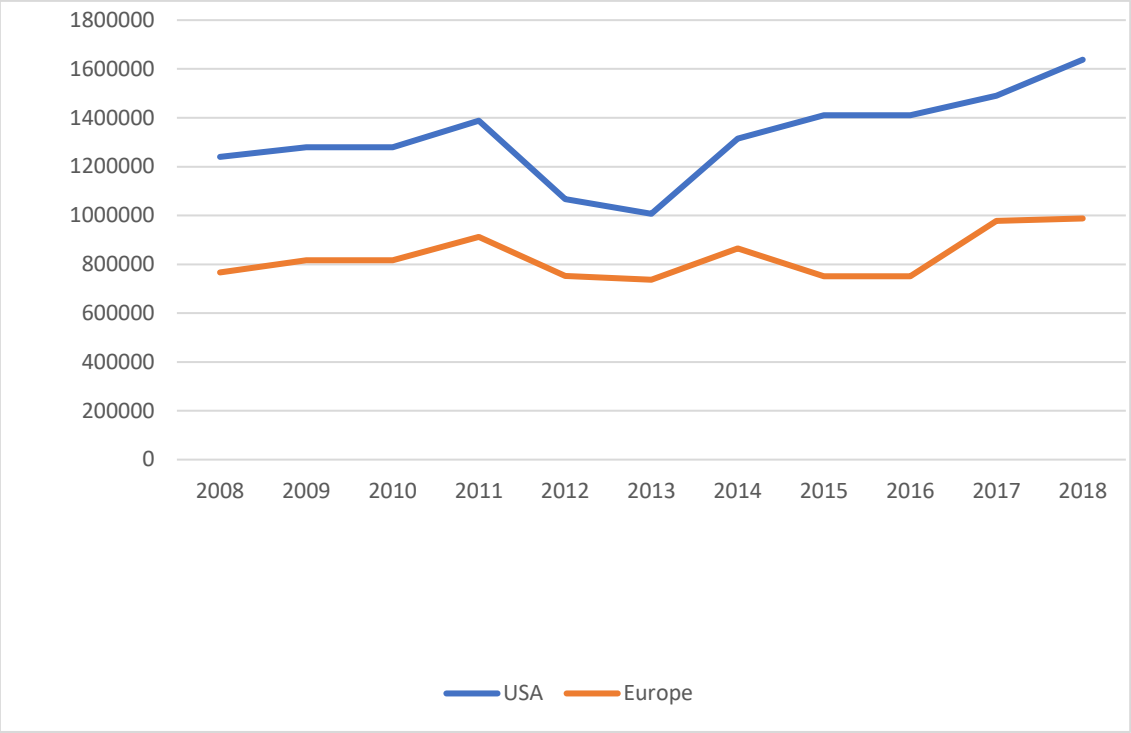

Figure 2. Comparison of Brazilian emigration to Europe and USA. From Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brazil. Available at: www.itamaraty.gov.br/en/

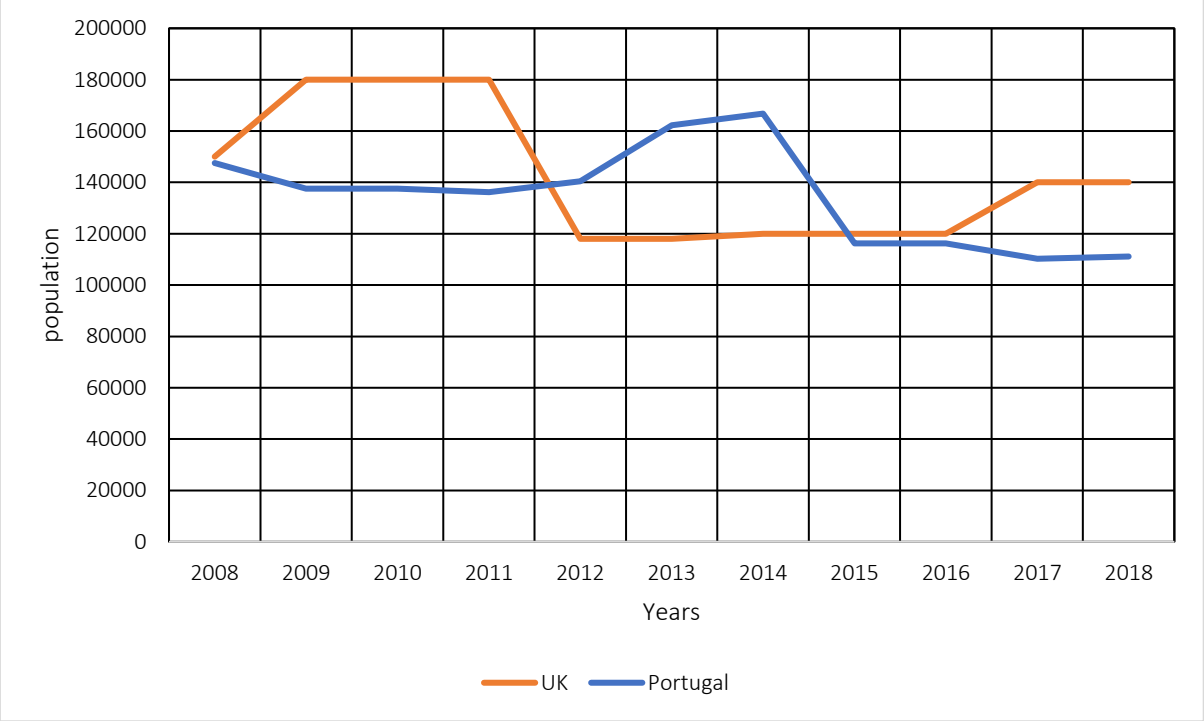

Figure 3. Comparison of estimated Brazilian population of UK and Portugal. From Ministry of foreign Affairs, Brazil. Available at: www.itamaraty.gov.br/en/

Although the nineties witnessed an increase in members of the Brazilian lower middle and even working classes migrating internationally, the trend, as far as the UK goes, seems to be moving back towards the middle-classes once more (Robins 2014). Indeed, the number of middle-class Brazilians emigrating internationally is increasing overall (Margolis 2013).

This thesis uses the phenomenon of middle-class Brazilian emigration to engage with some important questions surrounding not only migration theory but also Brazilian cultural studies. In the process, geographies of class, ideology and national identity will be explored. It takes as its starting point two key questions inspired by what Malmberg (1997) claims is an 'immobility paradox'. The first question is straight forward: why do people move from Brazil to London? As Malmberg points out, neoclassical theories of migration continue to have a heavy influence on academic and popular understandings of this question. However, the 'paradox' lies in the second question, if the main motivation to migrate is economic then why do most people remain in Brazil? Staying is in fact the norm. Even within countries with high rates of emigration, the majority remain within the borders of their country[1]. International migration is thus the 'anomaly' that needs explaining. The problem is that many of those who migrate to London enjoyed a higher material quality of life back in Brazil (Carling & Jolivet 2016; Evans et al. 2015). Further, many will find themselves taking on unskilled jobs which they would never dream of doing in their country of origin. How are instances like this to be explained? The question is then, within the same social class, what distinguishes those who desire to leave, can afford to do so, but do not, from those who do and further, what distinguishes these groups from those who desire to stay? Do some people stay for the same reasons that others leave?

Of relevance to this thesis is the concept of ideological migration. Here the term can be read as voluntary migration undertaken for reasons other than economic gain. It is typically used to describe migration motivated by religious or political ideals (Dashefsky & Lazerwitz 1983; Motyl et al. 2014). Zaban has explicitly linked lifestyle

[1] The country with the highest proportion of its population living abroad is Bosnia-Herzegovina at 30% (Gray 2016)

migration as a form of ideological migration (2015; 2016) and so to have Torresan and Kunz with the concept of privileged migration (Torresan 2007; Kunz 2016). Here, in the case of lifestyle migration, the ideology is not a religious or political one but that of individualism. Traditionally individualism was always set against collectivism which served as a counterpoint within the social sciences (Brewer & Chen 2007). However, collectivism of late has fallen out of favour amongst disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and geography (Strauss 2000), even if the ideas that underpin it may still be discussed using other terminology[2]. The reasons for this range from claims that it is essentialising or over generalising (ibid.) or that the term itself is often ill defined (Brewer & Chen 2007). Interestingly, the use of 'individualism' as a concept to describe and critique cultures remains popular (Strauss 2000). To summarise then, this thesis uses the following key research themes: ideological outlook, transnationalism and anationalism[3] and lifestyle migration. The research themes can thus be framed around the following research questions:

- Can the motivations and experiences of some Brazilian migrants be understood using the existing framework of lifestyle migration?
- To what extent do some Brazilian migrants distance themselves from transnational cultural and social practices?
- How can the concepts of the geographical imagination and world citizenship be used to analyse ways of understanding immobility?

These questions are addressed in the three empirical chapters of this thesis. In addition, there are two review chapters and a methodology chapter. What follows is a preview of the content of these chapters.

[2] The most obvious of which for the purposes of this thesis is 'transnationalism' since the term implicitly relies on a collectivist sense of national identity and belonging.
[3] See p. 24 for an explanation of the term

2. Chapter Previews

2.1 Chapter Two: Individualism, collectivism, ideology and migration

This chapter reviews some key literature which touches on the central themes explored in the thesis. It begins with a brief history of individualism and collectivism within the social and behavioural sciences. It goes on to explore how a culture of individualism has intersected with capitalism to form what is often referred to as 'cultural capitalism', which is claimed as the prevailing ideology of the Global North (Jameson 1991). The focus then moves to how individualism and collectivism appear within some of the writing on migration and return. The focus is on examples of ideological migration and lifestyle migration as they are termed in the literature. A conceptual link is drawn between these two terms. The chapter finishes with a review of the literature that specifically focuses on Brazilian migration with an emphasis on the previous work on migration to London. The wider themes that emerge from this review help to form the basis for the empirical research chapters.

2.2 Chapter Three: Brazil in context

This chapter applies collectivism and individualism to the context of Brazilian society and culture. It opens with an analysis of the debate about whether Brazil can be characterised as an intercultural society or whether it is more appropriate to define it as multicultural. The strengths, weaknesses and historical and contemporary basis for these two lines of argument are assessed and a link is drawn to how this debate relates to the issues explored in the empirical work of the thesis in that it informs our understanding of how Brazilian identity is constructed and negotiated amongst the middle-class migrants: the subjects of the empirical chapters. The chapter then moves on to an historical account of the recent political crises Brazil has faced as well as an explanation of how the term 'middle-class' is defined in Brazil and, consequently, how it is used in this thesis. The chapter then provides some key historical and demographic data about the UK's Brazilian population.

2.3 Chapter Four: Methodology

This chapter reviews some key literature on using qualitative methods in social research and explains the rationale which guides the thesis. The ideas of the effect of ideological outlook on motivations to migrate or stay and on the migration experience itself come to the fore. It shows how a 'hybrid approach' to qualitative fieldwork is adopted. It also discusses the limits of participant observation and recorded interviews as well as taking into consideration methods of interviewee access and justification for the sample pool locations. It moves on to cover correct conduct while engaging in qualitative fieldwork that involves face to face interaction with strangers. Factors such as interview setting, consent, dress, body language and rapport are covered. It explains the details of the interview techniques employed and the value of repeat interviews. It then acknowledges potential difficulties and limitations of the methodology employed as well as accounting for the geographical location and time frame of the research. The chapter ends with an outline of the potential ethical issues that may arise and how these were mitigated and finally a statement on my positionality as a researcher.

2.4 Chapter Five: Lifestyle migration from the Global South to the Global North (Robins 2019)

This chapter primarily tackles the research question: *can the motivations and experiences of some Brazilian migrants be understood using the existing framework of lifestyle migration?*

It takes the concept of individualism and collectivism and applies it as a theoretical lens to understand the motivations and experiences of Brazilian lifestyle migrants in terms of their identification with individualism and distancing from the imagined collective of the 'Brazilian community' in London. This chapter thus takes the existing framework of 'lifestyle migration', which is heavily intertwined with an individualist worldview, and applies it to middle-class Brazilian migration to London. Explanations for migration in terms of 'lifestyle' are most often applied to international migration from either within the global north or from global north to south. The idea that members of the global south could be motivated to migrate to the north for 'lifestyle' reasons is, I argue, under

examined. The chapter argues that there are instances of movement from the Global South to the Global North which should be classified as lifestyle migration according to how the term is used in the literature. This is important since there is a tendency in migration studies to implicitly classify all voluntary migration from South to North as 'economic'. The chapter goes on to examine how the dichotomy between individualist 'lifestyle' and the imagined collective of 'economic' migrants is operationalised within the discourse of middle-class Brazilian migrants to demarcate their situation from their 'transnational' compatriots who they view as 'other'. The chapter argues for a greater emphasis on social class, which in the context of Brazil especially, is bound up with issues of racial and ethnic identity, in abstraction from country of origin when thinking about lifestyle migration.

2.5 Chapter Six: Imagining London

This chapter primarily tackles the research question, *to what extent do some Brazilian migrants distance themselves from transnational cultural and social practices?* It explores how the idea of the geographical imagination can help us to understand the motivations and experiences of middle-class migrants from the Global South. Much has been made of how transnational migrant networks have, in many ways, reduced distance, blurring the lines between 'here' and 'there'. It is for this reason that the concept of 'home country' is claimed as an outdated mode of thinking since the creation of transnational networks has allowed notions of 'home' and 'country' to geographically separate (Basch et al. 1994). But what of those who migrate precisely to gain distance from their country of origin? The chapter argues that for many middle-class Brazilians, their motivation to migrate is couched in terms of 'societal alienation': a feeling of distance from the place of origin resulting from a lack of identification with its social, cultural and institutional practices. This contrasts with the more popularly understood concept of migrating due to 'material alienation': migrating to access a higher level of material consumption or to acquire financial capital to use 'back home'. The chapter also explores how the act of returning to Brazil, either temporarily or with a view to stay, can affect the geographical imaginary of both home and away and, often, reinforce feelings of alienation. The chapter ultimately examines how the rhetorical

distinction between cosmopolitan lifestyle migrants and transnational economic migrants relies on a geographical imaginary of London as a 'world city' in which the middle-class Brazilians position themselves as individualised consumers rather than 'authentic' producers of a transnational diasporic culture.

2.6 Chapter Seven: Immobility and belonging in times of crisis

This chapter takes as its starting point the following third research question: *how can the concepts of the geographical imagination and world citizenship be used to analyse ways of understanding immobility?* The chapter thus expands on the themes that guided the two previous empirical chapters, lifestyle and the geographical imagination, and applies them to the stayers. It asks, how is the concept of 'lifestyle', especially the lifestyle of a 'world citizen' imagined and interpreted amongst the migrant interviewees' friends and family members who remain in São Paulo? This is significant because, although the idea of 'lifestyle' as a motivation to migrate is well understood, less well researched is how the same imaginary is articulated by stayers. It thus explores some of the narratives or 'ways' of staying as articulated by the interviewees who are framed as a group of 'conscious' over 'voluntary' stayers. These reasons are examined against the background of political crisis and change. In terms of the impact of the political crises, the recent rightward turn in Brazilian politics has raised questions about duty and belonging to contested social objects such as 'Brazil' or 'the Brazilian people' as well as identification with world citizenship. This chapter ultimately explores how the geographical imagination in relation to an identity as a Brazilian citizen can affect a desire to either leave or stay and the reasons for leaving and staying. These desires may not be acted on but instead speak to a subjective sense of either belonging or alienation from an imagined nation. Further, it shows that these narratives of immobility often overlap with each other and even at times contradict each other revealing the 'constructed primordiality' (Croucher 2004) of identity in that it is both affective, multi-dimensional and multi-scalar.

2.7 Chapter Eight: Conclusion, discussion and further research

This chapter revisits the research questions posed in the introduction and shows how they were tackled via a summary of the thesis chapters. It then moves on to a discussion of the findings of the empirical chapters. In doing so it tackles the issues of how individualism and collectivism were used as an analytical lens for the thesis and what this technique offers for studies of mobility and immobility. It then moves to a discussion of how the themes of individualism, interculturalism and world citizenship, which appear frequently throughout the thesis, relate to each other and what their relationship says about how Brazilians view their identity both at home and abroad. It then critically examines the utopian and dystopian implications of the phenomenon of deterritorialization of identities both national and global, especially in terms of identification with world citizenship. The discussion then explores the ways in which the situation of Brazilian lifestyle migrants differs from other types of lifestyle migrants as they appear in the literature. The discussion concludes by exploring the ways in which modes of collective identity and belonging are contested in various ways, posing the question: who are 'we'? The chapter ends with a discussion of the limitations of the empirical research that informed the thesis and a suggestion for further avenues of research based on themes that arose from the empirical data.

Chapter Two: Individualism, collectivism, ideology and migration

1. Introduction

This chapter will take the following form. Section one reviews some of the key literature that touches on the central themes explored in the thesis. It begins with an explanation of and some reflections on the terms and an account of individualism and collectivism as they have been developed in the behavioural and social sciences. It then explores how a culture of individualism has combined with capitalism to form what is often referred to as 'cultural capitalism', which is claimed as the prevailing ideology of the Global North (Jameson 1991). The review then examines how individualism and collectivism appear within some of the writing on migration and return. The focus is on examples of 'ideological migration' and 'lifestyle migration' as these terms are used in the literature. A conceptual link is drawn between these two terms. The chapter finishes with a review of the literature that specifically focuses on Brazilian migration with an emphasis on the previous work on migration to London. The wider themes that emerge from this review help to form the basis for the empirical research chapters. Section two begins with a brief history of Brazilian migration to the UK, and some demographic information about the population before addressing the literature on Brazilian migration studies. It takes a comparative approach in reading the existing literature on Brazilian migration alongside some of the key lifestyle migration literature. A close comparison of the two will help set the groundwork for the empirical arguments made in the later chapters.

2. Individualism and collectivism

The empirical chapters of this thesis often refer to the terms 'individualism' and 'collectivism'. Therefore, a brief history of these terms as well as how they have appeared in the literature is necessary. Put very simply, the tension between the two can be framed as the rights and values of the individual versus the goals and values of the society (on whatever scale that may be framed at) in which the individual is embedded in. Individualism as an ideology has its roots in the Age of Enlightenment when the concept of emphasising the worth and rights of an individual in abstraction from their worth as part of a wider social started to gain prominence. Alexis de Tocqueville is credited with introducing the word into the anglosphere

via translations of his work (Urbinati 2015). Around the same time Rousseau was one of the first to formally conceptualise collectivism in his writings on the idea of the social contract (Rousseau 2008 [1762])(Rousseau & Betts (Trans) 2008) which posited that a person's freedom was limited by the values and needs of the community in which they find themselves embedded. The first sociologist to conceptualise the two ideologies in a comparative mode was the Nineteenth Century sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies (2002 [1887])

His work was born out of his experience growing up in a small closely knit village where collectivist values were prioritised and then contrasting this with his experience in later life moving to a large city. This led him to envisage two 'social forms'. As Hruschka (2015) writes:

> The first social form, *Gemeinschaft* or community, was the face-to-face life of his rural youth where people worked together for collective goals and where individual wishes were subordinated to those of the group. The second form, *Gesellschaft* or civil society, turned this relationship between individuals and the group on its head. Exemplified by modern nation-states, corporations, and voluntary clubs, Tonnies' civil society existed to serve its members needs and wishes—not the other way around. As opposed to *Gemeinschaft's* emphasis on collective goals and personal relationships, *Gesellschaft* was built on individual rights and responsibilities and impersonal exchanges of money, goods, and services (p.1).

As time progressed these two ideologies eventually gave birth to the competing world views which characterised much of Twentieth Century history. For collectivism, a key development by Marx (2015 [1859]) was to take what Tonnies had observed at the scale of small communities and extended families and apply this to the larger and thus more imaginary (Anderson 1983) scale of the 'workers' or the 'people' in abstraction from their identity as families or communities. National socialist thought performed a similar scaling up to the level of the 'people' defined in racial or ethnic terms. Collectivism thus ultimately gave rise to communism, fascism and national socialism whilst individualism informed the values driving liberal democracy and of course capitalism. With the end of the Cold War it seemed that individualism had finally won out. The nineties thus saw the peak of individualism celebrated in utopian terms. Economists such as Alan Greenspan championed 'The New Economy' during the Clinton era claiming they had perfected a way to create apparently unlimited prosperity (Stiglitz 2003). In the UK Tony Blair was elected on a similar sentiment

accompanied by D.R.E.A.M's song 'Things Can Only Get Better' selected as New Labour's celebratory election song. Perhaps most famously (or notoriously), the economist Francis Fukuyama (1993) wrote of the triumph of individualism and its close association with capitalism and democracy as 'the end of history': all ideological battles had been played out, the winner had been declared and it was now simply a matter of the rest of the world playing catch up.

Predictably then collectivism began to disappear from many anthropologists', sociologists' and geographers' vocabulary (although it persisted in psychology). However, in recent years it has become painfully apparent that Fukuyama was wrong. The nineties did not see 'the end of history' but instead it now seems more like a brief bubble of euphoria before we returned with a bump back to the reality of the twenty-first century characterised by major economic recessions, global terrorism and of course climate change. As Žižek (2011) has pointed out, the issue of climate change in particular is inherently a collectivist debate since environmental destruction relies on the idea of collective ownership and thus responsibility for the planet and seemingly only collective action will be effective in tackling these issues. Regarding the rise of Al Qaeda and ISIS this has served as a stark reminder has shown that individualisms' hallmarks of liberal democracy and capitalist economics and the violent enforcement of these ideologies through a series of invasions and wars in the middle east has resulted in nothing but disaster. Further, the adoption of capitalist market logic by China while still remaining totalitarian has also put paid to the claim that capitalism is necessary if we are to enjoy liberal democracy (Žižek 2011). As Urbinanti (2015) has observed we are now in an era when the flaws of individualist ideology are becoming impossible to ignore. Individualism in its pathological, nihilistic mode has become something of a zeitgeist for many which Urbinanti suggests is best expressed by the phrase, 'I don't give a damn' (ibid.). It seems then that the time has come to re-introduce collectivism into the vocabulary of social science. While we must be careful to learn from the mistakes of the Twentieth Century forms of large scale totalitarian collectivism which by all accounts were, to put it mildly, a complete disaster, trying to understand collectivist world views and the values that underpin them as social scientists, I argue, is now more than ever, a valid pursuit. Before moving into a review proper then it is important to raise the issue of positionality. Individualism and collectivism are ideologies. The problem with ideologies is that we are all

embedded within them whether we realise it or not and this embeddedness carries the risk of 'colouring' our perception of social reality. This research then is, in many senses the product of an individualist society in that my positionality as a researcher is embedded within my context as a member of an individualist society. Indeed, it is very difficult for a researcher to 'step out' of their cultural context when trying to research and write cultural geography. This is what Dumont (1970) terms, 'a sociological apperception'. Dumont's work focused on the Indian caste system which he attempted to read on its own terms rather than trying to understand it only 'as an anomaly… [or]… an aberration' in comparison to how societies 'should' be: liberal, democratic and egalitarian. It is worth pointing out that Dumont has fallen out of favour with most contemporary scholars of Indian society (Deinhardt – personal communication). This stands to reason since, from a methodologically individualist perspective it seems self-evident that a society that is egalitarian, liberal and democratic is 'better' than one which places more emphasis on collectivist values, but one must always remain aware that this could simply be the result of one's own cultural embeddedness or prejudice. Conversely, as Strauss (2000) points out, researchers from individualist societies often readily critique the failings of a society guided by individualist principles but are less willing to do so regarding more collectivist ones since this can risk displaying a kind of cultural imperialist attitude. The theoretical positioning of this thesis then is not to try to set individualism and collectivism against each other in a way that would attempt to demonstrate the superiority of one over the other. Instead, it is simply argued that both are valid analytical concepts that can be used to explore people's ideological outlook and, in turn how this ideological outlook can impact migration (and non-migration) decision making and, moreover, subjective experiences of the migration act and identity as a migrant. Therefore, although at the level of social reality, these two terms are often treated as a binary, it is more productive to explore how elements of both can appear in and influence a person's experience of and attitude to imagined social objects such as 'country', 'nation' 'citizenship', 'world city' and so forth.

2.1 Defining individualism and collectivism

The terms can be applied at different scales: they can pertain to the social beliefs and practices of individual people, and of larger societies and even countries. Wang (1998) points out that there is not necessarily a clear-cut distinction between collectivist and individualist

countries in the sense that each may feature aspects of the supposed opposite ideology. She observes then that, 'the "difference in ideological orientations" is imprecise' (p. 41). Dumont (1970) makes a similar point when he argues that, 'a society as conceived by individualism has never existed anywhere [since] the individual lives on social ideas' (p.10). Even though all societies display aspects of both individualism and collectivism it remains possible and, indeed, useful, to categorise societies in terms of individualism and collectivism based on the proportions in which these two ideologies prevail within societies. In other words, we can talk in terms of *comparatives* rather than *absolutes*. Although there are few if any societies that could be called *purely* individualist or collectivist, we can say certain societies are *more* individualistic or collectivist than others. It is also important to emphasise this does not mean that there will not be individuals within societies characterised as either collectivist or individualist who do not conform to this societal norm (Hofstede 2018).

In an attempt to comparatively define them, Triandis (1995) conceives of four universal dimensions of individualism and collectivism. First is the definition of the self. Here Triandis frames the distinction between individualism and collectivism as the independence versus the interdependence of the self. Second, is the alignment of personal and communal goals. In individualist cultures, people's personal goals are not necessarily aligned with each other whereas within collectivist cultures they are closely aligned. Third is the difference in thinking or in Triandis' terminology, 'cognitions'. Individualist thinking is centred around, 'attitudes, personal needs, rights and contracts' whereas collectivist thought emphasises 'norms, obligations and duties' (p.44). Fourth is the emphasis on relationships themselves or the individuals who form the relationships. Individualism will only privilege the social ties between ingroup members after an analysis of how these ties personally benefit the self. Collectivism will prioritise social ties even if doing so is ultimately detrimental to the self. Similarly, Triandis et al. (1990) contribute to creating a useful working definition of the two terms by tying individualism and collectivism with what they term 'idiocentric' and 'allocentric' traits. Allocentric traits relate to 'interdependence and sociability' and ultimately to 'familial integrity'. One the other hand, 'idiocentric' traits relate to self-reliance and emotional detachment. Further, in collectivist cultures, the, 'self is an appendage of the ingroup' (p.1008) whereas in individualist cultures it is, 'a separate and distinct entity' (ibid.). Thus, when it comes to decision making strategies, in collectivist cultures, 'behaviour is

regulated… by -in-group norms' (p.1007), and in individualist cultures, actions are informed 'by individual likes and dislikes and cost-benefit analysis' (ibid.)

Schwartz (1994) argues to include the concepts of 'elective' and 'non-elective' as a fundamental distinction between individualism and collectivism. Elective groups are voluntarily joined: one is free to leave elective groups therefore, any collectivist traits within elective groups must be accounted for in the context that they exist within an individualist (or elective) framework. In non-elective groups, the priority is on ties between individuals which constrain the group: one is not free to join or leave at will. In the context of this thesis then, the principle group identity is that of national identity. On the face of it, 'in-groups' such as 'Brazilian' and membership of collective social organisms such as 'Brazil' appear to be non-elective. One is born Brazilian and it seems much harder to 'choose' to be Brazilian. However, the empirical chapters of this thesis complicate the idea that national identity is non-elective since, as the findings will show, national identity is denied in various ways. The act of migration seems to have a profound effect on identification with seemingly non-elective in groups marked by nationality. Further, the implied homogeneity hence the possibility of creating an 'in-group' such as 'Brazilian' is contested as Chapter Two will further explore.

Dumont's work on individualism and collectivism revolves around a comparison between Indian and 'Western' society. He addresses the issue of individualist and collectivist societies incorporating elements of each other by making a distinction between the individual as: '*the empirical agent present in every society'* and, 'the rational being and *normative subject* of institutions' (p.9). In individualist societies, the concept of the 'individual is quasi-sacred, absolute; his rights are limited only by the identical rights of other individuals' (p.4). The individual is effectively 'a monad' and individualist societies are envisioned as a 'mere collection of such monads' (p.4). In contrast, collectivism signifies, 'society taken as a whole' (p.230). Rather than 'individual happiness' collectivist societies prioritise 'order… [and]… hierarchy'. Dumont explains, 'each particular man in his place must contribute to the global order, and justice consists of ensuring that the proportions between social functions are adapted to the whole' (p.9). Individualist societies invert this principle so that, 'What is still called "society" is the means, the life of each man is the end. A useful way of conceiving the distinction between individualism and collectivism then is to see that individualism is chiefly concerned with *rights* where collectivism prioritises *duties*. This idea of individualist 'rights'

and collectivist 'duties' is expanded on in this thesis and applied to migration studies. Although a right to mobility at various scales is often prevalent in migration studies research, the concept of non-migrants articulating a 'duty' to stay, and the ways in which this duty is framed and imagined is less researched. This corresponds with a more general emphasis on research on mobility as opposed to immobility (Schewel 2019). A key contribution of this thesis then is to investigate immobility on its own terms. Rather than treat it as the study of those 'left behind', this thesis recognises that most people do not move, not because they do not possess the means to but because of other perceived 'ties' to the place of origin. The concept of family ties are often researched in this understanding of immobility (Cairns & Smyth 2010; Green 2018a; Malmberg 1997; Zorlu 2009). The effect on immobility of ties to larger scale imagined social organisms such as 'people' or 'nation' (Anderson 1983) are less so. Chapter Seven then will aim to contribute to this research gap.

2.2 Individualism and collectivism and scale

This idea of the importance of scale is highlighted by Brewer and Chen (2007) who point out collectivism can exist at multiple scales in terms of the size of the social organism to which one 'belongs'. Familial collectivism is the term used by Brewer and Chen to describe collectivism based around a family unit. Group collectivism describes collectivist belonging at larger scales based on social organisms constructed around ideas such as nation, ethnicity, or religion. A feeling of belonging to and duty towards an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983) at the scale of the national then is the most relevant to this thesis. The ways in which this sense of belonging is constructed and contested is what will be explored through the lens of migration and immobility.

Individualism with its close association with cosmopolitanism and universalism, by contrast is often framed as anational. 'Anationalism' was first developed as a concept by the creator of the Esperanto language, Eugène Lanti (né Adam) to express his radically antinationalist, universalist outlook. The term has not commonly been promoted or indeed discussed in languages other than Esperanto (Lanti 1928). I have decided to employ this term in English because I believe it has productive descriptive value when attempting to analyse the individualist ideology that informs the beliefs and values of much of the urban middle (and upper middle) class inhabitants of world cities (Sassen 1991) such as London. It, I argue, describes the cosmopolitan attitude of a loose sense of national belonging or patriotism or

even an outright aversion and rejection of these ideas. The term anationalism, I argue, leaves open the idea that what it is describing is not truly global, but rather is intimately bound up with specific geographical locations and, within those locations, specific economic and social classes of people (Steger 2002).

Within the literature, many have made an association with individualism and anationalism and conversely, collectivism and nationalism. Dumont (1970) argues that there are parallels with individualism and anti-nationalist thought (p.11). Dumont also asserts that 'nation' is one of the group identities that collectivist societies may build their identity around. In her work on the changes in identities and attitudes that result from migration and return, DeBiaggi (2004) frames the difference in ideologies as between 'conservative or egalitarian [translation mine]' (p.163). Collectivism can indeed be linked to conservatism in some senses. This is a link that Schwartz (1994) makes explicit in his juxtaposition of 'conservatism' and 'autonomy' which he equates with collectivism and individualism. Conservatism, Schwartz affirms, is characterised by stability and security, preservation of tradition, upholding of obligations and duties and the priority of the relationship itself rather than the individuals that make up the relationship. Triandis et al. (1990) also draw a link between collectivism and nationalism.

2.3 Anationalism, Cosmopolitanism and World Citizenship

Although these three concepts are rarely if ever all used together, there is significant overlap between them to the point that they are practically interchangeable. Turner defines a cosmopolitan as a 'citizen of the world' (2002, p.57). Bookchin too connects cosmopolitanism with world citizenship tracing its roots back to the Ancient Greek city states that went from being a *polis* [city] to a *cosmopolis* [literally: world city]: cities which had grown to a large size with a diverse range of people from different cultures and ethnicities. Bookchin writes:

> The dissolution of the all-encompassing patriarchal "I" into fairly sovereign individuals with "ego boundaries" of their own gained greater impetus with the expansion of the *polis* into the *cosmopolis* - with the small, self-enclosed "city-state" into the large, open "world city" of the Hellenistic era. With the growing role of the stranger as craftsman, trader, and sea-faring merchant, the notion of the *demos* united by blood and ethical ties into a supreme collective entity gave way to the claims of the individual (Bookchin 1982, p.157).

A key feature of cosmopolitanism or world citizenship is its relation to the other. With the introduction of traditional others as fellow inhabitants of one's city, the cosmopolitan is obliged to revaluate their relationship to these traditional others. Urry (2000) applies this to the contemporary context. He explains that the other was traditionally that who was 'other' in relation to one's identity as a member of a nation or, earlier, city-state. Citizenship to a nation was often defined in reference to an other. Urry suggests that cosmopolitanism is spreading throughout the world with the result that the traditional others such as, 'armies, migrants, traders, vagrants [and] travellers' (p.2) are becoming less salient. Urry attributes this de-severing of the, 'the local, national and global worlds' (ibid.) in part to the spread of communications media. As Urry notes, cities such as London have a long history of association with cosmopolitanism and, as this thesis will show, so too with 'emerging' world cities such as São Paulo. Calhoun (2008) goes further arguing that cosmopolitanism in contemporary society has both an empirical and moral or ethical element. He writes:

> [C]osmopolitanism lives a double life as a pop cultural evocation of openness to a larger world and a more systematic and academic claim about the moral significance of transcending the local, even achieving the universal. Both have flourished, especially in good times and amid optimism about globalization (p.107).

However, he also describes what Bookchin also warns of in the rise of cosmopolitanism: the eroding of rights and citizenship in relation to a national state:

> More commonly, being cosmopolitan is glossed as being a "citizen of the world." Contemporary usage gives this almost unambiguously positive valence – who wouldn't want to be a citizen of the world? But the idea can be terrifying if what world citizenship means is exclusion from citizenship and rights in particular states…Complicating matters further, positive and negative estimations of cosmopolitanism often coexist (ibid).

He also alludes to the class tension and, in the UK context, the regional divisions which characterise what does and does not count as cosmopolitanism when he notes that there is a media discourse comparing, 'sophisticated, metropolitan culture versus the non-cosmopolitan hinterlands, multicultural Britain versus monocultural English, Scottish, or Welsh national identity '(p.107-108). This is a popular stereotype of cosmopolitanism to which Halfacree also alludes (2008). Kaldor (1996) even frames the divide between

cosmopolitanism and nationalism as one that defines contemporary history. Further this divide is, according to Kaldor, intrinsically linked to a divide between an individualist universalist worldview and one that is still characterised by 'particularism' (Kaldor's term for collectivism). She writes that there is a:

> growing cultural dissonance between those who see themselves as part of an international network, whose identity is shaped within a globally linked and orientated community of people who communicate by email, faxes, telephone and air travel, and those who still cling to or who have found new types of territorially based identities even though they may not actually live in the territory (p.43).

This sub-text of claims of identification with world citizenship acting as a kind of boundary work (Bygnes 2017) in order to emphasise class differences and signify one's social status in relation to these class differences, is a theme that will re-emerge in the empirical work of this thesis.

2.4 Ideology and migration: individualism as the dominant ideology of the Global North

As Marx (1867) observed, modernism can be characterised by the rise of the fetishisation of material objects. Commodities, according to Marx can transcend their straight-forward 'use-value' and take on almost mystical properties via people's reification of them. Wang (1998) in her comparison of U.S. and Chinese culture focuses on modernist capitalist values as a key demarcation. She writes, 'while the Chinese value 'order' and 'harmony', the American emphasis is rather on *material accumulation*…. American ideology defines the 'good life' in terms of a high standard of living and possession of an abundance of material goods. (p.43). This has important implications for migration theory. Within traditional interpretations, migrants are exposed, via mediascapes (Appadurai 1996) to a consumption- led lifestyle that they are unable to attain in their home country resulting in a kind of 'material alienation', prompting a desire to migrate (Portes & DeWind 2004). The understanding of international migration canthus be termed 'modernist' since the focus is on material goods and material consumption. The 'modernist' desire to migrate to the Global North is well captured by Henry Miller in his description of his encounter with some would be migrants:

> The next day I opened conversation with the others – a Turk, a Syrian, some students from Lebanon, an Argentine man of Italian extraction. The Turk aroused my antipathies almost at once.... And like the others, all of whom I violently disagreed

> with, I found in him an expression of the American spirit at its worst. Progress was their obsession. More machines, more efficiency, more capital, more comforts – that was their whole talk. I asked them if they had heard of the millions who were unemployed in America. They ignored the question. I asked them if they realized how empty, restless and miserable the American people were with all their machine-made luxuries and comforts. They were impervious to my sarcasm. What they wanted was success – money, power, a place in the sun. None of them wanted to return to their own country; for some reason they had all been obliged to return against their will. They said there was no life for them in their own country. When would life begin? I wanted to know. When they had all the things which America had, or Germany or France. Life was made up of things, of machines mainly, from what I could gather. Life without money was an impossibility: one had to have clothes, a good home, a radio, a car, a tennis racquet and so on. I told them I had none of those things and that I was happy without them, that I had turned my back on America precisely because these things meant nothing to me. They said I was the strangest American they had ever met (Miller 1941, pp.4–5).

It is often claimed that we are now living in an era where the logic of consumption has spread beyond the material realm, that we are now living in an era of 'cultural capitalism'. For people such as Henry Miller, the priority is not so much on the consumption of 'things' as it is on 'experiences' which are used to validate and create individual identity. The emphasis on the experiential aspects of migration then, speaks to Halfacree and Merriman's work on conceptualising migration as a kind of 'performance' (Halfacree & Merriman 2015). As we shall see, this is an important idea which informs much of the theoretical underpinnings of research on 'lifestyle migrants' (Korpela 2014) In this sense one could argue that Miller's travels constituted a form of lifestyle migration. A key theme here is that culture and economy have become inextricably bound together to the point that it is increasingly difficult to distinguish where one begins and the other ends. This is what Gregory (1994) describes as the commodification of culture which he attributes as one of the 'fetishisms of bourgeois ideology' (p.134). As Žižek explains, 'culture is no longer just a kind of exception, a kind of fragile superstructure rising above the 'real' economic superstructure, but, more a central ingredient of our mainstream 'real' economy' (Žižek 2016, p.15). Jameson (1984) makes a similar observation when he writes, 'aesthetic production… has become integrated with commodity production generally' (p.56). Later, he elaborates writing:

> the dissolution of an autonomous sphere of culture is rather to be imagined in terms of an explosion: a prodigious expansion of culture throughout the social realm, to the point at which everything in our social life—from economic value and state power to

> practices and to the very structure of the psyche itself—can be said to have become 'cultural' in some original and as yet untheorized sense (Jameson 1991, p.87).

Elsewhere, Jackson (2002) writes of the, 'commodification of cultural experience' (p.3): that there is no longer a simple dualism between 'pure' culture and 'base' commercialism. He uses the term 'commercial culture' to describe not only the process by which cultural meanings are appropriated for commercial ends but also how commercial logic is embedded in cultural production and practice themselves. Jackson's focus is on the material, on things, commodities. But what about the non-material aspects of culture? How has 'commercial rational calculus', in Jackson's words, affected attitudes to the less tangible aspects of our lives: to our experiences and beliefs about quality of life? In contrast to the fetishisation of material objects that characterised modernism, postmodern capitalism stands for, 'the direct commodification of our experience itself' (Žižek 2016, p.15). As Žižek observes, 'we no longer buy objects, we ultimately buy (the time of) our own life' (p.16). In post-modern society the 'dominant norms are pleasure and quality of life experiences' - (Rifkin 2000 *seen in* Žižek 2016). Central to all of this is the concept of *lifestyle* over simply a *life*. Giddens (1991) defines 'lifestyle' as 'a more or less integrated set of practices which an individual embraces, not only because such practices fulfil utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity' (p.81). It is not only experiences and things which have been commodified but spaces too leading Gregory (1994) to write of, 'spaces as commodities and commodities in spaces' (p.220). The implication for migration studies then it is not just the imagining of material aspects of individualist societies that can make them attractive migration destinations but the immaterial, 'quality of life' aspects. The migration destinations, the spaces themselves, become commodified and thus an object of desire. As we shall see in the empirical chapters, this ideological attraction to individualist societies is tied to values around anonymity, individualisation, citizenship and freedom of choice as well as identity expression *through* consumption rather than simply consumption as an end.

Halfacree (2004) cautions against setting up a dualism of economic and non-economic drivers for migration since the non-economic factors will usually be considered of secondary importance. Instead a more productive avenue of enquiry would be to unpack the concept of 'economic migration' to analyse the values and beliefs that underpin it. Economic activity is

meaningless without ideological direction (Žižek 2011; Žižek 2008). The confusion around the concept of 'economic' and thus 'economic migration' stems from the fact that most people now accept global capitalism as non-ideological and apolitical. The Global North's liberal capitalist model is couched in non-ideological terms (Žižek 2007). It thus forms the background on which ideological battles take place. Evidence for the acceptance of capitalism as a non-ideological or apolitical background is abundant if we examine the way scholars tackle social and ideological issues. In his analysis of the nature and role of ideology, Wallerstein (1990) unwittingly demonstrates the danger of assuming that one can ever perceive the world from outside of ideology. For Wallerstein, capitalist economic activity is an objective historical process, in response to which, humans have had to generate 'idea systems' (that is to say ideology) in order to make sense of, 'the contradictions, the ambiguities, [and] the complexities of the socio-political realities of this particular system' (p.38). Wallerstein then identifies the 'paired concepts' of universalism and what he terms 'racism-sexism' which work together as an overarching ideology which allows humans to maintain a coherent picture of the world when faced with the 'reality' of the historical process of capitalist economic activity. Wallerstein thus frames capitalism in non-ideological terms in response to which humans generate ideologies.

But capitalism is itself ideological. Its power stems from the fact that it presents itself as objective, as non-ideological, as universal. This explains why scholars talk of ideological migration as a phenomenon that is distinct from economic migration. It is related to the tendency to distinguish 'culture' from 'capitalism' or in Chakrabarty's (2000) terminology, between 'History 1' (H1) – the history of capital with its own abstract universalising logic and 'History 2' (H2) the 'authentic' lifeworlds which have arisen outside of the influence of global capital. Chakrabarty makes the point that H1 is never truly universal and is always informed by H2. Further, H1 is a product of H2 in that it arose from a particular form of European culture (Chakrabarty 2000). The problem is that in an era of 'postmodernity' H2 has now thoroughly merged with H1. Where the era of modernity saw 'pre-modern' cultures as obstacles in the way of 'progress', in post-modernity, according to Žižek, there is no longer a conflict. The 'modern' of H1 is presented as being able to seamlessly integrate all 'premodern' H2 lifeworlds. As Žižek, reflecting on Chakrabarty's work, observes, 'all traditions survive, but in a mediated "de-naturalized" form, that is no longer as authentic ways of life,

but as freely chosen "lifestyles."' (Žižek 2011, p.283). Hence the era of 'cultural capitalism'. Žižek writes:

> Capitalism is the first socio-economic order which de-totalises meaning: there is no global "capitalist worldview" no "capitalist civilisation" proper: the fundamental lesson of globalisation is precisely that capitalism can accommodate itself to all civilisations from Christian to Hindu or Buddhist, from West to East. Capitalism's global dimension can only be formulated as truth without meaning, as the "real" of the global market mechanism (Žižek 2011, p.365).

So, the 'economic' is not a neutral objective force, a background upon which ideological struggles are played out. Treating it as a background is in itself an ideological construct since 'the economy is always a *political* economy, a site of political struggle… its de-politicization, its status as a neutral sphere of "servicing the goods", is in itself always already the outcome of a political struggle' (Žižek 2011, p.183). 'Economic' migrants then could be thought of as those who retain a 'traditional' H2 ideology which is 'creolized' (Appadurai 1996; Basch et al. 1994) with the capitalist ideology. The relevant question then is not whether migration is ideologically motivated, but which ideology is motivating the migration.

2.5 Ideological Migration: social class and societal alienation

When we talk of 'ideological' or 'lifestyle' migrants then, we usually mean those whose decision to migrate is driven primarily by a subjective feeling that their ideological stance does not conform to the hegemonic ideology of the society they originate from. A key point as DellaPergola (1984) notes, is that, '[s]uch migrations at times seem to contradict the rules of conventional rational economic behaviour' (p.296). For the lifestyle migrant, cultural and ideological identification with their country of origin need no longer play a role in their migration decision making and experience. As Bal (2013) observes, 'being born in a place does not imply a natural engagement with that place' (p.283). Jameson too observes that it is now possible for, 'the truth of [daily] experience [to] no longer coincide… with the place in which it [takes] place' (1991, p.216). Dashefsky and Lazerwitz thus frame ideological migration as a product of 'societal alienation' (1983, p.264).

Motivations for ideological migration may include dissatisfaction with the religious, cultural or political conditions of the country of origin. Migrants thus seek out destinations where they can either build a new way of life as they see fit or, 'where a new set of social institutions is more compatible with their images of the good society' (ibid.). For example,

referring to Triandis et al.'s (1990) distinction between idiocentric (individualist) and allocentric (collectivist) traits across cultures, they write that, 'idiocentrics in collectivist cultures… most frequently find migration to individualist cultures necessary to escape the high demands that their ingroups make of them (p.1007). This is an interesting theoretical point and one that, I argue in this thesis, has been under researched. I thus hope to offer contemporary empirical examples of this kind of migratory movement.

Social class is a factor that some have claimed is under appreciated when discussing the drivers and outcomes of migration (Kearney & Beserra 2004). Indeed, there are calls to take more account of the role of class in migration (Korpela 2014). As DellaPergola writes, 'free migration tends to draw from relatively small, selected and at times even elitist social strata' (1984, p.312). Although most international migrants to developed countries are from the middle-classes of their countries (Kearney & Beserra 2004; Portes & Rumbault 1990; Torresan 2007; Van Hear 2014), a common theme is that ideological migrants tend to be comparatively more affluent and better educated still. Hofstede (1980) found that a key corollary of the emergence of individualism is affluence since affluence leads to financial independence and thus allows for the possibility of independence from ingroups. It is perhaps unsurprising then that more affluent migrants would be more aligned to individualism. Bellah et al. (1988 *seen in* Triandis 1995) also asserts that, 'individualism is maximal in the middle-class' (p.30). Martes (2011) goes so far as to argue that social class is more important than national origin when it comes to ethnic identity and integration within a host society.

However, DellaPergola observes that, 'ideology… is in most cases a necessary but not sufficient factor for migration' (1984, p.312). Similarly, Dashefsky and Lazerwitz (1983) state that,' those who migrate for ideological reasons may also be under political or economic pressures' (p.264). Ideological migration then can be compatible with other socio-economic drivers of migration. Florida (2002) though argues that many skilled workers' choices about where to live are driven more by lifestyle considerations rather than employment. Employers follow where skilled workers want to live not the other way around. Further, the destination can often take priority over economic opportunities in terms of drivers. For example, migrants who move to rural Scotland often create their own jobs rather than taking an existing one (Findlay et al. 2000). Lundholm (2007), commenting on Findlay et al., observes

that the motive to migrate is not necessarily a specific job opportunity but rather the attraction of living in a rural area. Nevertheless, Lundholm reminds us that when discussing migration motives, it is necessary to distinguish between 'prerequisites and individual motives' (p.39). There must be a 'labour market opportunity [prerequisite]… to bring about a lifestyle induced move [individual motive]' (p.13). There is always a need to make a living, but this does not imply that a migrant will consider specific employment opportunities as a migration motive. Equally, motives cited by migrants should not be confused with the prerequisite of needing to work wherever they live.

The need to 'make a living' needs to be analysed teleologically. What does 'a living' mean for different people? Why do they work beyond the obvious needs for food clothing and shelter? In the context of the location of the migration under study in this thesis then, the point is that while London is certainly a draw for economic reasons in that job opportunities may be abundant, the importance of its status as a draw in terms of acquiring cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986) should not be discarded. Further, these other forms of capital and, more generally the lifestyle experiences available to those who move to London may be privileged over and above the economic opportunities available there. Economic opportunities of some kind may be necessary but are not sufficient for migration to be enacted, as I illustrate in the empirical examples I draw on in this thesis.

2.6 Migration and the geographical imagination

Malmberg (1997) suggests that seeing those who migrate as doing so from a lack in 'life situation' is appropriate since this broad category is more flexible than most understandings of motivations to migrate. This dissatisfaction with life situation can thus be framed in economic or non-economic terms. For stayers then, perhaps an account of how they construct and relate to their 'life situation' in terms of their sense of belonging to the place of origin, may be an appropriate way of theorising immobility. Although he does not refer to the geographical imagination by name, Malmberg comes close to it when he writes that migration decision making is also impacted by a process of 'cognitive mapping of a destination' which includes, 'the knowledge, image and attitudes … of near or remote geographical environments' (p.41) which can be positive or negative. He asserts that these 'maps' are formed through social interaction where information about countries and places are exchanged and interpreted. Writing in 1997, Malmberg asserts that the images that

would be migrants form of possible destinations is done through, 'personal contacts rather than public information' (p.41). However, with the ubiquity of social media, and the blurring of the private and public persona on these platforms, this statement may be less true today (Dekker & Engbersen 2013; Dekker et al. 2016). The numerous Facebook groups with names such as 'Brazilians in London' are publicly available to those still in Brazil and through the posts made by its members, would be migrants are able to build a vivid picture of what life would be like at a potential migration destination. The idea of 'cognitive mapping' of geographical locations has good explanatory power when analysing migration decision making and this observation need not be limited to the cognitive maps we build of 'remote' or 'unfamiliar' locations. The geographical imaginary has just as much power in shaping one's perception and experience of the place of 'origin' as it does potential migration destinations. It is thus applicable to those who choose to stay or who may desire to leave but do not as well as those who do eventually leave.

A key theme of ideological or lifestyle migration is that it 'is associated with a very peculiar and narrow "space awareness"' (DellaPergola 1984, p.297). There are often very specific destinations that the migrant associates with attaining their ideological goals in that these goals, 'can only be pursued in relation to a certain "ideal place"' (ibid.). Griffiths and Maile (2014) too assert that social imaginaries, 'are highly place specific' (p.156). As Bal and Willems put it, '[c]ontemporary forms of globalisation have not only transformed modern notions of where we belong, and with whom, but also where we want to be' (2014, p.275). The concept of the geographical imagination can help us understand why some places are attractive to migrants where others are not. Marcus (2009) defines the geographical imagination as, 'the spatial knowledge – real or abstract – that allows individuals to imagine place' (p.481). His research found that the geographical imagination is a, 'significant and mainly non-economic component' of the drivers of migrants' decision making processes since, 'geographical imaginations provide important glimpses and insights into their idealisations, expectations and fascinations' (p.482). The term is thus useful in emphasising the way people imagine not only their migration destinations and what their lives will be like once there, but also the teleology of their migration.

Taking account of the geographical imagination can help to answer the question of why people choose to move to the places they do and how they envision their migration

trajectory. Further, the way in which migrants imagine their migration project shapes the reality of their lived experience in their destination since, as Benson and O'Reilly put it, '[m]eanings and imaginings… have the power to shape reality because people act on them, not only by migrating but in the ways they live after migration' (2016, p.11). Thompson (2016) uses the concept of the geographical imagination to draw attention to the importance of questioning, 'not only why people aspire to move, but where they aspire to move to' (p.1). She notes that previous researchers have taken into consideration cultural factors when theorising migration decision making. However, this has tended to focus on 'culture' in terms of the role of culture of origin. Either a culture of migration that exists in the origin country, emigration from Governador Valadores in Minas Gerais is the most famous example in Brazil (Margolis 1994; 2013); or the attraction of migrating to a place that has similar cultural traits, like language or religion, to where one is from (Massey et al. 1993). What has been somewhat overlooked is the possibility of the culture that exists at the migration destination acting as a 'pull' factor in migration decision-making. To this end, Thompson advocates a 'geographical imaginations approach' which, she affirms, can account for four key aspects of migration decision-making (2016, p.2). These four aspects are: 'questions of scale', 'culture and place', notions of 'home and away' and, perhaps most importantly, non-migration. This approach thus contributes to answering the often-overlooked question of why people in similar socio-economic circumstances do not migrate, something that neither neo-classical nor social network-based theories can satisfactorily account for. Thompson states that her work is the first to account for all four of these aspects together where previous researchers have only examined them in isolation. Teo (2003) also argues that migration decisions are '*socially* and *culturally* embedded' (p.413). Further, 'what initially appear to be economic reasons may ultimately have social and cultural roots' (ibid.). However, she also points out that how migrants imagine their destination may be done through the prism of their own cultural and social worldview. Migrants may want to move to an idealised version of the urban centres of Europe or North America without having a detailed idea of what it will be like to live there. Therefore, just as rural areas may be romanticised in people's geographical imagination (Halfacree 1996) so too then can urban ones.

Researchers often assume a 'geographical binary' about the outcomes of migration undertaken to acquire social or cultural capital: the migrant will either return home or settle

at the destination (Findlay 2016). However, in his research on student migration, Findlay found that the experience of studying internationally can affect how and where migrants view their future in that it may cause them to view their future life in international terms, that they will be able to imagine living anywhere and everywhere because of their initial migration. There are obvious parallels here with the experience of migrating to a global city, especially in cases where the move was motivated more by the desire to acquire cultural rather than socio-economic capital: just experiencing a new 'social and cultural milieu' (p.2) can affect future migration decisions. Many of Findlay's subjects viewed their futures and thus their identity as migrants, in international (or anational) terms rather than as national or transnational. However, other students articulated their intention to return home after their study in terms of a kind of duty. Findlay quotes one student who affirms such a viewpoint:

> It is our job basically to take back what we've learnt from here and to go back home and to bridge the gap in terms of opportunities and allowing people to access this [international education] (p.6).

The alignment towards a collectivist outlook in terms of their sense of belonging and duty to their country of origin is clearly visible here.

2.7 Linking 'Ideological' and 'Lifestyle' migration

Traditionally 'ideological migration' was used to describe certain forms of migration that, in multiple ways, appear to be distinguishable from 'conventional' economically motivated migration. However, of late, the more popular term has been 'lifestyle migration'. Zaban's (2015; 2017) recent work on the migration of Western Jews to Israel is an important conceptual bridge between what was traditionally called ideological migration and the current focus on lifestyle migration. She explicitly links the two ideas together arguing that this 'ideological' migration stream is a form of lifestyle migration. This claim is complicated by the way lifestyle migration is characterised as being intensely individualistic whereas the migration of Western Jews to Israel appears to be motivated by a more collectivist outlook. Without wishing to get into the details of Zaban's argument, it is enough to acknowledge that lifestyle migration is certainly a form of ideological migration. Benson notes that, 'lifestyle migration is distinct from other forms of migration in its primary motivation: lifestyle' (2012a, p.1682). 'Lifestyle' as we have seen, is intimately bound up with an individualist ideology, focusing on freedom of choice and identity construction. Lifestyle migration then, is

migration carried out from the ideological standpoint of the individual as an abstract, free consumer of their own life. As Benson and O'Reilly put it, 'lifestyle as a concept offers a way of introducing both choice and consumption into discussions about migration, complicating the image of the migrant (2016, p.14). Thus, as Korpela (2014) observes, ' lifestyle migrants seem to be a perfect empirical example of what sociologists of individualism have been theorising about' (p.34). Korpela found that her subjects articulated their entire migration project from a radically individualised perspective, centred around notions of 'self - realisation' and 'freedom of choice'. She asserts that, unlike the 'typical' transnational migrant who migrates to send remittances back to his or her family or community, 'the goal of lifestyle migration is happiness and individual satisfaction…. the aim is to improve one's personal life, not the conditions within wider society' (p.41). There is thus a contrast here between individualistic 'anational' lifestyle migration and the more commonly theorised transnational, and thus more collectivist orientated migration. Korpela's (2014) work provides evidence of anational tendencies within her subjects. She cites the example of a woman who was refusing to raise her children with any sense of cultural identity, allowing them total freedom in this respect. The respondent explained, '[w]e are global players, we don't want any identification of religion, nothing. We don't want any traditional mark' (p.32).

To briefly summarise, this section has laid out some of the theoretical concepts which guide this thesis. It provided a working definition of how the terms individualism and collectivism have been used in academia and how the terms can be usefully applied in the context of migration studies. It introduced the concept of ideological migration and how the concept of the geographical imagination can help us understand migration decision making and practices beyond economic motivations. It also provided a conceptual link between ideological and lifestyle migration arguing that lifestyle migration constitutes a form of ideological migration. This chapter will continue with the theme of ideological outlooks influencing migration decision making and practices and in doing so will help to make clearer how the concepts of individualism and collectivism can be useful when thinking about these issues.

3. Examples of ideological migration

In addition to the stated goals above, the empirical examples that follow serve to demonstrate that a core commonality between them is the idea that would be migrants feel they do not 'belong' in the country of origin and instead their ideological outlook and associated ideals surrounding quality of life are closer to those prevalent in the migration destination. It is worth mentioning that I have not included examples of 'forced' migration (for example due to wars or environmental disasters) since these types of migration clearly do not bare much resemblance to the idea of one's ideal 'lifestyle' influencing one's migration decision making. To put this in terms of Maslow's (1943) concept of a hierarchy of needs, the examples that follow focus on migration that aims to satisfy the top three tiers of the pyramid rather than the bottom two (see figure 4).

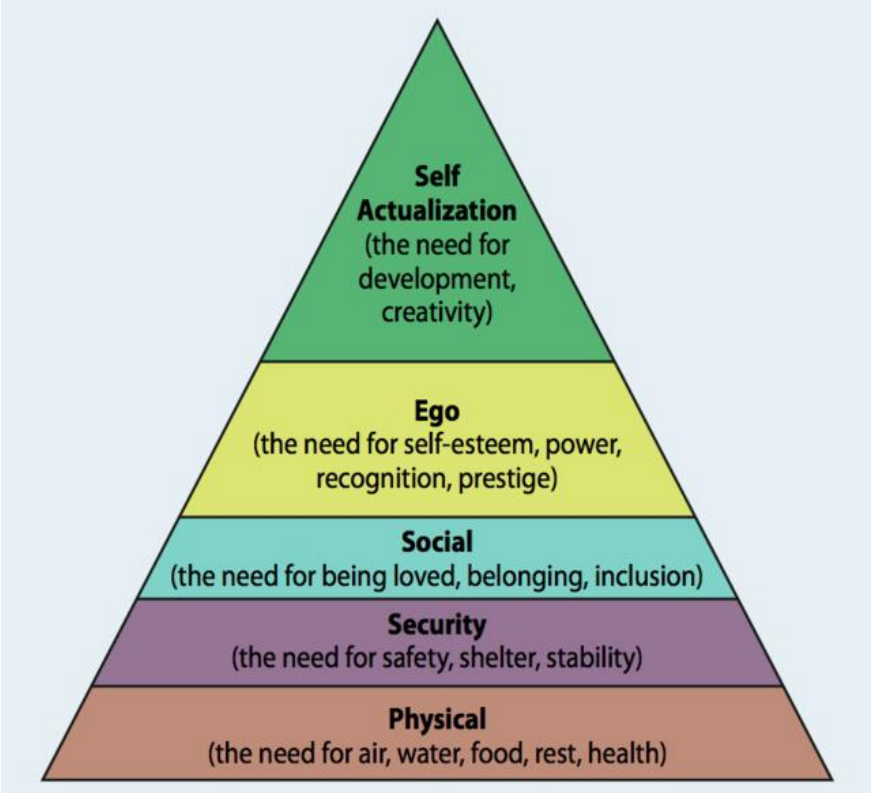

Figure 4. Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Available at: https://www.simplypsychology.org/maslow.html

3.1 Chinese professional migration to the United States

Wang's research (1998;2005) examined how migrants' ideological outlook can shape migration processes. She argues that an analysis of the ideological orientation of migrants can

help to understand migration patterns between countries that differ culturally as well as politically and economically. She notes that the reliance on theories of assimilation to explain an ideological shift means that, ' the ideology factor is often treated as a consequence of migration rather than a determinant' (1998, p.38). Wang restricted her subject pool to Chinese academics in the US. Her research was based on twenty-four life-history interviews and 214 open-ended interviews. She compared her subjects' attitudes to Chinese (collectivist) and American (individualist) ideology using logistical regression analysis of longitudinal data to demonstrate that symbolic and cultural capitals, ideological orientation, and class origin can all have a causal effect on migration decisions (2005, p.228). The findings of her research indicated that those Chinese academics who felt more aligned toward an individualist ideology were more likely to settle in the US. Conversely, those who felt more aligned to traditional Chinese collectivist ideology were more likely to return to China upon completion of their studies at American universities.

3.2 Jewish migration to Israel from the Global North

Ideological migration to Israel is a curious exception to the trend in that it provides a case where a group of people from an individualistic society migrate to align themselves with a collectivist identity since it is in large part Zionist ideology that motivates the migration of Western Jews to Israel. It is also a special case in relation to the themes of this thesis given that Israel was created relatively recently specifically as an ethno-state. As part of an imagined historical diaspora, many Jewish migrants feel they can only fully express a sense of collectivist identity as Israeli citizens. Dashefsky and Lazerwitz write that 'the motivation for migration is tied primarily to a strong sense of Jewish religious and ethnic identification' (1983, p.263). Similarly, Beenstock observes that Western 'emigration to Israel is predominantly ideological; economic motives play a secondary role since 'most Westerners take a cut in living standards' (Beenstock 1996, p.955). Dashefsky and Lazerwitz describe how Jewish Americans' motivation for migration often arises from the inner conflict between their identity as Jews and identity as Americans. They are extremely aware of their status as a minority and feel excluded from the wider American society. They feel a sense of alienation, which is more social and cultural rather than political. They are not satisfied with their experience of Jewish identity as a minority diaspora and instead desire the benefits derived from being, 'part of a "normal" society, in which they are part of the cultural and political

majority' (Dashefsky & Lazerwitz 1983, p.273). Dashefsky and Lazerwitz thus frame the desire of American Jews to migrate to Israel as, 'more pulled than pushed' (1983, 268). The Israeli Law of Return enacted in 1950 (Toren 1978) framed Jewish immigrants not as, 'newcomers but rather as "returnees", namely, people who were "temporarily" and forcibly absent from their homeland and returning to it with devotion and full rights' (Smooha 2004). There is then a paradox of longing to 'return' to a place they have never been.

Immigrants from poorer countries such as the former USSR were less likely to be ideologically motivated, again providing evidence that class and affluence matters (Beenstock 1996; Shuval, 1998). Despite this, Soviet Jews who migrated to Israel were still less likely to become demoralised about their migration experience than those Soviet Jews who moved to the U.S. In their study on demoralisation amongst Soviet Jewish migrants, Flaherty et al. (1988) write that, 'The Israeli immigrant population can feel a sense of "Jewishness" and connection to Jewish tradition simply by living in Israel' (p. 596). Conversely, those in the U.S. actively need to construct their Jewish identity. It is not a given that their need for an identity will be satisfied by the wider society. Regarding the migration of Soviet Jews, from 1970 – 1982, the main reason given for exit visa applications was 'family reunification'. From the early '80s onwards, this changed to 'repatriation'. Soviet Jews too began to feel a sense that Israel was their true "home" (Flaherty et al. 1988). With the rise in the migration of non-Jews to Israel as well as Jews from developing countries, Shuval disputes that most migration to Israel is ideological now (1998). Still, Western migration to Israel remains ideologically motivated.

3.3 Urban to urban lifestyle migration: the attraction of cities

One cannot explain migration to urban centres solely in terms of economic factors. Brandes (1975), cites the variety of entertainment and leisure activities as a key draw too. Cities are sources of stimulation and diversion and present a multitude of opportunities both personal, social and economic (Robson 1988). A key attraction of cities lies in their perceived status as places of individual freedom; where one is able to choose one's lifestyle and identity (Raban 1974). As Griffiths and Maile (2014) observe, cities offer, 'possibilities… for individual self-development' and are imbued with 'imaginative potential' (p.141). Conversely, 'The countryside is hemmed in by deference to authority and tradition, a suffocating network of ritual obligations' (Short 1991, p.37). Prado's (1995) ethnographic work on life in small town

Brazil is a perfect example of how a culture of *personalism* can result in feelings of claustrophobia and lack of freedom. Her subjects often spoke of their excursions to nearby larger towns and cities in terms of being able to temporarily enjoy the individualised anonymity that that these spaces can offer. In terms of permanent and semi-permanent migration to cities, Fuguitt and Zuiches (1975) also found that their subjects emphasised the quality of life in cities as tied to an ideology of individualism and the freedom not to conform to social norms.

Florida (2012) observes that this is by no means a recent phenomenon. In the 1920s, Carolyn Ware recorded that the residents of New York's Greenwich Village had come, 'to seek escape from their community, their families, or themselves (1935, pp.5, 37 *seen in* Florida 2012, p.200).'. They were, 'intensely individualistic in both their social relations and their point of view' (ibid.). They rejected, 'the joining habit' and instead took, 'full advantage of both the selectiveness and anonymity the city offered' (ibid.). Instead of a traditional life, 'they maintained individual ties with friends scattered all over the city' (ibid.). Florida characterises these 'weak ties', as the freedom of 'quasi-anonymity' and argues that this is an important driver for migration to large cities. Most work on lifestyle migration has focused on either urban to rural migration and/or migration from developed countries to developing. But it is important to highlight that lifestyle migration can also be applied in an urban to urban context. What follows are three examples: migration from London to Berlin, Tokyo to London and New York and Wellington and Auckland to London. The aim of these case studies is to show how the lifestyle migration literature has expanded to account for urban to urban migration streams but, what one cannot help notice in a review of the recent research on lifestyle migration is the lack of examples from cities in the Global South to cities in the Global North.

By providing the following case studies, I aim to show in the empirical chapters how my work on what I argue is a form of lifestyle migration from the Global South to the Global North fits within the existing body of literature. In the bulk of lifestyle migration literature, Griffiths and Maile observe that cities are typically portrayed, 'as an overwhelmingly impersonal, negative space' (2014, p.140). They thus correctly argue that, '[a]n understanding of the attraction of urban spaces for lifestyle migrants remains relatively underdeveloped' (ibid.). However, even in this case, much of the language used by Griffiths

and Maile's subjects to compare Berlin and London is evocative of the language used by lifestyle migrants to describe their migration to rural locations and they often contrast London unfavourably with Berlin in this respect. London is 'the polar-opposite' to Berlin. London is characterised by their subjects by a lack of space, the rudeness of strangers and a general sense of frenetic, neurotic restlessness. Berlin is described as having abundant open space where people are 'less judgmental' and more laidback. The city is imbued with a general, 'lack of a rush' (p.151). Another salient aspect of Griffiths and Maile's subjects is their radical individualism and anationalism. For example, Anitkou, born in London to Cypriot parents, described how he never truly felt English or Cypriot. For Anitkou, Berlin is the ideal city for 'outsiders' like himself and felt he was fully able to express his individualism there. He lived in a Tamil household and practiced 'exotic (as in 'ethnic' rather than 'exotic') dance' which he felt allowed him to express his unique identity free from collectivist ties of nationality and family. Griffiths and Maile make it clear that, for many Londoners, Berlin is a place to 'shift down a gear' (p.148). Perhaps for others London is a place to 'shift up a gear'?

This very idea is explored by Conradson and Latham (2007) in their research on migration from New Zealand to London. They argue that,' the affective possibilities of London' (p.237) are a key draw for New Zealanders that operate, 'alongside its labour market opportunities' (ibid.). They thus speak of an, 'affective economy, within which the experiential… affordances of… London are evaluated' (ibid.). Many of their subjects were attracted to this experiential and affective aspect of living in London with professional motivations often taking place. They note that, 'individuals were often seeking to maintain rather than strongly progress their careers' (p.240). Instead, 'time for the travel and other lifestyle opportunities afforded by the residence in London' (ibid.) took priority. In addition to lifestyle opportunities and the general 'buzz' of London, many of those interviewed by Conradson and Latham articulated their appreciation of the city in terms of the possibilities it provided to loosen 'social ties to people and places 'back home' (ibid.). Further, London is a place where one could 'blend in' and reduce one's 'personal visibility' becoming an anonymous individual instead of a known person (p.241). Elsewhere, Conradson and Latham (2005) have emphasised the importance of 'self-development' in the motivations for Kiwis to live in London. London, 'presents them with a chance to become a different person' (p.2007, p.247). There is thus a parallel here with Korpela's (2014) Western migrants to India.

Using the case study of the migration of young middle-class Japanese to London and New York, Fujita's (2004) work provides an excellent example of the importance of non-economic factors in analysing migration flows since Japan is at an approximately equal level of development to the UK and USA. Although Fujita highlights how media flows have helped to create 'cultural ideological links' (p.23) between host and sending nations her research demonstrates how economic considerations are not mutually exclusive to a consideration of cultural and ideological ones. She reveals that a key 'repel' (DellaPergola 1984) factor motivating young Japanese to emigrate is the high unemployment rate in Japan. However, the situation becomes more complex by the fact that these emigrants already enjoy a high level of material and social affluence due to the willingness of their parents to support their unemployed offspring. Further, at the time Fujita conducted her research, the UK and USA actually had slightly higher youth unemployment rates than Japan (Fernandes Sousa & Fedec 2016). It therefore seems unlikely that Japanese are migrating due to wage differentials, real employment opportunities or higher material quality of life. Instead, Fujita shows that London holds an attraction in the geographical imagination of her subjects which is based around its status, 'as a place where they can acquire 'distinction' (p.23) concluding that, 'these young Japanese have actually migrated to their imagined West' (ibid.). It is not so much the reality of living in London or New York, which is the attraction, but the *imagined* reality. Fujita's subjects felt they had reached a 'dead end' (p.27) in their lives in Japan and many, 'emphasised their hopes of finding a more fulfilling life' (ibid.). Again, here, 'fulfilling', signifies ideas of independence and finding *meaningful* employment rather than simply the prospect of earning more money in the 'West'. Interestingly, Fujita notes that there were different cultural expectations and aims amongst those subjects who emigrated to New York compared to those who chose London. Those who desired New York saw themselves finding employment in the entertainment and pop culture industries whereas those who chose London associated the city more with opportunities to be employed in 'high culture' industries. Since they identified more with this kind of cultural production this image of London as a hub of high cultural production influenced their decision to move there. Thompson (2016) too found that amongst Filipino emigrants those who formed an identity around, 'anime, K- Pop and gaming (dominant forms of Asian pop culture) usually aimed to migrate to places within Asia'. Conversely, Filipinos, 'who primarily engaged with US and British pop culture… aspired to move to 'the Global North' (p. 4).

3.5. The effect of return on ideological outlook

Chapter Six incorporates an analysis of how the act of returning, either by visiting or more on a more long term basis, can affect the way migrants perceive not only their country of origin but also the destination. Therefore, it is worth exploring some of the literature on this phenomenon. In fact, there is good evidence that returning to the place of origin either by visiting or as an intended long term migration can affect not only the values of the migrant but also of the society the migrant returns to. Lindstrom & Muñoz-Franco (2006) found evidence that urban to rural return migration introduced urban lifestyle and cultural trends and practices to the rural setting. In their case it was information about and use of contraceptives and maternal healthcare. Interestingly, DeBiaggi (2004) found that, for most of subjects, these changes in values were temporary and few maintained this more egalitarian view of family life and division of household responsibilities upon return to Brazil. However, there were some that did so successfully with both men and women respecting each other as *individuals*. In his work on Brazilian migration to the U.S., Marcus (2010) reflects a similar theme. He found that that Brazilian men tended to experience an 'emasculation' living in the United States whereas female migrants tended to fair better. This seems to occur due to the breakdown of the 'home' and the 'street' (DaMatta 1991a). Women enter the world of the street through independent employment and men are often obliged to enter the home in the form of undertaking domestic cleaning work or sharing household chores in their places of residence. This can have the effect of undermining the men's sense of masculinity and self-worth. Brazilian migrants often suffer from the experience of cultural transformation when migrating to the U.S. Their return is often provoked by cultural homesickness and a need to rediscover their Brazilian identity family and friends. However, they can also suffer from the re-acculturation process upon returning, particularly within the realm of social roles. Many of DeBiaggi's returnees experienced a kind of 'reverse culture shock [translation mine]', reporting that they 'felt like a stranger' in Brazil. This was typically due to the cultural habits that they had picked up while away. They thus end up identifying more with their adopted country than their own. In line with Martes (2004), DeBiaggi found that a key element of this 'reverse cultural shock' stemmed from the positive treatment they received from U.S. institutions, despite not even being legal citizens of the U.S., compared to the way Brazilian institutions would treat them even though in Brazil

they were, in theory, full citizens with rights. DeBiaggi's research thus confirms Margolis' (1994) conception of 'yo yo' migration, where returnees often end up heading back to the U.S. after finding themselves dissatisfied and unable to relate to the Brazilian culture having been away from it for so long. Siqueira (2007) also records a difficulty in culturally readapting in her study of Brazilian migrants who return from the U.S.

4. Brazilian migration to the UK

Although there have been Brazilians living in the UK since at least the beginning of the twentieth century (Robins 2014), their numbers remained low until the 1960s when many Brazilians, exiled from Brazil by the military government, chose the UK as a place to seek refuge (Kubal et al. 2011). By the 1980s the profile of Brazilian migrants had shifted from political to 'economic exiles' due to what Sales (1999) has termed a 'triennium of disillusionment'. A series of economic crises leading to hyperinflation, chronically low salaries and a general pessimism about Brazil's new democratic political system, spurred many middle-class Brazilians to seek a better life in destinations such as the United States, Europe and Japan. From the early 2000s the rate of Brazilian migration steadily increased (see figure 5). As well as further economic turmoil in the Southern cone countries (Pellegrino 2004), the United States' tightening of their immigration controls after September 11th, 2001, made the UK a more attractive destination for Brazilian migrants (Margolis 2009; Margolis 2013; Frangella 2010). This period also saw the demographic of migrants shift from middle-class to lower middle-class Brazilians. It was also the time where evidence of a more permanent population began to emerge. For example, the creation of several institutions that catered to the Brazilian community, most notably ABRIR (The Brazilian Association for Educational Initiatives in the UK) in 2006 and Casa do Brasil (Brazil House – an immigrant advisory service) in 2008. It was at this point that whole families (as well as individuals) also began to migrate in substantial numbers to the UK (Kubal et al. 2011).

The next decade saw further changes to Brazilian migration. The UK Home Office began to exercise more scrutiny over the numbers of Brazilians they admitted to the country. Brazilians have never needed visas to come as tourists and this has traditionally been the most popular method of entry for those wishing to work illegally. But from the late nineties to mid-two-thousands, the numbers of Brazilians turned away at the border jumped dramatically even though the numbers arriving each year had only slightly increased (ibid.)

The demographic of Brazilian migrants now seems to have become more middle-class again. It is not only now harder for Brazilians coming as 'tourists' to enter the UK but those that come purely to work and save money, are faced with the barriers of stagnating wages and rising living costs as well as increased competition from EU migrants (Robins 2014, Frangella, 2010). The current population of Brazilians residing in the UK stands at about 300,000 (Evans 2015), the vast majority of whom reside in London (ibid.)

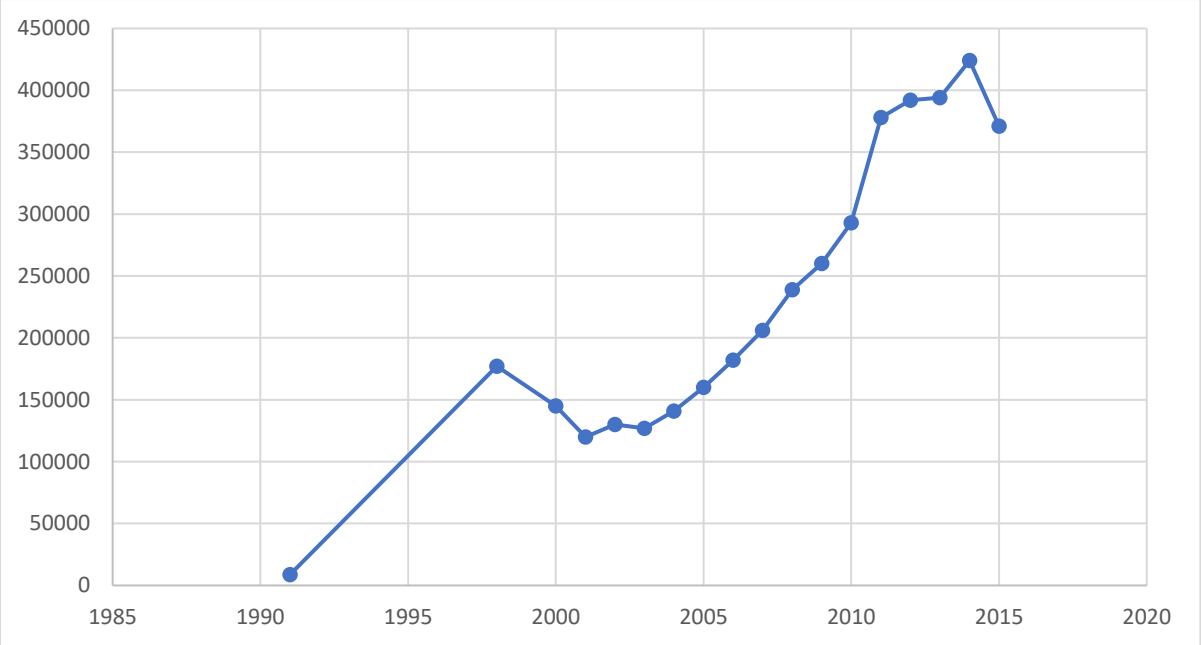

Figure 5. Total number of Brazilians given leave to enter the UK (numbers for missing years not available). Data available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/home-offices-immigration-statistics-arrivals-data

4.1 Demographics of the Brazilian population of the UK

The following information is largely based on the most recent large-scale quantitative survey of Brazilians living in the UK conducted by Evans et al. (2015). Of course, it cannot be said with certainty that the survey represents the entire Brazilian population of the UK. Still, with 700 respondents, the authors are confident that 'it is indicative of the characteristics and experiences of many Brazilians that live in the UK' (p.8). It is thus a useful document in demonstrating that there exists a sizeable number of Brazilian migrants whose social and cultural practices do not conform to established conceptions of migrant 'communities' and whose motivations to migrate, settle and return are difficult to account for using traditional

understandings of migration that rely on neoclassical or social networks based theories. The majority of the survey's respondents were aged between thirty and thirty-nine. Most were highly educated: 56% have either an undergraduate or postgraduate university education. A further 17% reported that they had attended university but did not graduate. Most respondents hailed from the relatively wealthy southern and south-eastern Brazilian states such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Paraná. In terms of duration of stay, around 65% reported that they had been in the UK for five years or more and around 25% for over ten years. In terms of their location, most Brazilians are based in London (69%). Within London though, it has been observed that Brazilians do not follow other migrant groups' patterns of settlement (Kubal et al. 2011) in that they are noticeably more evenly scattered around the city when compared to other groups. Still, there are areas which do have slightly higher concentrations than others. The borough of Brent is the most prominent example. Most respondents reported that they worked full time with the most popular sectors being, consumer services, administration and business.

4.2 Transnationalism and Brazilians in London

Although a key concern of this thesis is the phenomenon of Brazilian migrants distancing themselves from transnational cultural and social practices and institutions, it is still worth exploring the literature which covers Brazilian migration to London through the lens of transnationalism to observe the differences in perspective. Sheringham's (2011; 2013) work on the role of Brazilian religious institutions in the lives of Brazilian migrants in London provides an excellent insight into the characteristics of transnational migration. She describes how Brazilian churches act as surrogate families for many migrants. They act as a source of direction and meaning to those who are in danger of 'losing themselves' (2011, p.245). One of Sheringham's interviewees describes his church as 'the "base" of everything for him in London: "friends, work everything' (ibid.). The churches serve as an important focal point for those whose ideological outlook and identity is rooted in Brazilian culture. The 'Brazilianess' of the churches is a fundamental component of their migration experience: these are migrants who have come to London who, in many ways, see upheaval from Brazil and its culture as an obstacle rather than a driver to migrate.

Thus, for this group of migrants, transnational support networks are vital both in practical terms of helping to secure accommodation and employment but also to provide a

psychological barrier against the trauma of migrating by providing a link to their origin culture. In her study of the Brazilian population of London, Brightwell (2010, 2012) takes commodity culture as her frame of analysis, studying how the way Brazilian food is marketed and sold in London contributes to the formulation of a 'diasporic' interpretation of Brazil's 'national cuisine'. Studying transnationalism via commodity culture is an approach also advocated for by Crang et al. (2003) who view it as a productive avenue of research. For Crang et al. focusing on commodities, 'widens the field of study to encompass a range of activities, goods people and ideas' (p.446). These phenomena would otherwise fail to qualify as transnational if the focus were to remain on human migration. Such an approach, is also advocated by Jackson (2002) who argues that studying commodity culture assists in dissolving the distinction between 'culture' and 'economy' recognising that the two concepts are deeply intertwined with each other. Brightwell found that the driver for the sector was what she terms the *economia da saudade* (homesickness/nostalgia economy)' (2012, p. 51). For buyers of Brazilian foodstuffs, these commodities act as a way of connecting them to the culture from which they have been separated. She writes, 'away from home, the banality of these products brings a scarce and desired familiarity. The colours and shapes of the packages evoke memories of routines prior to immigration [translation mine]' (2010, p.27). At the same time, in the translation of Brazilian food into the context of London, the act of recreation contributes to the essentialising of Brazilian cuisine.

Further, Brightwell shows that food can serve as a focal point for where 'meanings of "Brazilianess" and its representations are disputed' (ibid.). She points out that Brazil itself is already a 'diaspora place' with a diverse variation of cuisine from state to state (p.61). Indeed, much of 'Brazilian cuisine' has transnational origins and is already hybridised: Brazilian sushi and pizza for example. When this food culture is translated to London within Brazilian food shops it becomes necessarily homogenised: a food retailer would not be able to profit by catering to regional variations. Instead, they restrict themselves to national recognised brands. In this way, '"Brazilian" is deployed by shop owners as a label that can work across all sorts of differences' (p. 64). Within the restaurant sector, a greater degree of adaptability was possible, with the interesting result of chefs finding themselves cooking 'national Brazilian dishes' from regions that they had never experienced back in Brazil. In this way, as Brightwell herself notes about her own experience as a migrant in London, many

Brazilians become 'more Brazilian in London [translation mine]' (2010, 24). One point of interest regarding Brightwell's work is that she recorded that most diners and cafes that focused on Brazilian clientele provided food that was based on a mix of 'Mineira and Goiana' culinary traditions (2012, p.72) even though the bulk of Brazilians in London come from São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Minas Gerais and Goiás are poorer states in Brazil and migrants who hail from these states consequently tend to be from poorer backgrounds. It seems then that transnational eating places play a more important role for poorer 'economic' migrants than for the more affluent Paulistas and Cariocas who seem to have a more individualistic outlook on their migration experience and do not feel it to be so necessary to reconnect with their home via transnational cuisine. Most relevant for the purposes of this research was Brightwell's encounters with Brazilians that avoided these transnational cultural commodities. Brightwell notes that some of her interviewees actively avoided Brazilian food. They contended that an attachment to Brazilian food, 'constrained the development of wider identity projects through the incorporation of new tastes' (p.73). One of her interviewees had this to say about these transnational spaces of commodity consumption and the Brazilians that frequented them:

> They are stuck in a circle and they do not open their eyes to learn other things. They do not live the country's culture; they don't even know the country's geography… And when they see *Guaraná* [a Brazilian soft drink], they buy *Guaraná*, when they see *coxinha* [a type of savoury snack], they buy *coxinha* and they eat *coxinha* and drink *Guaraná*. I honestly don't eat *coxinha* and *Guaraná* and I'm not going to pay for it. It is not that I don't like it, but I am not here to live the Brazilian life. I came to broaden my tastes (2012, p.72).

We shall see that this attitude is also reflected in my empirical chapters. Brightwell also found a similar sentiment amongst some of the Brazilian business owners who, 'were frustrated by the fact that they were selling Brazilian culture when the objective of coming to the UK was to get immersed in the host culture' (ibid.). Still, she also recorded that for others, the decision to avoid Brazilian businesses stemmed from an inability to cope with the overwhelming emotions of homesickness that an immersion into Brazilian culture in London provoked (2010). In her work on the production and circulation of Brazilian cultural artefacts in London Frangella (2010) identifies two main streams. The first is characterised by, 'the production and innovation of Brazilian culture, promoted in part by the growing emphasis by

and for Londoners of trendy images of Brazil as a cultural product [translation mine]' (p.33). The second stream stems from a, 'significant increase in Brazilian immigrants to the United Kingdom… and consequently a heterogeneity of the immigrants and in the dynamics of commercial and cultural experiences that come with them' [translation mine] (ibid.) Frangella thus sets out to examine how migration has affected these two categories. The first stream, often created by and for non-Brazilians, is of limited interest to the actual Brazilian inhabitants of the city and is characterised by a certain superficiality, commerciality and heavily reliant on popular Brazilian stereotypes. Commercial 'Brazil' themed events in London shopping malls are one example used by Frangella.

In the second stream, created by and for the migrants themselves, there is a greater interaction between Brazilians and other Londoners. Frangella identifies points however, where the two streams intersect. She uses the example of the *Paraíso* [Paradise] Samba School winning the Notting Hill Carnival in 2005 as a watershed moment in the rising visibility and thus recognition of the Brazilian population of London. She writes that this moment demonstrated, 'the interlocking of two movements: one internal to the emerging community and the other on the border between it and the global flows of consumption of cultural goods [translation mine]' (p.36). Drawing on the work of Appadurai (1994), Frangella shows how the emergence of the *Paraíso* Samba School is an example of how the significance of transnational flows of cultural artefacts is constantly reshaped as they are translated from place to place and context to context. As well as, or rather within, the production of national stereotypes, lies the possibility of innovation and reimagining enabled by the vibrant nature of London's dynamics.

Frangella, like Brightwell, notes that with the influx of new migrants came an economy of *saudade* [homesickness], but this increased demand for Brazilian food, entertainment and culture interlinked, 'with the intensification of Brazilian cultural assets, promoted in the flow of more globalized networks of cultural goods' (2010, p.38). There is thus a continuous interaction between the internal production of cultural goods by and for the Brazilian migrant population itself and its intersections with the inhabitants of the wider city. This idea of an economy of *saudade* will prove to be important for the purposes of the empirical chapters of this thesis since its existence is often used as a form of boundary work

(Bygnes 2017) or distinction between the middle-class Brazilian migrants and their perceived lower-middle-class 'others'.

4.3 Transnational identities of Brazilian migrants

These lower-middle-class Brazilians tend to be at a disadvantage since they are either on tourist visas (which may be expired) or on student visas which limit their ability to work and the rights they can claim. A study of this group was undertaken by Dias (2009). Dias characterises London with its preponderance of foreigners, not only tourists but shop workers and owners, as a 'cultural superabundance' [translation mine] which obliges one to treat this space as an 'ephemeral locale' [translation mine] (p.77). Dias likens this to Augé's (1995) concept of 'non-place': somewhere 'which cannot be defined as relational, historical or concerned with identity' (p. 77). For Dias, London's 'super diversity' (Vertovec 2007), 'offers a chance to glimpse how the migrant self-defines for both the other and himself when he is outside his territorial borders and also after he returns to his country' (Dias 2009, p. 5).

Dias divides recent Brazilian migrants into two rough categories. The first category is comprised of the documented: those with European passports or work visas. The second are the 'semi-documented': those on tourist visas or student visas. Dias focuses on the latter group who, faced with the prospect of living in a 'non-place' like London, must carve out his or her own identity. Dias employs DaMatta's (1991) distinction between *a casa* [the home] and *a rua* [the street] in order to analyse how and why Brazilian migrant identity is formed. On arrival, the priority is to secure a 'home' both literally, by finding a place to live (almost always with other Brazilians) and figuratively embedding themselves in a transnational social network of other Brazilian migrants. Conversely, 'the street' is portrayed as 'risky' [translation mine] since here migrants can find themselves without their transnational support networks and without the possibility to communicate in Portuguese. This linguistic barrier can make the public space, 'even more hostile than it appears, especially when there is contact with the other – the native – or others (other migratory groups…)' [translation mine] (p. 22). Dias notes that it is through interaction with 'the street' that spurs his subjects to elaborate and reinforce a Brazilian national identity which they use to contrast with the other of the 'English'. Interestingly, since many of Dias' respondents had little contact with natives or even with other migrant groups these constructions were based on social and geographical imaginaries conceived within the Brazilian transnational social networks. When confronted

with the 'hostile space' [translation mine] of 'the street', 'the Brazilian migrant boxes himself around these identity values considered as "natural" to differentiate and even protect himself in relation to other identities' [translation mine] (p. 34). It is not only in the spaces of 'home' and 'the street' that these migrants negotiate and define their Brazilian identity. Of equal importance are the leisure spaces. Dias states that his subjects specifically seek leisure spaces which are geared towards Brazilian culture and aimed at the transnational Brazilian migrant community rather than the general public. Dias notes that, 'for the Brazilian immigrant, leisure is not essentially linked to the enjoyment of the English culture or the universal [here we could also read *cosmopolitan*] culture that the city offers' (p. 44). For Dias' subjects, Brazilian social, leisure and cultural spaces offer, 'a chance to rescue what was left behind, what was left in [the]country of origin and that somehow helps with homesickness' (p. 44). Dias' subjects then are portrayed as quintessential transnational migrants. They view the 'otherness' of London as a barrier towards their primary goal of earning money and returning home. As one of his respondents' remarks about his working hours, 'I do not care how flexible I need to be. The more I work here, the sooner I can return to my home and my family' [translation mine] (p. 23). Further, these migrants view the 'the cultural superabundance' of London in terms of a hostile unknown which they respond to by retreating into their identity as Brazilians.

In parallel to Dias' lower-middle-class subjects, when middle-class Brazilians move to a place where there is still an established sense of a 'host' majority, that operates within the paradigm of the 'Third Empire' (Magno, 1999) they may often come up against feelings of exclusion and maladaptation to this society. To illustrate, take Rezende's (2006) work on middle-class Brazilians who migrated between 1985 and 1995 to pursue doctorates at 'Western' universities. Rezende explores how, negative experiences in terms of how these Brazilian students were treated by their 'hosts', led to a reinforcing of an imagined national identity. Like Dias' (2009) subjects, their time abroad was viewed as fixed and, to acquire capital (educational for Rezende's subjects and for Dias' economic,) which would be utilised back in Brazil rather than in the migration destination. A key difference is that Rezende states that the culture at the destination was initially at least, viewed as a 'pull' by her interviewees although her subjects also experienced emotional difficulties. The recurring themes amongst Rezende's interviewees are that of feelings of irritation and annoyance at how they, as

Brazilians, were perceived by the faculty at their host universities. This led to an assertion of national identity although, as Rezende is careful to point out, one that, unlike Dias' subjects, 'did not necessarily lead to the construction of social relations and much less of a community of Brazilians' (p.20).

4.4 Quantitative studies on Brazilians in the UK

This theme also features in quantitative studies on Brazilian migrants. The two largest studies are the THEMIS (Theorising the Evolution of Migration Systems in Europe) (2016) project at the IMI (Institute for Migration Studies) based at the University of Oxford and the large scale survey of the Brazilian population of London by Evans et al.(2015). Although social networks often help Brazilian migrants find initial employment (Evans et al. 2015, p.29), many respondents in the survey stated that it was unimportant for them to socialise with Brazilians (46%) while a sizeable number avoided socialising with Brazilians altogether (34%). Similarly, when questioned on their leisure activities, the majority chose non-Brazilian venues and consumed non-Brazilian entertainment media. This reflects Brightwell's research into the eating habits of some Brazilian migrants in London (2012, p.72). In fact, within the categories of social activity recorded, respondents were much more likely to partake in activities such as sports, cinema and bars with non-Brazilians than with Brazilians and in non-Brazilian venues and contexts. There were only two exceptions. Those who participated in religious activities were slightly more likely to attend Brazilian churches than other kinds (25% against 22%). When socialising at friend's houses, slightly more would visit Brazilian friends' houses than non-Brazilians (66% compared to 60%).

The THEMIS project is notable because it is one of the only studies to allow us to directly compare Brazilians with other migrant groups. The study collected data from Brazilian, Moroccan and Ukrainian migrants who had moved to three destinations in Europe: Norway, Portugal and the UK. Between 2010 and 2013, a total of 3221 migrants in the three destination countries were interviewed as well as 1517 people in the origin countries who were either return migrants themselves or somehow related to those who had migrated. The project thus provides the largest scale quantitative study of Brazilians in the UK to date. The statistical breakdown of the interviewee responses reveals some interesting information

about the motivations and characteristics of Brazilian migrants in the UK suggesting that Brazilian migrants to the UK and to Europe in general are something of an anomaly when compared to other groups, in terms of their motivations to migrate. Carling & Jolivet (2016), note that, 'Brazilians stand out as the most heterogeneous group in terms of motivations for migration' (p.37). The heterogeneity of Brazilians' motivations to migrate to the UK was also noted in earlier studies (Bloch et al. 2009). In particular, the concept of Brazilians being primarily economically motivated migrants (Jordan & Düvell 2002) is called into question. First, 72% of the Brazilians interviewed had a positive perception of the economic opportunities in their own country. Comparatively, only 53% had a positive perception of economic opportunities in Western Europe (Carling & Jolivet 2016, p.34). In fact, 'opportunities for work' was only the third most popular reason given for the decision to migrate to the UK amongst the Brazilian subjects. 'Learning a language' and 'experiencing culture' are cited as the most popular answers. This renders the Brazilian migrants to the UK (most of whom are based in London) as unique amongst both their peers who moved to other European cities as well as the other migrant groups under observation[4]. Carling & Jolivet go on to observe that the Brazilian migrants in general, 'tend to be more satisfied with the quality-of-life impacts of migration than with the financial benefit' (p.39). In her study of lower middle and middle-class Brazilian migrants in the United States, Martes (2011) notes that although migrants generally experience a reduction in the economic 'prestige' of their work they gain, 'new values that are linked to an increase in consumer power and to a lifestyle and citizenship of greater equality' (p.62).

England	180,000
Portugal	136,000
Italy	85,000
Spain	159,000
Switzerland	57,000
Germany	91,000
France	80,000
Republic of Ireland	18,000

[4] For a list of the Brazilian populations of European countries see figure 6.

Figure 6. Estimated Brazilian population of European countries in 2011 (*seen in* Margolis 2013)

The lack of emphasis on economic motivations amongst Brazilian interviewees is also reflected in the research of Evans et al. (2015). When asked for their primary reason for emigrating, the most popular answer (34%) was, 'for a life/cultural experience'. Further, 39% of respondents stated they had specifically chosen the UK for the 'adventure/language/ culture/ quality of life' (Evans et al. 2015, p.18). It is worth noting that although it may appear that 'quality of life' denotes an economic motive, there is often an underlying ideological element (Torresan 2007; 2012). This has also been noted by Margolis (2013) who ties many Brazilians' desires to emigrate to, 'the widespread ideology that all that is modern is located abroad in the United States and in Western Europe' (p.18). Beserra, arguing from a different perspective, also highlights that viewing Brazilian's motivation to migrate as 'economic' is an oversimplification. For many Brazilians, migrating, 'means far more than just acquiring money or prestige in general. It means getting closer to the coloniser's stereotype and detaching oneself from the fate of a colonised person' (2003, p.58).

4.5 A comparison of Brazilian migration literature to lifestyle migration literature

There are many parallels between the migration of middle (and upper middle-class) Brazilians and 'lifestyle' migrants as commonly understood. Torresan's (2007; 2011; 2012) research on Brazilian migrants in Lisbon found that many had moved to afford a lifestyle that was not possible in Brazil's urban centres. As one of her subjects puts it, 'So when you ask me if I think I'm an economic immigrant, the idea of economic migration is directly related to my ideal of life' (2012, p.120). Further, this 'ideal of life' is directly tied to notions of a lifestyle that focuses on individual happiness and freedom from family obligations. Torresan characterises this lifestyle as a, 'middle-class ideology that included notions of individualism, citizenship, modernity, and democracy'(2012, p.117). Elsewhere, one of Torresan's subjects explains:

> It's difficult to achieve independence from your family with the money you earn there. As a young person, you're always dependent on your parents. In Rio, with the

> same type of job I have here in Lisbon, I would never be able to afford the lifestyle I have here (2011, p.123).

Both Brazilian migrants and lifestyle migrants talk of an 'ideal of life' which they were unable to experience in their home countries; a life which in some way has been lost and that they feel they are entitled to experience. Benson remarks that her subjects often, 'drew attention to the traditional values that they longed for through their migration… something of a life 'lost in Britain' (2012, p.1687). This is the life her subjects associate with rural England in the 1950s, a more trusting, harmonious time where the young respected their elders and crime was less rampant (2009, p.124).

Further, this focus on the affordability of a lifestyle that certain places offer is the same motivation we see from Korpela's (2014) subjects who cited the affordability of their ideal lifestyle in India as a key driver. Similarly, Griffiths and Maile report that many Britons (predominantly from London), as well as being categorised as lifestyle migrants, were lured over to Berlin, in part, by, 'relatively cheap property' (p.146). An effective parallel can be drawn with Torkington's work on British lifestyle migrants in Portugal since they have migrated to the same country as Torresan's Brazilian subjects. Torkington reports that, 'The better quality of life sought out by lifestyle migrants is most usually associated with both material advantages, for instance a lower cost of living and cheaper property prices (2010, p.103). For both groups however, researchers have emphasised that financial considerations are of secondary importance to lifestyle. Torresan argues this point when she writes:

> In this sense, middle-class Brazilians did not migrate to "make money," but to have access to the material means and cultural capital that would allow them to gain emancipation and sustain their status. Even though money was the ultimate means of access, it was cloaked by a higher principle than itself (2012, p.121)

Compare to Torkington's explanation of the motivation behind lifestyle migrants:

> This type of migration is clearly not motivated by economic hardship or the search for work or some form of financial security…. Lifestyle migrants are not post-industrial migrants seeking employment in a more de-regulated and flexible labour market, nor are they part of the transnational flows of highly mobile corporate and intellectual elites (for if work is involved, it is rather a means to an end) (2010, p.102).

There are also parallels to be drawn in both groups' attitude and behaviour towards their migration experience. One notable characteristic is how lifestyle migrants will often seek to demarcate themselves from their migrant peers. Holdsworth (2015) offers a critique of what she terms 'the fetishizing of experience' (p.1). She argues that there is an increasing trend amongst young people to view their travel experiences self-consciously. Henry Miller's (1941) account of his travels mentioned in the previous chapter could be seen as a foreshadowing of this phenomenon. Augé (1995) makes a similar point about tourism when he uses the fact that holiday advertising typically turns the camera on the holidaymaker rather than the holiday itself. This 'cult of experience' thus has the perverse effect of undermining young people's subjectivity. The demand to mark oneself out from the crowd, to emphasise one's uniqueness, rather counter-intuitively, becomes another manifestation of conformity. It is possible to extend this concept of conformity through individualisation into the migratory practices and experiences of both Brazilian migrants in London and British migrants in rural France. One of the most salient similarities is the need for both groups to distinguish themselves from their peers. Benson's work on British lifestyle migrants in the Dordogne provides a good example of the phenomenon of othering one's own peers to assert one's individuality as a migrant. She writes, 'they expressed their continued attempts to distinguish themselves from others, emphasizing that their new lives in the Lot were significantly different from their compatriots' (Benson 2009, p.122). This often operates in tandem with a desire to fit into the local community or culture. Benson observes about her subject that, 'she was particularly keen to highlight the sparseness of the British population and their efforts not to create an insular community but instead to integrate into the local community' (Benson 2012b, p.124). However, this should not be confused with assimilationism as traditionally understood in migration studies. The lifestyle migrant's desire to assimilate stems from a very different ideological perspective. Benson's interviewees do not wish to become French so much as they wish to demonstrate their ability to learn the semiotics of 'Frenchness', while simultaneously maintaining an ironic distance. They 'assimilate', but from a universalised position which allows them to maintain their status as unique individuals (Žižek 1997). For many British migrants in France, it is the British migrants in Spain who really serve as the 'other' from whom they distinguish their own situation and practices as a migrant. Benson observes that, 'many of the migrants also emphasised how easy it was to

migrate to Spain and how little effort incomers had to invest in order to establish their lives there' (2012b, p.124). Thus, Benson uncovers a theme of class distancing in the way that British migrants in France refer to their Spanish counterparts. Here too we can find parallels in the literature on Brazilian migrants in London, many of whom are keen to demarcate themselves from 'those other Brazilians' (Horst et al. 2014) who do not mix with the host society.

Further, there is a distinct element of class snobbery in the discourse of middle and upper middle-class Brazilians towards their lower-class peers. Horst et al. (2016) note that several of their interviewees were very aware of the role that their social class played in their migration project. They thus observe that, 'class impacts the motivations for migration and the way people understand its importance. For some, it is about investing in a new *lifestyle* [emphasis mine], adventure or experience' (p.102). Similarly, Martes' (2011) subjects consistently did not identify with their peers and other migrant groups who worked the same menial jobs. They distinguished themselves from "other Brazilians" (p.173) who they referred to disparagingly as "hicks" (ibid.). Thus, both groups, lifestyle migrants and Brazilian migrants, seek to distinguish themselves from 'those other Brazilians' or those 'other British expats' who they insist they are completely unrelated

to in their attitude to their migratory project and in their practices and experiences once they have migrated.

4.6 Lifestyle as a way to 'save face'

Finally, it is worth noting that some have interpreted Brazilian migrants' emphasis on 'lifestyle' from a more cynical perspective. Pereira and Siqueira (2013) are amongst a handful of researchers of Brazilian migration who explicitly address the phenomenon of lifestyle migration. However, they argue that lifestyle experience is sometimes only emphasised if the aim to make money is unsuccessful. They note that:

> To return without being able to show the "success" of the migration project is extremely painful for the emigrant. The shame, failure and the years lost in the pursuit of their primary objective, to improve their standard of living and consumption are evident when they return without the achievement that was hoped for [translation mine,] (p.126).

The migrant who cannot demonstrate material improvement resulting from their time away is then incentivised to frame their migration project in terms of ‘lifestyle’ rather than material gain. For this group, there is little emphasis in their discourse on earning money or investing in educational capital (p.17). Instead, transformations in identity which the migration process produces is the most prominent aspect of the experience. This is reminiscent of Jordan and Düvell's (Jordan & Düvell 2002; *see also* Jordan & Vogel 1997) framing of the 'traveller's' and 'learner's' accounts of migration as narratives rather than realities. Perhaps then, at least some of those who cite the 'lifestyle' experience as the most important feature of their migration do so only retrospectively, perhaps to save face with others and even themselves, after their initial intentions do not bear fruit.

5. Conclusion

This chapter provided a review of some of the key ideas that inform this thesis. It began by introducing the concepts of individualism and collectivism as two modes of ideological outlook. It then moved on to argue how ideological outlook can affect migration decision-making and practices using some examples from the literature of what has been termed ideological migration. In the process it argued for treating lifestyle migration as a type of ideological migration. It paid attention to urban-to-urban lifestyle migration since this is the category the empirical research falls under. The chapter ended with a comprehensive review of the literature that focuses on Brazilian migration to the UK. This incorporated accounts of transnationalism as it has been researched in the context of Brazilian migration to the UK as well as in its more individualistic ‘lifestyle’ aspects. Of special interest was the comparison of some of the literature on lifestyle migration with Brazilian migration literature. This was important since it helps to support the empirical argument that is made in Chapter Five that certain flows of Brazilian migration to the UK constitutes lifestyle migration. The next chapter will move into the realm of Brazilian studies in order to inform the reader of some key theoretical and historical issues that enrich our understanding of the societal context in which Brazilian migration is taking place.

Figure 7. Map of Brazil. Available at: https://geology.com/world/brazil-satellite-image.shtml

Chapter Three: Brazil in context

1. Introduction

This chapter will provide some background context in terms of Brazil, its history, its cultural and national identity and some of the main social and political issues that are pertinent to this thesis. There are important theoretical justifications for this since an understanding of Brazil and something of its historical context is necessary in order to appreciate the themes that run through the rest of the chapter and that form the empirical chapters and discussion in this thesis. This chapter will thus take the following form. First it will introduce some key aspects of Brazilian cultural geography. It will continue with the theme of individualism and collectivism in order to examine the ways in which Brazil has been framed as an intercultural society in both its history and in contemporary thought. The key arguments here rely on narratives of Brazil as a culture of *mestiçagem* [mixing] (Freyre 1964) and of the idea of Brazilian culture as anthropophagic (Andrade 1999) – one which is capable of absorbing outside influences, cannibalising them and reinterpreting them as something unique. It will then examine the arguments of those who claim that it is more accurate to frame Brazil as multicultural. The main claim here is that the existence of distinct ethnic and racial minorities in Brazil is obscured by an emphasis on Brazil as intercultural. Further, this is particularly problematic for identities that have traditionally stood in an unequal power relationship between coloniser and colonised. Hence proponents argue that recognising Brazil as multicultural allows room for these minority identities to be expressed. The chapter will then provide a historical account of the recent political crises that have plagued Brazil over the last five years culminating in the election of the right-wing populist, Jair Bolsonaro. It ends with an explanation of how 'middle-class' is defined in Brazil and how it is used in the context of this thesis.

2. Intercultural Brazil

The first theme to be tackled is the question of whether Brazil is multicultural or intercultural or a combination of both. Here multicultural suggests a multitude of separate cultures coexisting in one space. Intercultural is more akin to the 'melting pot' theory that different cultures combine to create new cultural forms. In many respects this ties into the question of

whether Brazil can be described as a country that is ideologically dominated by individualism or collectivism. Multiculturalism is a phenomenon that is most closely associated with individualist liberal societies (Joppke 2017). Conversely, characterising Brazil as intercultural can be seen as an attempt to unite the country behind a singular national identity that is reminiscent of the United States and Jamaica's (both countries with many parallels to Brazil in terms of their history and social structure) national motto, *E Pluribus Unum* and 'Out of Many, One People'. Therefore, a brief foray into the debate surrounding whether Brazil is intercultural or multicultural is in order before applying this to the wider themes that guide this thesis.

As Romero (1882) claimed, 'all Brazilians are Mestizos [mixed], if not in their blood, for sure in their ideas' (p.85). Within this idea, can be found the origins of the 'myth' of Brazil as racial democracy which Brazilian institutions are often keen to promote both internally and internationally. This has also been a source of much of the criticism towards the notion that Brazil is intercultural (de Almeida Pereira & White 2001 p.123). There are several historical reasons for the claim that Brazil is intercultural rather than multicultural. First, the Portuguese themselves were already a culturally and ethnically mixed people before they set foot in Brazil. As Schommer (2012) recounts, the native Iberian tribes had been conquered by or mixed with Moors, Phoenicians, Jews and Germanic tribes at various times in history. Buarque da Holanda (2012 [1936]) also claims that, in their encounters with European traders, Ethiopians did not consider the Portuguese to be white Europeans. Judd too makes this claim for how native Hawaiians viewed early Portuguese traders and settlers (1961, p.136). Brazil also never had a formal system of apartheid which meant that racial mixing was more common than in the U.S. or South Africa. Schommer claims that Catholicism played a role since it is a religion that is, 'naturally inclined to accept syncretism' (2012, p.52). Another important point mentioned by Buarque de Holanda (2012) is that the Portuguese never intended to formally colonise Brazil in the same way as the Spanish did with 'New Spain'. Where the Spanish set out to eradicate the existing cultures of South America and replace them with their own, the Portuguese took a more informal, opportunistic view of their relationship to Brazil. This may have been in part because the Portuguese simply did not have the numbers to attempt to colonise Brazil in the same way the Spanish had done to the neighbouring areas.

For a large part of its history then, Brazil was essentially treated as a little more than a place to extract resources from rather than an opportunity to create a new civilisation. Even the country's name stems from Brazilwood trees which were, in the early days, the most valuable extracted resource for the dye they produced. Buarque da Holanda (ibid.) cites some key differences between the Spanish and the Portuguese approach in South America. In the early years of encounters between Portuguese and Tupi-Guarani it was not uncommon for the Portuguese to communicate in the indigenous languages rather than setting out to formally make Portuguese the official language. Where the Spanish would build planned cities, deep in land, with universities, town squares and other key infrastructure being a priority, the Portuguese settlements were much less formal, built on an *ad hoc* basis and limited to the coast. This lack of interest in creating a nation out of Brazil and instead using it only for resource extraction did not change until the Portuguese emperor relocated his court to Rio de Janeiro while fleeing the Napoleonic invasion in 1807. And so while the Spanish were busy attempting to recreate their culture and institutions in South America, even printing remained illegal in Brazil until 1808, some three hundred years after it was founded (de Albuquerque 2005). All these factors combined to allow for a mixing or fusion of cultures, races and ethnicities. Schommer (2012) thus sets up a distinction between multiculturalism and interculturalism. He defines a multicultural society as one of, 'watertight and refractory cultures mixing and living together in the same space' yet never actually merging. By contrast, intercultural stands for 'cultural fusion' (p.82). Schommer asserts that Brazil is the latter but not the former, writing, 'the country is not multicultural, it is a fusion of… trajectories' (p.66). He writes:

> The Brazilian is genetically and phenotypically a mutt with no set "race" [but] and infinite gradient of skin tones and culture… Brazilians are European, African and Amerindian not European, African or Amerindian. And above all it is this way where it really matters: in culture, the sum of experiences that are at once multicontinental, multi-religious and multi-ethnic [translation mine] (p.71).

The idea of Brazil as a 'mutt' has variously been championed and pathologized. Championed most famously by Freyre (1968), who saw Brazilian culture in terms of *mestiçagem* [mixing] and pathologized in the form of the term *o complexo vira-lata* [mutt complex] first coined by Rodrigues in the 1950s (1993) to describe the sense of inferiority that usually middle-class Brazilians are said to feel in comparison to how 'modern' or 'Old World' cultures are viewed.

The relationship that Brazilians have with their culturally and racially mixed heritage then is complex and can be both a source of pride and shame, often simultaneously.

2.1 Brazilian Anthropophagy

An idea that is closely associated with *mestiçagem* and Brazil as intercultural is that of Brazilian Anthropophagy which was first proposed by Oswald de Andrade in his 'Anthropophagic (or Cannibalist) Manifesto' (1999 [1928]). He intended to capture the idea that Brazil could swallow up any external cultural or ideological influences and rearticulate them as something uniquely Brazilian. He declared:

> Only anthropophagy unites us. Socially. Economically. Philosophically.
>
> The unique law of the world. Masked expression of all individualisms, of all collectivisms. Of all religions. Of all peace treaties.
>
> Tupi, or not Tupi that is the question [appears in English in the original]
>
> Against all catechizations. And against the mother of the Gracchi. I am only interested in what is not mine. Law of the human. Law of the anthropophagus. (*trans.* do Carmo Zanini 2006)

As Bosi (1992) frames it, 'de Andrade preached a violent and indiscriminate incorporation of international content and forms…everything would melt into the unconscious organism, in between the anarchic and the matriarchal [trans mine]' (p.322). Brazil, then, is a place where all polarities or dialectics are 'mediated' to create a new synthesis (DaMatta 1995). Brazil has thus been characterised, most famously by DaMatta (1991a, 1991b, 1999 *see also* Neves de Barbosa 1995) as a 'semi-traditional' society. What DaMatta means by this is that the ideologies of 'modern' individualism and 'traditional' collectivism (or, as he terms it, personalism) are deeply intertwined in Brazilian society resulting in a continuous negotiation between the two (Hess 1995). Although Brazil has certainly shifted further towards embracing certain aspects of individualism, in terms of the development of a consumer identity (Barton 2019) and the strengthening of its legal institutions and emphasis on social inclusion (Alston et al. 2016), it is often still spoken of as being 'in transition' (ibid.) and it is clear that the concept of the 'individual' still does not exist in the same way as it does in the Global North. Dumont (1970; 1986) emphasised a distinction between the empirical 'natural' individual (a human being) and the individual as a social value as we saw in the last chapter.

As Neves de Barbosa (1995) observes, 'whereas the individual is defined by performance, the person is defined by social network' (p.43). Brazil, according to Neves de Barbosa, 'is a third type [of society]: the 'semi traditional' (ibid.). Semi-traditional societies synthesise these two social systems. In Brazil, 'performance is always bypassed or combined with a person's "social capital"' (p.43). There are thus always informal institutions that mediate relations between the abstract formal ones. To illustrate this difference between 'Western' and Brazilian ideology, DaMatta employs the distinction between the 'individual' and the 'person'. He writes:

> The idea of the individual as a self-contained, isolated unit has been systematically elaborated in the Global North , whereas the notion of the individual as a multifaceted, complementary, and relational entity – that is, *of the individual as a person* – prevails and dominates in collectivist , hierarchical, and so-called "traditional" societies' (1991b, p.174).

DaMatta writes of dialectic between the notions of the individual and the person existing in all cultures. But it is within Brazilian culture, he argues, that we can find an example of a true synthesis (perhaps a better word is *tension)* between these two concepts. As he points out Brazil, 'does not operate in linear terms and is not, in fact, governed by a single set of rules' (p.275). Specifically, 'universal, global systems are permeated by the code of personal relationships' (DaMatta 1991b, p.196).

2.2 The Brazilian *jeitinho*: individualism, collectivism and equality in Brazil

There is no direct translation of *jeitinho,* but Neves de Barbosa suggests it could be loosely translated as 'pulling strings' or 'cutting through red tape' (1995). She writes:

> The *jeitinho brasileiro,* 'privileges the *human* and *natural* aspects of social reality over the legal, political and institutional ones…. the parameters of the individualistic ideology are bypassed at every moment in our social practice' (p.46).

The public domain is therefore transformed into the private. The *jeitinho brasileiro,* 'reasserts our eternal marriage with a relational and traditional worldview and our equally unending affair with an individualistic and modern ideology' (p.47). In this sense the Brazilian *jeitinho* can have a positive connotation of cordiality, warmth and flexibility compared to the 'cold, inflexible and unemotional' individualistic societies. However, it becomes negative when

applied to how it affects the functioning of the economy, the law and government. Neves de Barbosa (1995) argues that equality in Brazil is seen as a natural 'fact' rather than a universal right. In other words, equality is viewed more along the lines of 'we are all equal in the eyes of God' rather than 'all humans have the universal right to equal treatment'. This difference in how equality is conceived makes it possible to transgress universal egalitarianism. She writes, 'Everybody has the right to equal treatment… [but] individuals in a hurry who expose their personal drama to one of our public servants can move to the front of the line' (p.44). Here the equality of people translates as the fact that everybody is capable of empathising with the one who needs to move to the front since they likely have had a similar personal drama in their own lives. The Brazilian ideological interpretation of equality then, 'does not allow any kind of hierarchizing based on merit or some other universalistic criteria' (p.44). The result is that it, 'nullifies what it was intended to value: the individual' (p.45). Although the mixing of 'traditional' and 'modern' ideologies often results in a kind of blurring or meshing of the two to form a third type, it is worth pointing out that in in other cases, the two can exist in parallel with little interaction between the two (Goldstein 2003).

2.3 Ethnicity in Brazil

In the same way that individualism and collectivism operate side by side in Brazilian society, DaMatta explains that the three principal ethnicities that formed Brazil, 'relate via a logic of inclusion that is articulated on planes of contemporary opposition'(1995, p.273). All three exist simultaneously and Brazil can therefore be called 'White', 'Black', or 'Indigenous' depending on which aspects of Brazilian culture one wants to articulate. In the U.S. one is either Black or White or Indigenous whereas in Brazil 'mediations are not only possible but fundamental' (p.274). DaMatta illustrates this idea about Brazil, quoting the Jesuit Giovanni Antonio Andreoni who observed back in 1711 that, 'Brazil is hell for Blacks, Purgatory for Whites and Paradise for Mullatoes" (p.289). This naturally raises the question: what if a Brazilian *is* Black or White or Indigenous? The implication is that they are then somehow less Brazilian than those who are culturally and racially 'mediated'. For example, Degler (1971) famously theorised a 'mulatto escape hatch' in Brazilian society, noting that, unlike in the U.S., Brazil distinguished between those of mixed White and Black heritage and those who were entirely Black and, as a consequence mulattos faced less discrimination than Blacks in

Brazil.[5] Another example of the 'unmediated' being considered less Brazilian comes from Ribeiro (2000) who in his account of the history of the creation of the Brazilian people and culture refers to German and Japanese Brazilians as 'Gringo-Brazilians'. Gringo is a term used to describe foreigners. Brazilian society, therefore, designates German and Japanese Brazilians as 'non-Brazilian' Brazilians. Since Brazilian society is characterised by mediation of differences creating a unique singularity, the implication is that those who are not 'mediated' i.e. who are just one race or only identify with one side of the individualist/collectivist Brazilian synthesis are somehow less Brazilian, less a part of the society.

3. Multicultural Brazil

It is true that the early interculturalism of Brazil was in many ways interrupted with the arrival of the second wave of immigration primarily from Germany, Eastern Europe, Italy and Japan. In contrast to the intercultural tendencies of the original Portuguese colonists, these new groups, 'had no past memory of slavery [and] they also did not mix as did the old whites' (Schommer 2012 p.66). Instead, these new groups 'brought with them, ideologically speaking, a predisposition towards multiculturalism' (p.110). To this day, Schommer notes that in his place of birth in Caxias do Sul, the descendants of Italian immigrants refer to themselves and are referred to by non-Italian descendants as 'gringos' [foreigners] or even simply 'Italians'. To underscore this otherness, these Italian descendants refer to those of Portuguese ancestry as 'Brazilians'. Similarly, in nearby Santa Cruz do Sul, the Germanic descendants are known as 'Germans'. Woortman (1995) reports a similar phenomenon with Japanese immigrants. And so, more than a century after the height of European and Japanese immigration, there are territories within Brazil which are seen as ethnic enclaves by its own inhabitants (Schommer 2012, p.110). Indeed, when Brazilians from the rest of the country visit German and Italian dominated regions, they often remark that, 'it does not look like Brazil' (p.111), which, Schommer notes, could not be more self-deprecating. Schommer sees this self-deprecation as closely associated with a racialised hierarchy of cultural and ethnic characteristics. Thus, the self-deprecation comes from racism against *o pardo* [brown

[5] This argument is contested. There are those who argue for its validity (Fry 2009; Martes 2011) while others suggest it is much weaker than popularly imagined (Winant 1992).

skinned or mixed], which is, Schommer argues, to a large extent *autorracismo* [racism against oneself] (Schommer 2012, p.51-52). This self-deprecation then reaches the heart of the tension between '*vira-lata'* or 'mestiçagem' as source of pride or shame. There is another aspect which makes the idea of Brazil as intercultural problematic. We have already seen how Brazilians of German and Italian descent are often excluded both by themselves and by others from an 'authentic' image of the 'real' Brazil or Brazilian. But it is also true that this concept is problematic for the other racial and ethnic demographics that comprise Brazil. As Nascimento (2012) argues, multiculturalism in Brazil (and the rest of Latin America) is often awkwardly confused with interculturalism. He writes:

> [I]n Latin America, multiculturalism is based on an ideal of ethnic and racial mixing through hybridity, mestizaje, and syncretism, which occludes the expression of Afro-Latino, indigenous and other ethnic identities' (p.120).

He goes on to argue that interculturalism or syncretism, 'is a myth that blurs clear racial identities' (p.123) and that, 'the problematic relation between multiculturalism and syncretism remains whenever the outcome is based on an assimilatory synthesis, not on an ethnic plurality' (p.126). In other words, the asymmetrical power relations between Euro and indigenous and Afro descended Brazilians mean that syncretism is always an uneven process. Therefore, 'syncretic multiculturalism reinforces the ethnic, cultural and political characteristics of the hegemonic group' (ibid). Nascimento thus aims to, 'move beyond multiculturalism' citing the fact that many Afro-Brazilians, 'historically resisted assimilation into a syncretic model of racial democracy' (p.115). Therefore, 'conceptions of 'pluri-national' identity… do not receive enough attention.' (p.120). Similarly, Emilison de Almeida Pereira and White (2001) emphasise, 'the cultural forces that resist this [syncretic] tendency' (p.124).

That there has been historical resistance to syncretism is without doubt. As Hooker (2005) notes, indigenous groups have been better able to win collective rights and recognition not due to their size or levels of organisation but by the fact that they are considered to have a distinct group identity apart from the interculturalism of the Brazilian mainstream. However, Emilison de Almeida Pereira and White (2001) go too far when they claim that, '[t]he image of the melting pot… is erased by the tensions resulting from a nation in search of its multiple ethnic cultural images' (p.124). Rather than 'erased' I would suggest

'challenged' is more appropriate. In one sense Nascimento is correct that Brazil's version of syncretism or interculturalism fails. This is evidenced by the fact that many residents of São Paulo consider it to be a multicultural city based on the populations from other Brazilian states. This fact makes it very difficult to argue for a strong conception of Brazil's national unity despite what nationalists and interculturalists argue for. It would seem that trying to unite people under an intercultural banner has the effect of alienating many minorities. And yet, it is also inaccurate to characterise Brazil as multicultural in the same way that London can be since syncretism is an undeniable reality for many. It seems then the answer to whether Brazil is multicultural or intercultural is that it is both multicultural *and* intercultural.

3.1 O complexo *vira-lata* (the mutt complex)

There is a joke about it in Brazil that goes, 'there is nothing more Brazilian than denying you are Brazilian'. The lyrics of the Brazilian band, Titãs, titled, *Lugar Nenhum* [nowhere] capture this sentiment well:

> I'm not Brazilian,
> I'm not foreign
> I'm from nowhere,
> I'm nowhere
> I'm not from São Paulo, I'm not Japanese.
> I'm not from Rio, I'm not Portuguese.
> I'm not from Brasília, I'm not from Brazil.
> No country gave birth to me.
> I do not care
> I'm not even here [translation mine]
> (Antonio Bellotto, 1987)

This distancing from or denial of national identity was first identified by the journalist Nelson Rodrigues (1993 [1958]) who dubbed it *o complexo de vira-lata* [mongrel or mutt complex]. Rodrigues writes, 'by "mongrel complex" I mean the inferiority in which the Brazilian places himself, voluntarily, in the face of the rest of the world. This is in all sectors' (p.61). 'Our tragedy', opines Rodrigues, 'is that we do not have a minimum of self-esteem.' (ibid.). Since

then the *vira-lata* complex has taken on a life of its own and is used to describe the way middle-class (Caproni 2014) Brazilians' view Brazilian culture especially when comparing themselves to Europe or North America. Described as 'cultural cringe'(Philips 1950), it seems to be a rather common trait within the middle-classes of 'New World' countries, having also been recorded within Australian (ibid.) and Canadian cultural studies (Denison 1949). In the context of Brazil, the *vira-lata* complex, or the notion that one's own culture is an inferior facsimile of an 'original', feeds into the longstanding debate about to what extent Brazil is multicultural (Nascimento 2012) or intercultural (Schommer 2012) and how these terms overlap with the obvious fact that Brazil is multiracial. It is worth exploring these interpretations in terms of how they relate to questions around national identity and the phenomenon of the *vira-lata* complex. The idea that the Brazilian middle-classes' desire to emigrate to the Global North is informed less by economic motivations and more by an ideology that the culture of the Global North is 'superior' to Brazil's has been posited by several Brazilian migration scholars (Beserra 2003; Margolis 2013; Torresan 2012; Robins 2019). What has been underdeveloped, I argue, is the idea that a weak affiliation with a sense of national identity and belonging can potentially be an advantage for those who have moved to world cities such as London where the concept of an 'original' culture is becoming less tangible. Rather than read as a 'complex', *vira-lata* can be read as a harbinger of the future of world cities (Marques de Souza 2013). For the middle-classes who do not migrate, the idea of *vira-lata* as a complex is challenged in various ways. Many see unfavourably comparing Brazil with the Global North as entirely compatible with a sense of national belonging and pride.

In her study of Brazilian emigration, Margolis (2013) addresses the *vira-lata* complex (although not by name) when she writes of the, 'widespread ideology that all that is modern is located abroad in the United States and in Western Europe' (p.18). Further, that many middle-class Brazilians hold the attitude that:

> Brazil still has not metaphorically shifted into what is thought of as "modernity". Brazilians can achieve such a transition only by moving to an industrialised country, that is, relocating away from all that is Brazilian' (ibid.).

Beserra (2003) also sees middle-class Brazilian emigration as in part motivated by a *vira-lata* complex, although she too does not explicitly refer to the term. For Beserra, Brazilian emigrants aim to:

> socially reposition themselves higher than they were in Brazilian society before migrating. This means far more than just acquiring money or prestige in general. It means getting closer to the coloniser's stereotype and detaching oneself from the fate of a colonised person' (p.58).

More generally, Caldeira (2000) states that it is, 'common in… developing countries to think of development in terms of an exterior model of modernity of which the local reality is an imperfect, incomplete, underdeveloped, or at least special version' (p.58). This generates anxiety and feelings of insecurity or inferiority according to Caldeira. However, although the *vira-lata* complex has traditionally been understood in the terms described by Margolis, Beserra, Caldeira and others, Marques de Souza (2013) offers what he considers to be a more optimistic take on Brazilian identity as *vira-lata* . He suggests it should be seen as less of a 'complex' and more of a unique and advantageous position within the current 'global' paradigm. The emphasis here is on a Brazil as a dynamic, new intercultural melting pot, offering a flexibility of identity rather than simply as an inferior 'copy' of an 'original' culture. The roots of Brazil imagined as intercultural 'melting pot' can be traced to the seventeenth Century Portuguese diplomat and priest Antonio Vieira.

Vieira took as his starting point chapter two of the book of Daniel in which the prophet interprets Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a statue made of four metals which has been traditionally understood as representing the four empires of the Babylonians, Persians, Medans and Greeks. Vieira proposed a radical reinterpretation. He considered the Persian and Medan Empires as one and imagined the Roman Empire as the fourth, as that which would eventually lead to the establishment of a Fifth Empire. Vieira saw in Brazil the potential for a realisation of this 'Fifth Empire', which he envisioned in utopian, universalist and humanised terms. As Cohen describes it:

> Vieira devised a new era for humanity marked by the values of inclusion, respect for diverse religious traditions, and for various cultural identities, fraternity, concord and the rehabilitation in Christ of all that is authentically human' (1998 p.102).

His thought foreshadowed the Enlightenment ideas of universal human rights, liberty, citizenship and respect for difference that were to follow and thus can interpreted as a response to the 'proto-globalisation' processes that were already underway (Franco 2009). This idea of Brazil as an intercultural progression 'beyond' the traditional monocultural nation-state is a theme Marques de Souza (2013) picks up on. He argues that the *vira-lata* complex as conceived by Rodrigues (1993), developed as it was in the fifties, is a remnant of what he terms the 'Third Empire': the world of nationalism and national identity. He writes that, Rodrigues saw the condition as a 'complex' in the psychiatric sense since it was still informed by a nationalistic outlook. He argues that this position is no longer as relevant since, terms such as, *pai* [father] and *patria* [homeland] are no longer hegemonic referents' (p.4). We have thus entered into the age of the 'Fourth Empire', what Magno calls 'the Empire of the Spirit'(1999): an age of post-modernist individualism where, primarily members of the middle-class, identities have de-coupled from nationalism and other forms of collectivism. Marques de Souza argues that 'this loosening appears especially in the Brazilian case' (p.7), remarking that Andrade's (1999 [1928]) concept of cultural anthropophagy (cannibalism), the uniquely Brazilian capacity to absorb outside cultural influences and regurgitate them back into the world with a new interpretation, was a foretelling of this new age.

This goes back to Žižek (1997; 2016) and Jameson's (1984) ideas about an age of 'cultural capitalism': where culture is no longer tied to national identity but to the logic of global capital to the extent that global capitalism and global culture are now, in many ways, indistinguishable. Marques de Souza argues that Brazil is in a uniquely advantageous position when it comes to adapting to this new cultural paradigm. He writes:

> The Brazilian characteristic seems much more open than these [nationalist] conventions can account for. It contains, in fact, an absence of a rigid bond, a bond that ends up being much more effective in the field of irony than in pride. Being Brazilian, it seems, is 'to not be a country'. It is to act through a synthesis that goes beyond these markings, for the sake of a third thing that is beyond what the idea of "country" can contain (2013, p.7).

I suggest the terms anationalism, cosmopolitanism or world citizenship help to capture the meaning behind Marques reference to a 'third thing'.

4. Brazil in context: politics and class issues

An account of the recent political events in Brazil is necessary here since, for the final empirical chapter especially, this is an important factor that affected the research in terms of how recent political developments impacted people's sense of belonging and citizenship in the country. Brazil has oscillated between democratic and authoritarian governments through the course of the twentieth century (Daly 2019). A military *coup* in 1964 introduced the longest period of authoritarian rule ending in 1988 with the adoption of a new democratic constitution. The period saw a repressive government which oversaw around 500,000 people 'arrested, banished or exiled' (p.8) but was also marked by explosive and sustained economic growth and prosperity dubbed the 'Brazilian Miracle' (Fishlow 1973) as well as low levels of crime. The period then has always produced divided opinions amongst Brazilians with many of the older generation especially looking back on it with a certain fondness. After 1988, Brazil was run by a succession of centre-right governments which was finally ended in 2003 by the election of Luís Inácio 'Lula' Da Silva running for the left-wing *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Workers' Party) or PT. At first the PT government also enjoyed economic prosperity but by 2013, Brazil's economic fortunes had taken a severe downturn and PT's popularity began to wane. Lula was eventually succeeded by PT president Dilma Rousseff in 2010 and was narrowly re-elected in 2014. Her first term was marred by widespread protests from all sectors of society and from all political persuasions. Protests first began on 6th June 2013 in São Paulo over a rise in public transport fares. What started as a relatively small student led series of demonstrations known as the *Movimento Passe Livre* [Free Fare Movement] soon ballooned into a nationwide movement drawing members of all social classes and political alignments to the streets to air their respective grievances and frustrations (Saad Filho 2013). Uniting all was outrage and exasperation with, 'entrenched and widespread corruption' (Daly 2018, p.9).

This frustration with corruption came to a head the following year when the emergence of the *Lava Jato* [car wash] scandal revealed that many corporate executives at the national oil firm *Petrobras* as well as government members were involved in various incidences of high-level bribery and corruption. The scandal culminated in the impeachment of the then President Rousseff and the arrest and eventual imprisonment of the former President Lula da Silva on corruption charges (ibid.). These developments were extremely

divisive with citizens describing it as either a 'coup' or 'justice' depending on their political affiliation (Watson 2018). The next president, an unelected centre right stand-in, Michel Temer was unpopular with both the right and the left. The unpopularity of the centre-right parties due to their association with Temer combined with the unpopularity of the PT left a power vacuum which long-time member of the arguably misleadingly named *Partido Social Liberal* [Social Liberal Party] Jair Bolsonaro was quick to fill as Hunter and Power write:

> Bolsonaro seized the opportunity with gusto, sounding a "law and order" and anticorruption message that resonated strongly with the public. His emphasis on his role in the army under Brazil's former military dictatorship (1964–85) enhanced his credibility as a strong leader who would come down hard on crime. In a country in which one out of three members of Congress was under either indictment or investigation for criminal activity, Bolsonaro's previous political insignificance proved a boon: Never having held (or even run for) executive office or party leadership had shielded him from opportunities to reap the fruits of corruption. And while Bolsonaro offered little tangible proof of his professed commitment to open markets (much less his qualifications to preside over a major economy), Brazil's business community—at first dubious about the candidate's purported free-market conversion—later swung behind him when faced with the binary choice between Bolsonaro and the return of the statist PT. In the end, the meteoric rise of Brazil's next president was made possible by a combination of fundamental background conditions (economic recession, corruption, and crime), political contingencies (most notably, the weakness of rival candidates), and a shakeup in campaign dynamics produced by the strategic use of social media (2019, p.70).

Bolsonaro, dubbed by the press as the 'Brazilian Trump', has further polarised the country and has been seen by some as part of a global 'rightward turn' (Coates & Richmond 2019) in geopolitics epitomised by the election of Trump in the United States, Duterte in the Philippines and the outcome of the Brexit referendum in the UK. Some have viewed this rightward turn in terms of a 'backlash' against the forces of, for want of a better term, globalisation (Pastor & Veronesi 2018). Indeed, recent political developments such as the election of Bolsonaro serve to highlight the implicit tensions between globalised economies, the existence of and popular belief in the sovereignty of nation states, and democratic politics. Some such as Rodrik (2000) have even argued that having all three is incompatible. The interviews which Chapter Seven is based on took place during the run up to the election campaign when faith in the Brazilian political system was at a low.

4.1 Social class in Brazil and London

'Class' and moreover, 'middle-class' has a diverse number of meanings which can be dependent on context and the perspective of the language user (Gibson-Graham & Ruccio 2001). In Brazil specifically, as Centner (2012) writes, '[t]he definition of "middle-class" is imprecise and malleable' (p.260). The most popular method of categorising the population by class in Brazil is to use five tiers: A – E (Kamakura & Mazzon 2017). In the context of migration to London, migrants hail predominantly from the 'B' and 'C' classes (Dias 2009). The 'C' class was famously named by Neri (Neri 2008; 2011; 2014) as the 'new middle-class'. This is the statistical middle-class: those with an above average income. These may be residents of what many from the Global North would consider to be 'favelas' [slums]. Still, they have enough income and consumption power to allow them to be defined and to self-define (McCallum 1996; Neri 2014) as middle-class. It is also worth noting that the definition of what constitutes a 'favela' in Brazil is fluid and will change depending on who one asks (Cicalo 2012). Even still, they will typically not be able to afford to live in a 'middle-class' neighbourhood in a major city such as São Paulo, whose infrastructure and amenities are on a par with a city in the Global North. Other scholars have pointed out weaknesses with Neri's claim of a 'new middle-class'. Cardoso and Préteceille (2017) propose that, as well as income and consumption, it is also important to consider occupational structure, and when one does so, a much smaller part of the C class should be called middle-class. However, as well as objective measurements of class position it is important to include subjective measurements (Rubin et al. 2014). That many members of the C class self-define as middle-class (Neri 2011; 2014) should not be ignored.

Regarding members of the 'B' class, these are those with income and education levels and lifestyles that would be closer to what is considered middle-class by the standards of the Global North. Statistically speaking, they are the upper middle-class but will often refer to themselves as middle-class because they are using as a reference point the standards of countries such as the UK. They are sometimes referred to as the 'old middle-class' (Klein et al. 2018). However, defining class by economic metrics such as income tells only part of the story. As Olwig reminds us, '[c]lass is also a cultural category that concerns social as well as economic aspects of the livelihoods deemed proper within the middle layers of society' (Olwig 2007, p.87). In fact, with the recent narrowing of the economic and educational gap between these two groups, cultural and behavioural markers of difference are more strongly

emphasised by members of the 'B' class in order to preserve what they see as an intrusion into their social and economic space (Klein et al. 2018). As we shall see, this emphasis on social and cultural difference takes on an even greater significance in the context of migration to London. It is also important to bear in mind that this class divide between B and C in London is often reinforced by a geographical divide in that the B group usually hail from the South and South-East: most commonly, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina. The second C group usually hail from poorer Central and North-Eastern states such as Minas Gerais, Goiás and Bahia. As a result, when many emphasise the distinctiveness, and individualistic nature of their migration motivations and experience, they may also be implicitly emphasising class, regional and, often, racial divisions that characterise Brazilian society. Although it is rarely made explicit, the emphasis on difference can have other connotations. Therefore, although it is not always the case, when one speaks of 'middle-class' Brazilians living in London, one is often (although it is important to note, not always) referring to Brazilians from the wealthier Southern and South-Eastern states in Brazil who frequently have a larger degree of European ancestry.

Migrants from the 'B' class are typically documented (most commonly via ancestral EU passports). The second, from the 'C class' in Brazil are often 'semi-documented': arriving on tourist or student visas and often continuing to stay and work once these visas have expired. Especially now that line between the B and C classes has, economically speaking, narrowed in recent years in Brazil (Klein et al. 2018), London's Brazilians tend to come from a relatively thin cross-section of society. As a working definition then, when I refer to 'middle-class Brazilians' I mean not only that they self-define as middle-class but that they hail from the B class within the Brazilian classification system and that the material quality of their lifestyle, patterns of consumption, education levels and position within the occupational structure back in Brazil would be recognisable as 'middle-class' by the standards of the Global North. The term 'lower middle-class' can perhaps be used to describe the C class of Brazil who, despite the fact that they may also self-define as middle-class and have the ability to migrate to London, may not hold a position within the Brazilian occupational structure which would satisfy Cardoso and Préteceille's (2017) definition of middle-class. Importantly, their income level may not be enough to be immune from experiencing 'material alienation'

prompted by the globalised ideal of what constitutes middle-class status which is informed largely by the standards and tastes of the Global North.

5. Conclusion

This chapter began with a review of competing accounts of Brazil that portray it as either a multicultural or intercultural nation. The aim was not so much as to argue for one side over the other but to show how both arguments will help us to understand some of the issues that arise in the empirical chapters of the thesis. In the process the phenomena of *o jeitinho brasileiro* and *o complexo vira-lata* were covered as well issues of ethnicity, equality and how all these ideas relate to individualism and collectivism. The chapter ended with a historical account of the recent political crisis in Brazil which helps to provide some context for the research conducted in Brazil which forms the basis of Chapter Seven. Finally, an explanation of the complexities of defining social-class in Brazil and how social classes in Brazil translate in the UK context was provided in order to explain and justify the use of terms such as 'middle-class' and 'lower middle-class' in the empirical chapters of this thesis. The next chapter will explain the methodology, and rationale for the empirical fieldwork conducted in both London and São Paulo.

Chapter Four: Methodology

1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the rationale, research questions, methods used and sample pools. In addition, it reflects on some of the difficulties and ethical issues encountered and provides a statement on the positionality of the researcher. It concludes with some post-fieldwork reflections on how the research questions and methodology responded to the reality of conducting the fieldwork itself. The fieldwork consisted of a total of fifty-six participants from which sixty-eight semi-structured interviews were generated. A qualitative hybrid analysis that adopted elements of a biographical as well as a grounded theory approach was used to analyse and code the data. Six months of fieldwork was undertaken in London and 3 months in São Paulo.

2. Rationale and research questions

To reiterate, the research questions introduced at the beginning of this thesis were:

- Can the motivations and experiences of some Brazilian migrants be understood using the existing framework of lifestyle migration?
- To what extent do some Brazilian migrants distance themselves from transnational cultural and social practices?
- How can the concepts of the geographical imagination and world citizenship be used to analyse ways of understanding immobility?

The rationale for tackling these questions was, in part, inspired by the quantitative data available on Brazilians in the UK which was reviewed in Chapter Two. To recap, this quantitative data (Evans et al. 2015; Carling & Jolivet 2016) paints an intriguing picture. The data show that there is a sizeable number of Brazilians who do not socialise with other Brazilians, do not engage in Brazilian cultural and/or leisure activities, did not migrate to London for economic reasons and further, 'tend to be more satisfied with the quality-of-life impacts of migration than with the financial benefit' (Carling & Jolivet 2016, p.39). This thesis

thus aims to expand on what the quantitative findings hint at, seeking to understand the details of the specific motivations, beliefs and values of many Brazilian migrants in the capital. An aim of this thesis is to answer the 'why?' in response to Evans et al. and Carling and Jolivet's uncovering of the 'what?'. In other words, to provide a framework for understanding why Evans et al and Carling and Jolivet's respondents answered in the way that they did. A good way to achieve this is to research this phenomenon from the perspective of the migrants themselves. For this reason, I used a qualitative approach to understand the subjective motivations and experience of migration and non-migration. As Stuckey (2013), observes, '[q]ualitative research provides the means to organize and interpret the data without losing the richness and individuality of the responses' (p.7). Iyer (1993) remarks that, 'If cultures are only individuals writ large…, individuals are small cultures in themselves' (p.30). Therefore, containing the focus of the research at the level of the individual, can reveal information about macro cultural phenomena from a more nuanced perspective. In line with the work of Evans et al, I do not intend to provide a complete account of the experiences of all Brazilian (non)migrants rather, it will be sufficient to show that my findings are, 'indicative of the characteristics and experiences of many Brazilians that live in the UK' (2015, p.8) in so far as the responses of my interviewees not only reflect the quantitative findings but provide 'colour' to the statistics.

2.1 Geographical rationale

The reasons for using London as the primary fieldwork location for Brazilian migrants in the UK were two-fold. First, it is the city which, by a large margin, boasts the largest Brazilian population making recruiting participants easier. Second, perhaps more importantly, London is the most cosmopolitan city in the UK. In many ways it epitomises Augé's (1995) conception of a 'non-place' inhabited by disconnected uprooted individuals. The ideological attraction of a city like London (Conradson & Latham 2005, 2007; Fujita 2004; Torresan 1994, 2007) and the effect it has on the values of those who move there thus makes it an ideal place to address the kind of questions this study seeks to answer. There was no focus on any one area of London for several reasons. First, the Brazilian population is relatively scattered around the city (Evans et al. 2015) reducing the benefit of focusing on one area. Secondly, since my concern is not with the transnational Brazilian community as such, there is not so much of a need to recruit Brazilians who have chosen to congregate in one area because they know

that other Brazilians tend to live there. Finally, my primary route of access (English language schools) precluded the need to focus on an area where Brazilians may or may not live since there will be migrants who reside in all parts of the city attending language schools.

Fieldwork was conducted amongst Brazilians living in Brazil for one very important reason. As many researchers such as Thompson (2016) have noted, migration studies often fails to account for why people in identical socio-economic positions to those that do migrate choose to remain in the place where they were born. By interviewing and observing Brazilians who had no intention of migrating to a place like London, I provide some insights into this prevailing issue. In terms of locations in Brazil the most obvious choice was São Paulo since it is the closest approximation to London of any Brazilian city. Since one of themes uncovered from the London fieldwork was the idea of interviewees imagining their migration project in terms of lifestyle migration to a world city like London, conducting the fieldwork in São Paulo helped to compare how these concepts of lifestyle and world citizenship were rationalised and experienced for those who had not migrated since São Paulo is arguably the most cosmopolitan city in Brazil and is perceived by many as a world city in its own right. Finally, it was also the place which most of my London interviewees originated from making snowball sampling easier.

3. Using mixed qualitative methods in fieldwork and data analysis

Wolcott (1994) suggests 'three different modes' of research. The first is 'enumeration' which entails the recording of quantifiable data such as daily movement and habits of the group or person under study as well as the collection of any documents or records which may be relevant. The second is participant observation and the third is interviewing. I relied on these last two techniques. As Moustakas (1994) observes, all qualitative research shares certain commonalities such as, 'focusing on the wholeness of experience rather than solely on its objects or parts' and 'searching for meanings and essences of rather than measurements and explanations' (p.21). This thesis consequently adopts a hybrid approach. In terms of interview structure, interviews would begin a biographical approach where the interviewee was simply asked to give an account of their life up until the present date. Findlay & Li (1997) and Halfacree and Boyle (1993) advocate a biographical approach to qualitative data gathering in

migration studies. Although the focus is at the level of the individual, such an approach, 'does not necessarily prioritise individual-level factors at the expense of ignoring structural forces' (p. 36). Instead, it simply allows for a more nuanced understanding of migration decision making than most theories of migration which tend to privilege structural or 'macro-scale' factors over 'individual or 'micro-scale' ones. As Findlay and Li write, a biographical approach allows us, 'to discover and explore what the certainties of past migration theories have not accounted for' (Findlay & Li 1997, p.36). For example, the reasons why people in identical conditions choose not to migrate when their peers do. Findlay and Li (1997) asked migrants about their everyday social practices focusing on their entire life experience to date. Their aim was to identify the key life stages and events that helped shape migrants' 'identities, values and goals' (p. 37). The decision to migrate was thus not taken as a sudden, isolated event but instead analysed in the context of the migrants' life histories. Findlay and Li explain that, 'the meaning of migration decisions cannot be fully appreciated without reference to people's value systems, which are embedded in everyday routines and which are developed through the reproduction of these practices over time' (p. 38).

By analysing a migrant's life story, it is possible to identify the 'seeds of migration' (p. 38). The initial interviews I conducted therefore also had elements of oral history in the sense that they included 'personal recollections of events and their causes and effects' (Cresswell 1998, p.233). I was paying attention to any 'epiphanies' or turning points in the interviewees lives (Denzin 1989) which provided an insight into their ideological values or changes in these values. To put this in context, such 'epiphanies' included moments where the interviewee realised they were unsatisfied by the (immaterial) quality of their life in Brazil and decided to move to London in a spirit of 'adventure' or self-discovery or in the hopes for a better 'quality of life' however this term was imagined by the respondents.

3.1 Coding

I adopted elements of an inductive grounded theory approach (Babbie 2010) in my analysis and coding of the initial data. After conducting an initial round of interviews, I would analyse and code these conversations using NVivo software and identify key words. Coding these transcripts would then allow me to eventually link these keywords into themes. Figure 10 shows the list of the initial key words for the London fieldwork together with the number of interviews they appear in (sources) and the number of times they appear in total

(references). Cluster analysis was used to identity node similarity by word similarity (Figure 11) Although this process is imperfect it gave a good indication of which of the initial nodes were similar to each other in terms of theme. The same process was applied to the São Paulo fieldwork (Figures 13, 14)

Name	Sources	References
Individualist values	22	45
Identification with Europe or London	22	41
Freedom in London	18	38
Constraint in Brazil	16	35
Collectivist values	16	32
Distancing from Brazil or Brazilians	19	30
'Economic' motivation	22	30
Cultural differences	16	28
Multiculturalism	15	27
Safety and Crime in Brazil	16	26
English or London Culture	11	25
Emotional expression or openess	12	24
Work and Jobs in Brazil and London	15	23
Person to individual	16	23
London distinct from England	13	22
Relationships	13	21
Class divide in Brazil	15	21
Temporality	12	20
Societal alienation in London	10	19
Institutional functionality	13	19
Geographical imagination	13	17
Life better in Brazil	12	17
Social capital	10	16
Ethnic or racial identity	9	15
Constraint in London	9	15
Safety and Crime in London	13	15
Societal alienation in Brazil	8	14
Brazil as (semi) traditional	7	14
Transnationalism	11	14
Class divide in London	10	13
Material satisfaction in Brazil	8	13
Music and Media	8	13
Change in identity or ideology	7	12
Return	9	12
Citizenship in London	8	11
Life better in London	7	11
Identification with Brazil	10	11
Individual to person	7	10
Avoiding other Brazilians	10	10

Same job in Brazil and London	9	10
Freedom in Brazil	8	10
Disavowal of transnationalism	8	10
anationalism	4	10
Food	6	10
Traveller	10	10
Corruption and Nepotism	6	9
Black sheep syndrome	6	9
Change in perception of Brazil	8	9
Non-economic motivation	8	8
Material alienation in Brazil	6	8
Class in Brazil - individuals	6	8
'Assimilationism'	7	8
Repel	7	8
Belonging	7	8
Education	8	8
Identification with urban living	5	7
Anonymity	5	7
Racial identity in Brazil	3	6
EU passport	6	6
Consumerism	5	6
Bubble	5	5
Brexit	5	5
What am I doing here	5	5
Contradiction	5	5
Home	5	5
Jeitinho	3	5
United States	3	4
Growth personal development	4	4
Globalism	4	4
Brazilian Friends	4	4
Adventure	4	4
Prejudice from others in London	3	3
multicultural nationalism vs. 'true' multiculturalism	2	3
Cool	2	2
Stayers	2	2
Duty	2	2
Family	2	2
London as myth	2	2
Prejudice from other Brazilians	1	1
Meritocracy	1	1
Brazil in crisis	1	1
limbo	1	1
politics	1	1
Fourth wave of immigration	1	1
vira lata	1	1

Figure 10 – List of nodes from London fieldwork

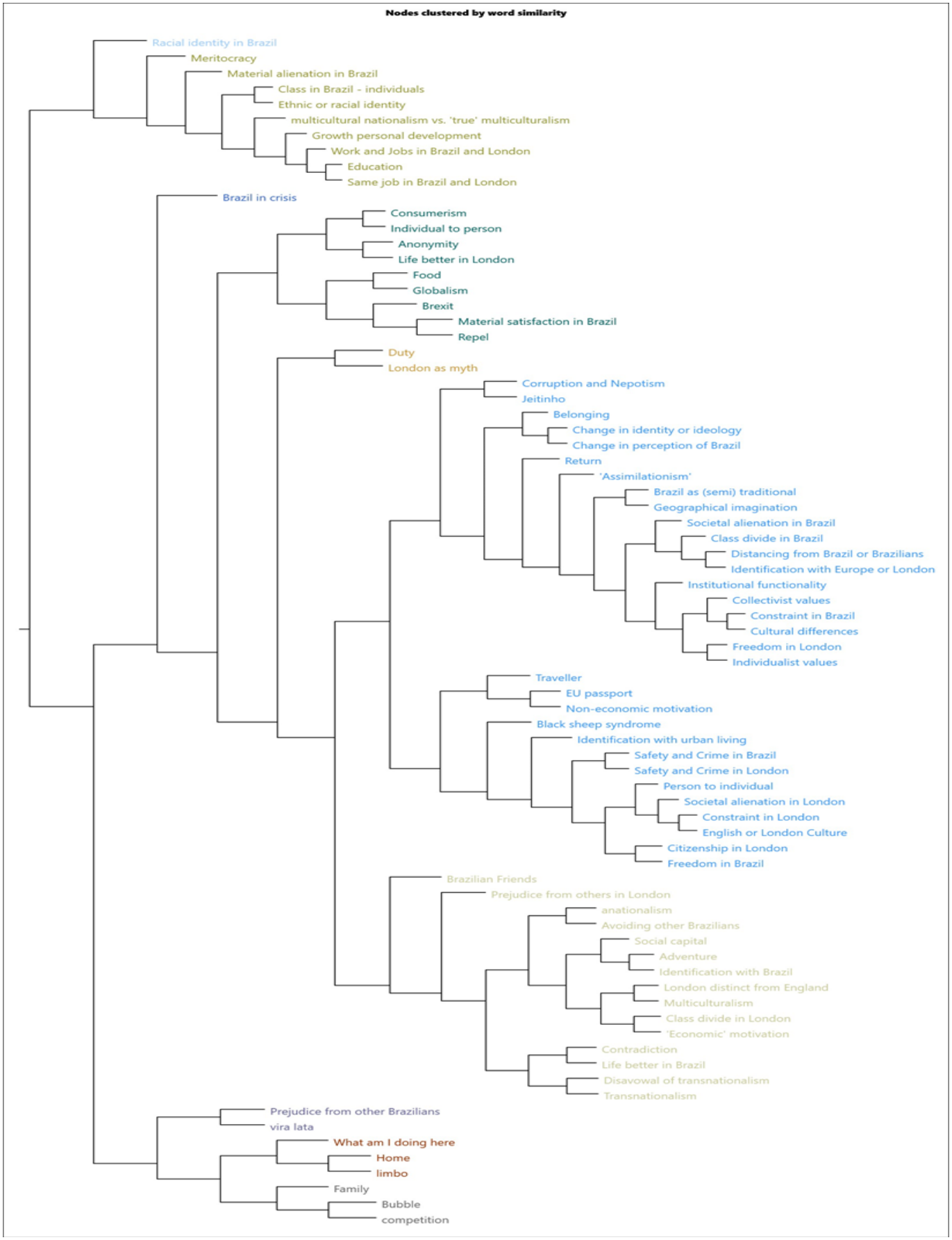

Figure 11 – Cluster analysis of London nodes by word similarity

Name	Column1	Sources	References
Safety		12	23
National Identity		11	20
Belonging		9	18
Transport mobility		9	16
National pride		13	16
Corruption		11	16
Place attachment		6	14
Bolsonaro		12	14
Public right to city		8	13
Multicultural		8	12
economic and ideological sythesis		8	11
Crime		9	10
Vira Lata		5	10
Political belonging		7	10
Brazil as world		7	9
Collectivism		9	9
Crisis of faith in State		6	9
World City		4	8
Open city		6	8
World Citizen		7	8
Freedom		6	8
Family ties		6	7
Duty to stay		6	7
jeitinho brasileiro		5	7
Nationalism		6	7
Perception of Crime		6	6
City stress		4	6
Corruption microcosmic		6	6
Rootlessness		4	6
Diversity		3	5
Chaotic positive		3	5
Leaving as travel		4	5
Immigrant city		4	5
PT		4	5
No vote		5	5
Tolerance for difference		5	5
Place Identity		3	5
Citizenship		2	5

Rio de Janeiro	4	5
Ideological Migration	4	5
Class divide	4	5
lifestyle migration	3	5
Elasticity of intention	4	4
Class tension	3	4
lifestyle attachment	2	4
Time space	3	4
Individualism	4	4
transnationalism within Brazil	2	4
Multicultural as style not ethnicity	3	3
Neighbourhood capital	2	3
Collective city	3	3
Passion for life	2	3
Political coup	3	3
Conservative backlash	3	3
Respect for the other	3	3
Staying	2	3
Politics as distraction	2	3
Cultural reason to migrate	1	3
Lifestyle migration to SP	1	3
Sao Paulo unique	3	3
Public Private	3	3
Fear of crime	2	3
cultural attraction	3	3
Faith in democratic process	3	3
Political reason to leave	3	3
economic reason to leave	3	3
violence	2	3
Employment mobility	2	2
Recent immigration	2	2
Family over politics	2	2
Cosmopolitanism	2	2
Recife	2	2
Politics Class Race intersection	2	2
Left wing nationalism	2	2
Competing ideollgies	2	2
Rootedness	2	2
Return	2	2
public private inside outside	2	2
Freedom as equality	1	2
Child as reason to leave	1	2
organised crime	2	2
leaving as fantasy	2	2
Brazil is communist	2	2
Digitial nomad	1	1
London	1	1
Non-gated community	1	1
Unique city	1	1
Coup	1	1
PSOL	1	1
Temer	1	1
Lives with family	1	1
Economic reasons to stay	1	1
social rise	1	1
Avenida Paulista	1	1
Comparative security	1	1
Scattered family	1	1
Majority is rightwing	1	1
Champagne socialist	1	1
Bolsonaro popular with young	1	1
Regional 'nationalism'	1	1
Nationalism as non-partisan	1	1
International Reputation	1	1
Decentred city	1	1
middle class as elite	1	1
Freedom as safety	1	1
no change	1	1
pay twice	1	1
Community	1	1
desire to leave	1	1
saudade homesickness	1	1
Brazilian culture	1	1
language barrier reason to stay	1	1
cultural reason to stay	1	1
compare to joaquim nabuco diary	1	1
child as reason to stay	1	1
Future decline	1	1
material belonging	1	1
quality of life	1	1

Figure 12 – List of nodes from São Paulo fieldwork

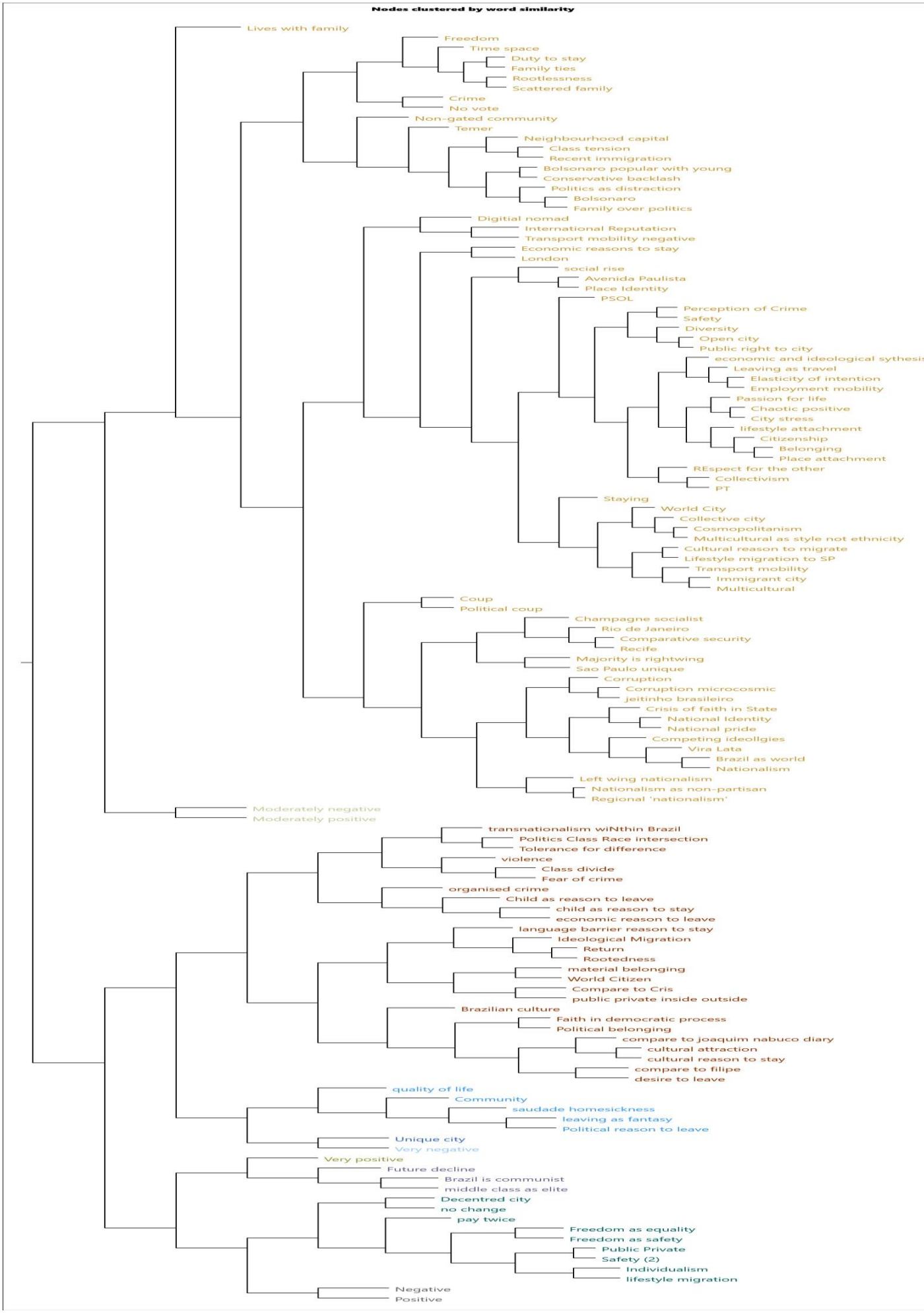
Nodes clustered by word similarity
Lives with family
Freedom
Time space
Duty to stay
Family ties
Rootlessness
Scattered family
Crime
No vote
Non-gated community
Temer
Neighbourhood capital
Class tension
Recent immigration
Bolsonaro popular with young
Conservative backlash
Politics as distraction
Bolsonaro
Family over politics
Digitial nomad
International Reputation
Transport mobility negative
Economic reasons to stay
London
social rise
Avenida Paulista
Place Identity
PSOL
Perception of Crime
Safety
Diversity
Open city
Public right to city
economic and ideological sythesis
Leaving as travel
Elasticity of intention
Employment mobility
Passion for life
Chaotic positive
City stress
lifestyle attachment
Citizenship
Belonging
Place attachment
REspect for the other
Collectivism
PT
Staying
World City
Collective city
Cosmopolitanism
Multicultural as style not ethnicity
Cultural reason to migrate
Lifestyle migration to SP
Transport mobility
Immigrant city
Multicultural
Coup
Political coup
Champagne socialist
Rio de Janeiro
Comparative security
Recife
Majority is rightwing
Sao Paulo unique
Corruption
Corruption microcosmic
jeitinho brasileiro
Crisis of faith in State
National Identity
National pride
Competing ideollgies
Vira Lata
Brazil as world
Nationalism
Left wing nationalism
Nationalism as non-partisan
Regional 'nationalism'
Moderately negative
Moderately positive
transnationalism wiNthin Brazil
Politics Class Race intersection
Tolerance for difference
violence
Class divide
Fear of crime
organised crime
Child as reason to leave
child as reason to stay
economic reason to leave
language barrier reason to stay
Ideological Migration
Return
Rootedness
material belonging
World Citizen
Compare to Cris
public private inside outside
Brazilian culture
Faith in democratic process
Political belonging
compare to joaquim nabuco diary
cultural attraction
cultural reason to stay
compare to filipe
desire to leave
quality of life
Community
saudade homesickness
leaving as fantasy
Political reason to leave
Unique city
Very negative
Very positive
Future decline
Brazil is communist
middle class as elite
Decentred city
no change
pay twice
Freedom as equality
Freedom as safety
Public Private
Safety (2)
Individualism
lifestyle migration
Negative
Positive

Figure 13 - Cluster analysis of São Paulo nodes by word similarity

I began coding as the transcripts became available meaning that these themes, which initially arose organically, could then be deliberately introduced into further interviews via certain questions to new interviewees after having obtained their biographical account. I also conducted a selection of repeat interviews with participants with the aim of gaining further confirmation and insight into terms or ideas which they had mentioned in the initial interviews. Introducing these ideas into my thesis in response to their appearance while conducting fieldwork helped to retain a certain dynamism to my research methods. A good example of a theme which arose out of analysing and coding the interviews conducted in both London and São Paulo was that of the world citizen. This is a term that arose organically out of some of the interviewees' responses in terms of how they articulated their identity as movers or stayers. This term has a lot of overlap with that of 'cosmopolitanism', which, in turn has overlap with my interest in the idea of anationalism and individualism as its ideological foundation. However, 'world citizen' was the only term used by my interviewees and it is for this reason that I have used this one over that of cosmopolitism. I realised that this term had many parallels to my theoretical interest in what I was initially framing as anationalism.

I thus used the interviewees' statements about their attitudes towards 'world citizenship' to form a narrative description of what this meant for them in terms of how they experienced and articulated it. Finally, in the context of how ideas such as 'world citizen' or 'not being from anywhere' arose in the interviews, I then made the inductive link to wider ideas about identification and distancing from national and other forms of collective identities. Terms like 'world citizen' then led me to draw the conclusion that this kind of language was being used as a way for the interviewee to distance themselves from a transnational identity as Brazilian migrant and thus distance themselves from the transnational Brazilian 'community' in London. My interest and reflection on the 'work' which this kind of language was performing helped to add richness to the various other studies which have also found a tendency for many Brazilians to perform a similar kind of distancing or 'boundary work' in their explanations for their migration and understanding of their identity as a migrant apart from an identity as a member of a transnational 'community'.

4. Methods of access: studying an in group with no 'in'

As Vertovec (2004) observed, migrant groups where transnationalism is undeveloped or at least underdeveloped have been understudied. In response, my aim was to focus on migrants who do not identify with a transnational 'community' of Brazilians. Instead, I was interested in those who are more individualistic in their self-identification and ideological outlook. Augé (1995) suggests that what will soon arise in this era is an anthropology of non-places. Similarly, perhaps a geography of non-places is also the most suitable way to approach hyper-individualistic societies and the epicentres of those societies. And who would live in a non-place but a non-person: an individual. Studying individualism as a cultural phenomenon raises several issues. In some respects, studying individualism amongst migrants precludes the idea of treating them as a 'cultural group' (p.37). One of the key points about individualism as an ideological position is that it does not allow for the existence of 'groups' in the traditional sense. An individualist culture forms itself around the concept and rights of the individual with society treated as merely a collection of individuals rather than a cohesive whole (Dumont 1970). Associations of individuals into groups may have the appearance of certain collectivist attributes, such as displaying in-group preference or duty to the in-group.

However, as Schwartz (1994) points out, a key differentiator between social groups within individualist and collectivist cultures is that in an individualist society, membership of a group and the culture that may be associated with that group is always 'elective' or voluntary. Any collectivist attributes that are observed within such groups then must be understood in that context since they still take as their fundamental philosophical principle the concept of the free individual. They thus fundamentally differ from 'non-elective' collectives. This is important to bear in mind when applying ethnographic techniques to the study of individualism. However, even when the researcher turns their attention to an elective 'cultural group', as in the case of Wolf's (1991) ethnography of a Canadian biker gang, there is often still a strong sense of a close knit, bounded community which is under study. As Wolf's experiences illustrate, gaining access to these kinds of communities can often be very difficult and take years to make any kind of real progress. By contrast my subject matter does not have an 'inner circle' in the same sense. I am studying individuals who consciously do not consider themselves part of an in-group, or at least not one that is defined by their Brazilian nationality. Therefore, the question of access, gaining trust, and

observing the culture 'from the inside' are not as applicable for the purposes of this study. This also raises issues in terms of positionality which are more fully discussed on page 103.

It also raises several points in terms of access. First, it precluded using Brazilian social and cultural organisations and locations such as societies bars and clubs as places to recruit participants. I also did not need to make use of 'gatekeepers' (Valentine 2001) since, again, I was not accessing an in-group or closed community in any traditional sense. However, not using places frequented by communities of Brazilian migrants obviously limited the possible locations for 'on-site recruiting' (Krueger & Casey 2008, p.94). Luckily, there were options for sites to use. Part-time work in English language schools brought me into regular contact with a steady stream of Brazilian migrants. The language school was particularly useful for finding new arrivals since learning English is often a key priority for those who are new to London and is often the primary stated motivation for migrating in the first place (Evans et al. 2015). There also exist many 'Brazilians in London' Facebook groups online many of which boast membership numbers of 50,000 and upwards. As Longhurst (2016) notes, using social media has replaced 'cold calling' as a means of reaching large numbers of potential participants. Members of these kinds of groups are extremely diverse since their function can be anything from advertising and organising social events to renting out flats and selling cars. However, I was not able to recruit any interviewees using these Facebook groups. Despite some initial interest, it proved difficult to establish a commitment with anyone to be interviewed either online or face to face.

4.1 'Snowball Sampling'

The initial contact points were made via recruits from English language schools and acquaintances of acquaintances. After initial contacts had been made, I employed a technique known as 'snowball sampling', whereby the researcher asks each new contact to provide the details of least two others who the researcher could contact in the future. Such an approach quickly built up into a large network of potential interviewees and has been used to great effect amongst numerous researchers into Brazilian migrant populations. (Marcus 2009a; Marcus 2010; Marcus 2014; Margolis 1994; Margolis 2009; Martes 2011; Martins Junior & Dias 2013). One of the main strengths of this technique is that after the initial contact is made, one is always known to consequent subjects since one is always introduced as, essentially, an acquaintance of a friend. This means that the subject will be

more inclined to trust the researcher meaning there will be less of a barrier towards developing a comfortable rapport and receiving honest, open answers (Valentine 2001, p.117). Snowball sampling also allows the researcher to more easily find subjects from certain backgrounds or experiences. For this reason, it is very important to utilise multiple primary points of contact to ensure that one does not limit oneself to a too specific social circle of participants. Another key advantage, as commonly reported in the literature, is that the number of contacts increases exponentially with every new participant resulting in a ready supply of potential interviewees. However, since I was interested in interviewing people who are not likely to have a predominantly Brazilian friendship network the number of recommendations for new contacts was less than it would have been perhaps if I were focusing on those who were more deeply embedded within a transnational Brazilian community. However, even the most individualistically minded Brazilians proved unlikely to have absolutely no other Brazilian friends or acquaintances in London so although the 'snowball' developed less rapidly, it was still possible to use each participant to generate contact with other participants. This meant that I simply had to find more initial contacts myself. This idea of 'snowball sampling' then extended to those I interviewed in Brazil. I used the friends and family in Brazil of those interviewed in London as a starting point and then to 'snowball' further interviewees from then on in Brazil.

5. Sample pools: London and São Paulo[6]

Fieldwork in London provided data drawn from a total of thirty-three in depth qualitative interviews conducted in either English or Portuguese between April and September 2017. Twenty-six people were interviewed. Depending on the answers I received I then selected a smaller group with which to conduct repeat interviews. Ages ranged from twenty-four to fifty-nine with an average age of thirty-seven. Interviewees hailed mainly from the South and South-East of Brazil with São Paulo the most common state. Interviewees worked in a wide variety of occupations from unskilled (cleaner) to skilled (dentist). The most common occupations were in service industries such as catering. Many were long term residents of

[6] A full list of participants including pseudonyms, ages, place of birth and occupations is available in the appendix

London and had 'moved up the ladder' in terms of their employment status. Others were new arrivals who had either managed to transfer horizontally from their job in Brazil to an equivalent job in London, or who were starting out in unskilled work. There were also longer-term interviewees who had not managed to progress in their employment and were still working unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Most interviewees had been living in London on a long-term basis. It is also worth noting that very few were receptive towards the idea of ever returning to live in Brazil regardless of how long they had spent in London. Most were from middle-class backgrounds in Brazil in that at least one parent had had a skilled profession, and most interviewees had attended university. Although most of my interviewees were from relatively privileged backgrounds, a small number could be said to be from the lower middle or 'C' (Neri 2014) class (see Chapter Two, page 82). It is worth repeating that the Brazilians in London are from a rather narrow section of society in Brazil and, further, often experience a 'levelling effect' upon arrival meaning that, in the beginning of their time in London at least, there is little class difference amongst Brazilians in the context of London's social structure. The class difference between these people back home would certainly be more pronounced than it is in London (Horst et al. 2014; Martins, 2014; Robins, 2014).

Regarding markers such as race, region of origin and gender I did not focus on any of these aspects of identity per se. Instead, in the beginning I interviewed a wide variety of people. In terms of the racial demographic of interviewees most were of predominantly European heritage. However, this does not necessarily mean they would 'pass' as white within the context of the UK. The fact that their heritage was mainly of European origin reflects that most Brazilians in London are from the South and South-East of Brazil (Evans et al. 2015). Quantitative data (Evans et al. 2011, 2015) also records a weighting towards females over males, approximately 65% to 35%. However, my weighting reflected the opposite. Of a total of twenty-six interviewees in London, eleven were female and fifteen were male. I was most interested in reaching those who were motivated to move to London because they experience a certain degree of 'societal alienation' in Brazil and decided that their ideal lifestyle could only be experienced in a place like London. Although I have encountered this type of Brazilian migrant personally, there has been scant research on them in terms of their motivations and experiences. This is the group who most closely mirror the

Western 'lifestyle' or 'ideological' migrants detailed in the literature review and who I draw comparisons within Chapter Five.

Fieldwork in São Paulo generated data drawn from a total of thirty-five in depth qualitative interviews conducted in Portuguese between April 2018 and June 2018. A total of thirty people were interviewed. Depending on the answers I received I then selected a smaller group with which to conduct repeat interviews. Ages ranged from twenty-six to seventy-two with an average age of thirty-one. Although all interviewees were long-term residents of São Paulo, São Paulo, much like London, has a history of being a destination for immigration from overseas but also from within Brazil. Therefore, few of my interviewees were born in São Paulo although many had lived there for most of their adult lives. The key marker for these interviewees was social class: those from predominantly the middle or upper middle-class of Brazilian society since these are the ones most economically capable of undertaking an international migration. Most interviewees worked in professional occupations. Their occupations ranged from schoolteachers and barbers at the lower end, to lawyers and corporate executives at the upper end. Again, most were members of the Brazilian 'B' class with a total of two who could perhaps be said to be from the 'C' class. Again, as with London I did not set out to interview members of visible groups using markers such as race or gender. However, in Brazil there is a correlation with race and class meaning that most of my interviewees were again from predominantly European heritage with a minority from predominantly indigenous, Asian or Afro heritage. In terms of gender weighting, fourteen were female and sixteen were male.

There were two key types of person I sought to interview and engage in participant observation within Brazil. First were those who have the means to migrate, from similar socio-economic backgrounds to those interviewed in London yet have absolutely no intention of migrating internationally. My aim with this group was to discover how they differed, if at all, in their ideological outlook to those interviewed in London. Further, I aimed to explore their reasons for not wanting to migrate and to compare these with the reasons why those who were in similar situations from similar backgrounds did migrate. This served as a contrast to the London subjects with the aim of exposing the differences in beliefs and values rather than socio-economic circumstance. The second type of person were those who had a desire to migrate internationally but had not yet done so. My intention with this type was to explore

the motivations to migrate and attitudes towards the place of origin before the migration decision had taken place. Finally, while I was writing this thesis, the prospect of Bolsonaro's rise in Brazilian popularity became impossible to ignore and would frequently come up during interviews and conversations with Brazilians both in London and in São Paulo. For this reason, I incorporated this political dimension into my research on questions of belonging and national identity in terms of the effect that the prospect of such a divisive figure can have on these issues.

6. The Interviews

In terms of interview setting, it is vital that the participant feel at ease in the location. Longhurst (2016) recommends finding a location which is, 'neutral, informal (but not noisy) and easily accessible' (p.150). Somewhere that was reasonably quiet was of the upmost importance since I recorded and later transcribed the interviews. Additionally, an ideal location was somewhere known to the participant close by to where they either lived or worked. Face to face interviews were conducted in these kinds of locations with a good number also held in the homes of interviewees. A small minority of interviews were conducted via Skype. In one case this was because the participant had recently moved from London to Switzerland. Four other interviews were conducted on Skype due to the interviewees' stated preference for this over a face to face one. It is difficult to tell what effect a Skype interview has over the responses compared to a face to face interview. Lo Iacono et al. (2016) suggest that there are both benefits and potential drawbacks to using Skype and other VoIPs (Voice over internet protocols) as a tool for qualitative research. Although they increase the possibilities for whom one can interview there is also the danger that Skype can affect, 'the areas of rapport, non-verbal cues and ethics… creating limitations but also new opportunities' (p.1). As Deakin and Wakefield confirm, use of Skype remains useful as a complementary method to face to face interviews since it greatly increases the size of the potential sample pool in providing 'an opportunity to talk to otherwise inaccessible participants' (2014, p.5).

6.1 Consent and power relations

A crucial point then is to not dictate where the interview should be held. I therefore left the choice of location up to the interviewee and only interviewed them in their home if they offered this as a possibility. Further, the interviewee must never feel that they are being pressured to participate. Consent was obtained by providing the interviewee a consent form and information sheet ahead of time which explained exactly to what they were agreeing. It was also helpful to call or message with the potential interviewee before the actual interview to first confirm that they consented and understood what they were consenting to and to help ensure that they would stick to their commitment to meet and be interviewed.

When conducting fieldwork, it is possible that one's position as an interviewer and representative of a higher education institution had the potential to generate an uneven power relation between myself and the participant. However, in my case, most of my interviewees were either equal or higher than a PhD student in terms of their social status. Therefore, the ethical issues around uneven power dynamics that can sometimes plague fieldwork in migration studies (Iosifides 2018) were not so salient in my own research. In fact, in some cases my perceived status as a 'junior' by some of the more educated and older interviewees meant that some interviewees took more of the form of a lecture on Brazilian politics and national identity amongst other issues, rather than a straightforward interview.

6.2 Dress, body language and rapport

It is also important for the researcher to dress in a way that mirrors the participant. If one is interviewing a businessman during their lunch break one should dress more formally than if one is interviewing a bar worker on their day off for instance. This was reflected in my choice of dress for the interviews particularly in São Paulo. Another key issue is body language. It is very important to appear and sound relaxed and informal in one's mannerisms when conducting an interview. For example, using slow and smooth body language and gestures, sitting causally in one's chair. Smiling and maintaining sufficient eye contact when speaking to make the participant feel at ease is also vital. Establishing a good rapport with the participant is also paramount. This is especially so in Brazil where cultural norms dictate that before any 'business' is conducted, small talk is expected in order to 'set the scene' as it were (Hofstede, 2019). For this reason, I did not immediately dive right into the scripted interview questions as soon as I sat down with the participant. Instead I would spend a few minutes making small talk and perhaps joking with the participant before even turning on the

recording device or asking any pre-planned questions. This allowed the participant time to build a certain degree of trust with the researcher and helped them feel at ease.

6.3 Interview techniques

Interviews were semi-structured based around a few key questions which were designed to be sufficiently open- ended to generate a decent dialogue with the participant. This kind of in-depth, one on one, interviewing technique has several advantages. First, keeping the questions open-ended allows the participants to answer in their own words and thus allow certain themes to emerge naturally. This allows the possibility of themes and answers to emerge which may have been unanticipated. Consequently, I was able to chase up on certain responses of interest rather than having to rigidly adhere to a script. This contrasts with quantitative interview techniques which tend to rely on close-ended questions which demand fixed responses meaning that the researcher knows ahead of time which answers they will receive. Keeping the interviews in a one to one rather than group format also allowed the participants to answer without necessarily feeling constrained by group or peer pressure. The exception was in the case of two couples who I interviewed. Although I technically interviewed them separately, they were both present at the interview of their respective spouses. In terms of the translation of Portuguese language interviews were transcribed in Portuguese and then translated into English by me.

6.4 Language

Interviewees were given the opportunity to conduct the interviews in either English or Portuguese since the researcher speaks both languages. Several points are worth mentioning regarding this.

First, interviewees who opted for Portuguese were able to express themselves more colourfully than if they had been limited to English. For example, using turns of phrase or making jokes and puns that would not necessarily have been available to them otherwise[7].

Second, the fact that an interpreter was not needed meant that a more organic rapport could be developed with interviewees and the flow of conversation more natural than would have been possible were we to rely on a third party to translate the questions and responses.

[7] See p. 132 and p.160 for examples of this

Third, the fact that many London interviewees opted for English is revealing since it hints at an assimilationist attitude to their migration project even though many likely would have been more comfortable in Portuguese[8]. Some chose to switch back and forth which again allowed for greater flexibility and comfort in the rapport and thus the responses. As I explain in detail on p. 124, the fact that one London interviewee opted for Portuguese despite having lived in London for many years and claiming to have moved in part to 'learn English' was also revealing. Finally, all of the São Paulo interviewees opted for Portuguese regardless of their English ability (some were fluent). This made the interview experience more immersive and again allowed for a more organic interview process.

7. Difficulties and ethical issues

A key difficulty arises when one experiences inconsistencies or contradictions in a participant's responses. For example, they may exhibit a certain hypocrisy by complaining of a trait of Brazilian society such as corruption and nepotism before later revealing that they themselves have benefited from corruption or nepotism. The issue of how to challenge the participant on this is a delicate one since they may not even be aware of such inconsistencies until it is mentioned. The act of recording the interview is an advantage since it lends an air of officiality and a certain impersonality to the interview which the researcher can (before the interview starts) use to make clear that their tone and line of questioning may be slightly more rigorous than it would in an ordinary conversation. The fundamental point that must be made clear to the interviewee is that the challenging of their statements by the researcher should not be taken as a personal attack but merely serves as a tool to answer the research questions.

Regarding ethics, the anonymity of participants is paramount. There are two reasons for this. First, it may be harder for participants to feel at ease and confident that their words will not be used against them if they think there is the possibility that their identity will be revealed through the published research. Although I did not engage with participants about any illicit or criminal activity it is still possible that without the assurance that anonymity

[8] Although, as I argue in chapter six this did not necessarily mean assimilating into British culture but instead London's culture imagined as cosmopolitan and multicultural.

provides, their responses may have been much less open than otherwise. The second issue is the risk of deductive disclosure (Kaiser 2009). Since I relied on snowball sampling many of the participants were likely to know other participants. There have been cases before where a researcher's failure to properly obfuscate the identities and contexts of their participants has resulted in problems between participants once they read what other participants had said about them and their relationships with each other (Ellis 1995).

In addition, identifying information was not kept in the same place as the raw data. All participants were adults of sound body and mind. Participants were recruited openly and ethically and there was no coercion or deception used in obtaining their consent to be interviewed and/or have the researcher engage in participant observation with. Regarding safety, I did not conduct research in potentially dangerous locations within Brazilian cities or within London or with people who could have posed a risk to my personal safety. The participant observation and debriefing sheets were offered in Portuguese as well as English to ensure all participants comprehended what they were agreeing to and what was expected of them. All empirical fieldwork had ethical approval from UTREC at the University of St Andrews (see appendix for details).

8. Positionality statement: belonging to a non-place

Rather than ascribe positive or negative judgements on the merits of the two ideologies of individualism and collectivism, it is perhaps better to treat them impartially. Describing a person's cultural and social practices and beliefs as 'individualist' or 'collectivist' may be interpreted as implying a value judgement by some, but this is certainly not my intention. The two ideologies are simply different ways of structuring societal practices and more importantly, understanding the self's relationship to and place within a society. The idea that one is 'better' or 'worse' than the other is problematic and beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead this thesis proposes to make use of both these concepts in order to examine some of underlying themes that emerge through the investigation of the proposed question around (non)migration decision making and subjectivity. However, rather than attempt to set up a, perhaps slightly simplistic, dichotomy between, for example, those who migrate for individualist reasons and those who are motivated by collectivism, it is instead more fruitful

to examine how both these ideologies effect and are affected by, migration and non-migration decisions.

When asked about my nationality I have always felt somewhat conflicted about my identification with England or Britain over London. My mother was an immigrant herself and my father from an immigrant family and as such I grew up feeling I was not 'English' in the same way that a person whose family had been here for generations is. At the same time, my situation is far from uncommon in London and in many areas, is the norm. Therefore, my ability to identify as a Londoner was less impacted by the context of my birth. However, many have observed that London's preponderance of immigrants, tourists and other transnational and otherwise transient contingents makes many of its locales candidates for what Augé has referred to as 'non-places'. These are places which are not 'owned' by anyone in the sense that the memories and identities of most people who live and work in these areas are not tied to these areas. The prospect that a person could feel a sense of belonging in such a non-place is thus a paradoxical and often contradictory experience: to have an abundance of childhood memories and emotional attachments and associations to areas where the population is in an almost constant state of flux such as in Central London. I am a 'cultural insider' (Ganga & Scott 2006) of a culture that lacks an 'inside' in the same way as a collectivist culture. Since I am in many ways the quintessential product of an anational, individualist culture my experience of collectivism (both familial and group) has been limited.

Regarding my positionality in the context of Brazilian migrants, I speak Portuguese and, having lived in Brazil and having many Brazilian friends in London, I understand something of Brazilian culture but only as an outsider. I am therefore an insider of the culture that (I suggest) many Brazilian migrants are attracted to by moving to London, and as an 'outsider', I am reasonably well acquainted with the culture into which they were born. Brazilian migrants likely see me as an outsider in one sense but as an insider of a culture they may feel aligned with.

9. Post fieldwork reflections: London and São Paulo

With respect to the London fieldwork, although I had originally planned to interview approximately equal numbers of longer-term residents and new arrivals the weighting ended

up favouring those who had been in London for longer than six months. This meant that the originally intended longitudinal aspect of the original study did not come through in the empirical chapters. This was in part likely because there are simply more people who have been here for a year or longer than those who are newly arrived. However, a set-back I encountered with new arrivals, was that it was much harder to 'pin them down' and commit them to a time to be interviewed. A possible reason is that, as Martins Junior (2014) found, new arrivals often tend to have a different perspective on their experience of London in terms of their time and resource commitments being aimed at 'establishing themselves' socially, economically and professionally. For those who have had the benefit of time spent in London, they are more able to view their leisure time as flexible enough to allow to commit to being interviewed.

Another setback was that the phone I had used to store many of the contact's details was stolen in September 2017. Unfortunately, I did not have back-ups of many of the contacts' numbers meaning that it was impossible to remain in touch with all of those interviewed since I only had alternate ways of contacting some of them. However, while analysing the data from the existing interviews I discovered that the themes which arose and which are explored in the first two empirical chapters, did not require a longitudinal approach in the way I had originally envisaged. This meant that my concerns became less with the effect of time on migrants' experiences and rationalisations of their migration and more on the ways that these experiences and rationalisations are articulated 'in the moment'. Further, the way that the idea of 'societal alienation' was articulated by both new arrivals and longer-term migrants was not set up in a way to offer a contrast between the two. Regarding the fieldwork in São Paulo, once again, although originally, I had intended to interview approximately equal numbers of those who had no desire to leave and those who did, this was harder than originally envisioned. While I was conducting the fieldwork, a piece of research came out stating that 43% of Brazilians desired to emigrate internationally (Datafolha 2018). This figure was likely higher within the socio-economic and regional demographic I was exploring. In fact, many of those encountered laughed when I told them I was looking to interview people who did not wish to leave, joking that this group would be difficult to find. The main reason for this was that the political crisis that had been unfolding in Brazil for the past four years was beginning to come to a head and faith in Brazilian

government institutions was at an all-time low. This was combined with an economic downturn. Despite this, I did succeed in finding enough participants who were not planning on emigrating to provide insights into this phenomenon.

The next chapter employs some of the theoretical concepts which were covered in Chapters Two and Three and applies them to the empirical data I collected using the methodologies set out in this chapter. It is primarily concerned with making the argument that 'lifestyle migration' as it is characterised in the literature can be applicable to certain cases of movement from the Global South to the Global North. In the process, it examines how some middle-class Brazilians' identification with the ideals of lifestyle migration reveal how issues of class, culture, inequality, race and ethnicity and regionalism are transferred from their context in Brazil reviewed in Chapter Three and re-interpreted via the process of migration in London.

Chapter Five: Lifestyle migration from the Global South to the Global North[9]

1. Introduction

[9] This chapter is based on the published article 'Lifestyle migration from the Global South to the Global North: individualism, social class and freedom in a centre of 'super- diversity''(Robins 2019)

In this chapter, I draw on qualitative research with Brazilians living in London to argue that certain migration streams from the Global South to the Global North are best described as 'lifestyle migration.' I aim to challenge the trend within migration studies that tends to view 'migrating for lifestyle reasons … as a distinct feature of 'Global North migration [while], Global South migration' is still (implicitly) generically mapped as dependent upon 'push' and 'pull' factors' (Martins Junior 2017, p.52). My argument for middle-class Brazilians migrating to London as an example of lifestyle migration also underlines the point made by scholars such as Gay y Blasco (2010) that cosmopolitanism, read as 'an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness towards divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity' (Hannerz 1990, p.239), should not be assumed to be limited to 'Westerners'(Gay y Blasco, 2010).

Although economic motivations overshadow all migration decisions to some extent (Clark & Maas 2015), a shared trait between the Brazilian migrants in my research and 'lifestyle migrants' in the literature is an explicit denial that economic motivation is behind their decision to migrate. Further, both groups share a similar individualistic ideological outlook. They may disavow a transnational identity and instead frame their migration in cosmopolitan, 'anational' terms, as an exercise in 'world citizenship.' This distancing from an identity as a 'typical' transnational Brazilian migrant should not be taken as dichotomous because migrant identity is often discursive and multidimensional (Krzyzanowski & Wodak 2008). Indeed, this chapter is not intended to be a direct, binary comparison between middle-class migrants and lower middle-class 'economic' migrants but rather to examine how the dichotomy between 'economic transnational migrants' and 'lifestyle migrants' operates within the discourse of my interviewees. This is done not only to show that the term 'lifestyle migrant' is applicable to certain streams of migration from Brazil to London but also to examine the 'work' that identification with this term (and the resulting denial or distancing from other terms) does. These positionings raise questions about the meaning of 'Brazilian' identity itself, especially in terms of how such an identity 'translates' and is interpreted by others in the context of London's social milieu. This discourse of distancing forms part of a process by which migrants distinguish their identity as an individual from a collective identity associated the perceived lower middle class, 'transnational' compatriots who have also migrated. This chapter thus takes social class as a lens through which to explore Brazilian

migration to London as a category of lifestyle migration. Section one examines the concept of 'lifestyle migration' and how it relates to individualism and class status in its privileging of 'quality of life' as a motivation to migrate even at the potential cost of loss in 'material comforts' (Benson 2011, p.224). Section two reviews some key lifestyle migration and Brazilian migration literature. The aim here is to show the commonalities in motivations and discourse between lifestyle migrants and Brazilian middle-class migrants as both appear in the literature. It shows that rather than financial accumulation, 'experience,' 'quality of life,' and, of course, 'lifestyle' are persistent themes in the discourse of the two groups. Further, these themes are linked to a strongly individualist ideological outlook. This outlook is often expressed as a desire for 'freedom' as ideological value, a process of individualisation and a tendency towards an 'anational' distancing towards their status as trans- nationals as defining characteristics of this type of migration.

This practice of distancing becomes complicated in the context of Brazilian migration due to its intersection with racial and ethnic disparities. It raises the issue of what aspects of social status matter in the 'success' of a lifestyle migration from the Global South to the Global North. Section three uses empirical research to show how the themes of lifestyle, individualism, class, and race appear in the discourse of the Brazilian immigrants whom I interviewed. I argue that an individualist privileging of 'freedom,' read as anonymity and mobility, is a value that often defines how lifestyle migrants measure their success. Mobility in turn takes on multiple interpretations all of which relate to the interviewees' status as lifestyle migrants. The ultimate aim is not to show that the Brazilian interviewees are unique in the way they describe their experience of migration but precisely that the similarities between their discourse and that of other groups of middle-class migrants is evidence that suggests that we should expand our understanding of lifestyle migration beyond a Global North-centred focus to include certain instances of movement from the Global South to the Global North. Rather than fall into a 'methodological nationalism' that Wimmer and Schiller (2003) have cautioned against, we should take social class over nationality as a more productive mode of analysis. This empirical research also provides an opportunity to critically explore the way Brazil's racial, cultural, and class disparities operate within the context of international migration. Against the background of class tensions in Brazil and the rise in U.K. media and public concern over the figure of the 'economic migrant,' the questions is raised

of how middle-class Brazilian migrants' practice of distancing themselves from the transnational Brazilian 'community' (Martins Junior, 2017) should be interpreted.

2. Lifestyle migration, privileged migration and individualism

As DellaPergola writes, 'free migration tends to draw from relatively small, selected and at times even elitist social strata (1984, p.312). Although most international migrants to developed countries are from the middle-classes of their countries (Torresan 2007; Van Hear 2014; Kearney & Beserra 2004), a common theme is that 'lifestyle' migrants, when compared to their peers tend to be more affluent still. Benson and O'Reilly have defined lifestyle migration as, 'relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that, for various reasons, signify, for the migrant, a better quality of life' (2009, p.609). Benson and O'Reilly's (2018) recent work in Panama and Malaysia focuses on such privileged lifestyle migrants. They reveal how lifestyle migrants to these countries, acting as 'neoliberal subjects,' reproduce historical and structural inequalities. The situation is mirrored in Brazilian migration but, as we shall see, with important differences. In a similar vein, Kunz (2016) observes that 'expatriates,' a term that shares some overlap with 'lifestyle migrant,' often apply to those who are 'privileged by citizenship, class or race' (p. 89). She thus writes of a need 'to turn the construction of the category itself into the object of analysis' (p. 96). To this end, she argues for treating the term 'expatriate' as a 'category of practice' as opposed to a 'category of analysis' (p. 89). Employing such an approach, she argues, will help us research the term, 'while resisting a reified understanding of it' (ibid.). So too then should we treat the term 'lifestyle migrant.' Rather than directly comparing Brazilian 'lifestyle' migrants with Brazilian 'economic' migrants, it would be more productive to analyse how identification with the term 'lifestyle migrant' is operationalised as a 'category of practice' by middle-class Brazilians. This is especially pertinent because the need amongst many middle-class Brazilian migrants, unlike the expatriates considered by Kunz, to distinguish their situation from 'labour migrants', which as Kunz shows is a practice in which expatriates also often engage, takes on a different dimension when, to an outside observer, the differences between those who have moved for 'economic' reasons and those who have done so for 'lifestyle' ones may not be as obvious. This is because, as we learned in Chapter Two, London's Brazilians hail from a rather thin cross section of the Brazilian class structure, drawing most frequently from

the ‘B’ and ‘C’ classes. Further, the line between these two is becoming thinner in Brazil (Klein et al. 2018). This is compounded by Kearney and Beserra’s (2004) observation that, the borders between class identities [at the country of origin] are typically blurred or even non-existent’ (p. 4) at the migration destination as a result of migration. This is compounded by Margolis' observation that, although it may seem that many middle-class Brazilian migrants may benefit from a ‘colonial privilege’ (Benson & O’Reilly, 2018), this ‘privilege’ is tempered by the fact that they are citizens of, rather than migrants to, a former colony and, as Margolis' (2013) observes, are often viewed as such by others. From the other side, the distance between the two class groups is further reduced by the elevation in social status that members of ‘C’ class may enjoy by migrating to London. She explains,

> [T]he simple fact of living in England … connotes middle class independent status regardless of the type of jobs Brazilians hold there. Then, too, Brazilians in London—middle class and otherwise—are seen as part of an undifferentiated mass of immigrants from Latin America (ch. 1).

London thus has the effect of obscuring class distinctions that perhaps were more obvious in Brazil. This is especially the case considering that members of the B and C classes will often, in the beginning at least, work side by side in the same jobs. As Torresan (2007) notes, this differentiates Brazilians who migrate to London over those who chose Portugal where they often maintained a middle-class life- style at the destination and thus did not experience any kind of downward social mobility. Where Brazilians in Portugal were viewed as ‘middle-class skilled migrants’ (p. 108), those who Torresan researched or interviewed in London ‘associated their middle-class identity almost exclusively with their previous status in Brazil’. So too, where establishing middle-class status in Portugal, ‘relied on the intensive exchange of perceptions and stereotypes between the host population and the immigrants, in London, a middle-class status, ‘was recognised only by fellow Brazilians’ and it was normally ‘[i]nvisible to most English’ ‘ (ibid.). A consequence to this sudden muddying of class boundaries in London is that the migrants from a higher-class position will often emphasise their distinctiveness from the group they see as ‘economic’ lower class migrants. As Martins Junior (2014) observes, ‘the greatest differentiation occurs amongst Brazilians themselves’ (p. 15).

It may seem as if Brazilian migrants, working in identical jobs, are a unified, homogenous group, but in fact is more divided than it might seem. (Martins Junior, 2017). As

Stephens et al. (2007) observe, '[a]lthough the 'same' action in different contexts may appear identical to an observer, the meaning of a given action derives from the ideas, practices, and material conditions of the con- text in which that action takes place' (p. 827). Although it may appear that Brazilian migrants are all motivated by the same economic concerns and may often appear homogenous in terms of their employment in London, the professed values that drive their desire for employment often differ. As Olwig (2007) reminds us:

> Migrants' narratives should not be treated as simply factual accounts of moves … to achieve well defined goals. They are also modes of accounting for lives within social and cultural frameworks that give meaning and purpose to the individuals involved (p. 99).

2.1 Lifestyle migration and ideology

Hofstede (1980) found that a key corollary of the emergence of individualism is affluence because affluence leads to financial independence and thus allows for the possibility of independence from in- groups. However, as Triandis (1995) points out, it is amongst the middle classes that individualism is most prevalent. He argues that elites have an interest in maintaining collectivist traditions, which preserve their status, because collectivism privileges hierarchy over equality (Dumont, 1970). At the same time, he asserts that those from lower classes do not have the means to seriously challenge these traditions either. Therefore, 'individualism is maximal in the middle class' (Bellah et al. *seen in* Triandis, 1995, p. 30). As Igarashi and Saito (2014) also argue, individualist cosmopolitanism is often tied to higher economic, cultural and social capital. This connection between individualism and middle-class status has often been noted by lifestyle migration researchers (Eimermann, 2015; Korpela, 2014). Lifestyle migration has also been linked to the related concept of 'ideological migration' (Zaban, 2015, 2017). The problem here is that all migration is 'ideological,' so the question is, which ideology is it being motivated by? What do we mean when we refer to 'economic' migration over 'lifestyle' migration? Giddens (1991) defines 'lifestyle' as 'a more or less integrated set of practices which an individual embraces, not only because such practices fulfil utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity' (p. 81). The implication for migration studies then is that people can move because they experience not only 'material alienation' (Portes & DeWind, 2004) but also 'societal alienation' (Dashefsky & Lazerwitz, 1983). The role of globalisation in motivating

lifestyle migration (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009) is key here. Mediascapes (Appadurai, 1996) have the power to not only offer those in the Global South idealised images of life in the Global North in terms of the material but the immaterial, 'societal' idealisations. Therefore, it is not just the imagining of material benefits that can make migration destinations attractive but the immaterial, 'quality of life' aspects too. This is an argument I will develop further in the next chapter. In fact, for some lifestyle migrants there may be a reduction in material comfort in exchange for an increase in 'quality of life' (Benson, 2011; Carling & Jolivet, 2016). It is important to make it clear that, strictly in terms of economic goals (i.e., financial gain), many of those I interviewed had a higher material quality of life in Brazil, but they were willing to sacrifice this for the 'lifestyle' they experience in London. This is reflected in Carling and Jolivet's (2016, p. 39) quantitative findings that, in contrast to the other nationalities they researched, the Brazilians they interviewed 'tend[ed] to be more satisfied with the quality-of-life impacts of migration than with the financial benefit.' Halfacree (2004) argues that creating a dichotomy between economic and noneconomic motivations for migration can result in the noneconomic factors being subsumed by the economic ones. However, what is noticeable about how lifestyle migration is characterised in the literature is that 'economic hardship' is not emphasised as a key motivation to migrate. In her study of Northern European lifestyle migration to the Algarve, Torkington (2010) notes that '[t]his type of migration is clearly not motivated by economic hardship or the search for work or some form of financial security' (p. 102). There are questions then about the role of employment in lifestyle migration projects.

There are clearly many lifestyle migrants who move to places like the Algarve as a retirement project and so occupy a different, less active role within the country's economy (Benson, 2012). But there are also many who move well before retirement age and continue to work once they have migrated. Benson's work mentions many businesses in rural France, which were set up and run by British migrants. Torkington describes these lifestyle migrants as using work as simply 'a means to an end.' For Benson, the aim of the migration project is often to return to 'something of a life 'lost' in Britain' (p. 1687). Employment is only how they achieve this. This is also developed in the Brazilian migration literature. Torresan (2012) points out that it is how financial capital is spent that reveals the true motivations behind the desire to earn it. As one of her interviewees frames the issue, 'when you ask me if I think I'm

an economic immigrant, the idea of economic migration is directly related to my ideal of life' (p. 120). Torresan describes this 'ideal of life' as a 'middle-class ideology that included notions of individualism, citizenship, modernity, and democracy' (p. 117). A key difference in the case of Brazilian migration to London is that it is closer to an ideal of life 'imagined' than an ideal of 'life lost.'

2.2 Individualism as freedom and anonymity

One of the most salient aspects of lifestyle migration is the strongly individualist ideology by which it is characterised. The desire for 'freedom' is perhaps one of the most salient features that dominates lifestyle migrants' discourse. O'Reilly (2014), identifies the 'imaginaries… that shape lifestyle migration' as, 'the search for self- realisation, for escape and freedom from prior constraints' (p.220). This emphasis on 'freedom' as a motivation to migrate is paralleled in Griffiths and Maile's (2014) work on British lifestyle migrants to Berlin. They explain how one interviewee, Andy, felt, 'Berlin's history and its reputation as a 'rebellious' city represented freedom from constraint and the ability 'to be who you are' (p.150). The most thorough investigation into freedom as an ideological value amongst lifestyle migrants is perhaps, Korpela's (2014) study of Westerners living in India. Korpela found that many of her interviewees articulated their entire migration project from a radically individualistic perspective, centred on notions of 'self -realisation' and 'freedom of choice'. She asserts, '[t]he goal of lifestyle migration is happiness and individual satisfaction' (p.41), and, 'the aim is to improve one's personal life, not the conditions within wider society' (p.34). Related to freedom is the experience of anonymity, or rather freedom through anonymity. As Conradson and Lathan note in their work on lifestyle migration from New Zealand to London, 'blending in', achieving anonymity in London forms part of the way in which their interviewees articulated the 'affective possibilities' for freedom that London offered (2007). This is by no means a new phenomenon. Florida (2012) writes that as far back as the 1920s, Carolyn Ware had observed that the residents of New York's Greenwich Village had come, 'to seek escape from their community, their families, or themselves'. Further, they were, 'intensely individualistic in both their social relations and their point of view'. They had disdain for the, 'the joining habit' and instead took, 'full advantage of both the selectiveness and anonymity the city offered'. Instead of a traditional life, 'they maintained individual ties with friends scattered all over the city' (1935, pp.5, 37 *seen in* Florida 2012, p.200). Florida

describes this reliance on individualistic 'weak ties', rather than strong interdependent social networks as the freedom of 'quasi-anonymity' and asserts that many of his subjects viewed this as a driver to migrate to large cities. Florida of course envisioned this as a characteristic of what he termed the 'creative class'. What makes lifestyle migrants noteworthy is that, they display similar values despite no necessary involvement in creative professions. In the case of many Brazilian migrants in London, although they typically will work in service jobs (at least in the beginning), the drivers that influence their decision to migrate are closer to those which motivate Florida's 'creative class'. It is as if the values of the 'creative class' have now been internalised more widely.

Following Ware's observations, the desire for freedom can also be read as freedom from collective identity; the desire for mobility of identity through individualisation. Interestingly, Buarque de Holanda (2012) saw the early emigration of Portuguese to Brazil as a form of individualist distancing from a collective identification with family virtues. He writes that migrating, 'was the only way that many young men [and today we also may surmise, women] who moved far away from their parents, and were deemed 'exiled sons' by Capistrano de Abreu [a Brazilian historian], were able to gain a sense of responsibility that they once had been denied (p.115). For many lifestyle migrants, an emphasis on individual identity and freedom also forms part of a strategy of distinguishing one's situation from one's compatriots. Benson's work on British lifestyle migrants in the Dordogne provides a good example of individualisation at work within migrant discourse. She writes of the phenomenon of othering one's peers to assert one's individuality as a migrant. She writes that her subjects, 'expressed their continued attempts to distinguish themselves from others, emphasizing that their new lives in the Lot were significantly different from their compatriots (2009, p.122). One of her subjects explains:

> We all come out here and like to pretend that we're the only people here; we all like to say, 'I hope the British invasion stops soon.' I certainly wouldn't want to live in areas that I've heard talked about in the Dordogne, for example … it's like a British colony (p.121)

For many British migrants in France, it is the British migrants in Spain who serve as the 'other' from whom they distinguish their own situation and practices as a migrant. Benson points out

that there is an element of class elitism in the way that British migrants in France refer to their Spanish counterparts. '[M]any of the migrants also emphasised how easy it was to migrate to Spain and how little effort incomers had to invest in order to establish their lives there' (2012, p.124). And here too we can find parallels in the wider literature on Brazilian migrants in London, many of whom are keen to demarcate themselves from 'those other Brazilians' who do not mix with the 'host' society (Horst et al. 2014). Many of Horst et al.'s (2016) interviewees emphasised the role that their social class played in their migration project and saw a class divide between themselves and their perceived lower class peers. They note:

> '[C]lass impacts the motivations for migration and the way people understand its importance. For some, it is about investing in new lifestyle, adventure or experience… More affluent [Brazilian] migrants see their personal migration project as individualised and disconnected from others in Brazil, with little direct impact on the aspirations or livelihoods of those who remain there (p.102).

Thus, in the case of both groups, they seek to distinguish themselves from the 'other Brazilians' or the 'other British expats' whom they insist, are completely unrelated in their attitude to their migratory project and in their practices and experiences once they have migrated. This class divide often operates in tandem with a desire to be seen as fitting into the local community or culture. Benson observes that her interviewee, 'was particularly keen to highlight the sparseness of the British population and their efforts not to create an insular community but instead to integrate into the local community' (Benson 2012, p.124).

2.3 Identification with 'world citizenship' and distancing from the 'transnational' other

Many individualist lifestyle migrants have an, at best, ambivalent relationship towards (trans)national cultural practices as characterised by Dias, since national belonging is a collectivist trait (Dumont 1970; Brewer & Chen 2007). As Durkheim opined, the ideal individualist society would be one where, 'members of a single social group will have nothing in common among themselves except their humanity' (1898, p.51). Instead, individualist lifestyle migrants often identify more closely with the concept of the 'world citizen' (Heater 2004). As, Korpela (2014) observes, 'lifestyle migrants seem to be a perfect empirical example of what sociologists of individualism have been theorising about' (p.34). It is not

surprising then, that ‘world citizenship’ would appear in the discourse of lifestyle migrants, uprooted as they are, both literally and in terms of self-identification, from the culture into which they were born. In fact, Williams et al. (2018) have found evidence that those who identify as a ‘world citizen’ are more likely to migrate than their compatriots in the first place. What I wish to draw out is how an identity as ‘world citizen’ is often used by lifestyle migrants to contrast their situation with a ‘transnational identity’.

Within Korpela's work, we find an Israeli woman who, refusing to raise her children with any sense of collectivist identity, instead allowed them total freedom of choice in this respect. She explained that ‘[w]e are global players, we don't want any identification of religion, nothing. We don't want any traditional mark’ (p. 32). A cosmopolitan identification with ‘world citizenship’ often combined with a distancing with national identity is a trait that can be found across borders (almost by definition), and yet it is still largely the preserve of those with the means to realise it in terms of access to the necessary mobility and cultural capital. As Heater (2004, p. 67) observes, ‘world citizens, in a full sense, are something of an elite.’ Of course, some scholars have pointed out that cosmopolitanism is a flexible concept and can be adopted by those from other classes. This has led Werbner (1999) to write of ‘working class cosmopolitanism’. Still, as Igarashi and Saito (2014) remind us, cosmopolitanism is often tied to possession of economic as well as certain forms of cultural and social capital. Unlike semi-documented Brazilian migrants (Dias, 2009), the privilege of possessing an EU passport, for example, allows many middle-class Brazilians to realise a cosmopolitan identity in terms of ‘world citizenship’ in a way that is not available to those without. This speaks to Kunz's (2016) earlier observation that ‘citizenship’ can be a key enabler of privileged forms of migration.

3. Brazilians in London

In terms of research gaps then, as noted, there has been a lack of attention to flows of privileged migration from the Global South to the Global North. Further, within these migration streams, the work that ‘lifestyle migrant’ does as a ‘category of practice’ (Kunz, 2016) has likewise been neglected, especially in terms of what identification with the terms

shows about the ways in which it reflects various forms of social, racial, and regional inequalities in Brazil and how these inequalities are reinterpreted at the migration destination. To this end, this section draws on my qualitative empirical work with middle-class Brazilian migrants to argue that many of them should be classified as an example of 'South to North' lifestyle migration. In turn, it is an opportunity to explore the underlying race and identity issues that surround lifestyle migration in the context of Brazilian racial, ethnic, and class identities. It examines how, in common with lifestyle migrants as characterised in the literature, freedom through both anonymity (Conradson & Latham, 2007; Florida, 2012) and mobility (Benson, 2011) are central values. As the quantitative evidence also suggests (Carling & Jolivet, 2016; Evans et al., 2011; Evans et al., 2015), there are a considerable number of Brazilian migrants in the United Kingdom who do not frame their motivation to migrate in economic terms (see also Martins Junior & Dias, 2013).

Indeed, many of my respondents came from privileged economic backgrounds in Brazil. Their desire to migrate to London was not, they stated, due to better employment prospects, and similarly, the work they undertook, especially in the early years of their migration project, was always viewed as a 'means to an end,' the end often being to experience the lifestyle that London had to offer rather than straight forward financial accumulation. When probed about the motivations for their attraction to London, desire to live and work there, was a desire for freedom, and, indeed, it was one of the most salient themes that emerged from their discourse. They defined freedom in two ways. The first was freedom as the feeling of anonymity living in a new city can generate (Conradson & Latham, 2007; Florida, 2012). The second was freedom via mobility: both as freedom of movement and as freedom from (or mobility of) collective identity (Benson, 2011; Ware, 1935). Yet, at the same time, although there are class differences, 'one should be careful not to exaggerate these differences and give the impression that there are two entirely different types of migrants' (Olwig, 2007, p. 89). The emphasis on difference in the discourse of the interviewees can be read as in part a reaction to the fact that many may occupy a liminal position between the two categories of 'lifestyle' and 'economic.' Rather than try to divide them into neat categories of economic and non-economic migrants, it is perhaps more productive to investigate the liminal space between these two categories and question what

is meant by an ‘economic’ and a ‘lifestyle’ migrant and how these categories are operationalised by my interviewees in order to preserve and recreate class status.

Before moving on to the empirical data it is worth explaining the profiles of the interviewees who’s responses shaped have this chapter. Of the twenty-six participants I have used eleven of them in this chapter. The names and background of the participants are in figure 8 below.

Name	Age	Originally from	Occupation in Brazil	Current occupation	Motivations to migrate	Mode of Access
Ariana	49	Salvador, Bahia	Concert promoter	Yoga teacher	Adventure/ Freedom	Snowball - from an uninterviewed aquaintance
Vitor	38	Porto Alegre, Rio de Grande do Su	Managing Director	Photographer	Adventure/ Freedom	Snowball - from Tissi
Tara	28	São Paulo, São Paulo	Travel Agent	Unemployed	Economic/ Work opportunities	Snowball - from language school contact
Julia	30	São Paulo state	Waitress	Waitress	Adventure/ learn English	Snowball - housemate of uninterviewed aquaintan
Fred	24	Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais	Student	Consultant	University	Snowball - from Lara
Bernardo	38	Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais	Entrepreneur/ Merchant	Personal Trainer	Learn English/ Cultural experience	Snowball - from an uninterviewed aquaintance
Caetano	36	São Paulo, São Paulo	Hotel receptionist	Teaching assistant	Adventure/ Cultural experience	Snowball - from language school contact
Tissi	36	São Paulo, São Paulo	Circus performer	Catering manager	Adventure/ Economic opportunities	Snowball - from an uninterviewed aquaintance
Franco	30	Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais	Chef	Chef	Adventure	Snowball - from an uninterviewed aquaintance
Caio	59	Londrina, Parana	Physiotherapist	Cleaner	Societal alienation/ Learn English	Snowball - from language school contact
Leonidas	40	Santos, São Paulo	Bank clerk	Analyst	Curiousity/Adventure/ Learn English	Snowball - from Tissi
Gerardo	37	São Paulo, São Paulo	Journalist	Journalist	Societal alienation/ Cultural experien	Snowball - from Leonidas
Laura	30	São Paulo, São Paulo	Stylist	Stylist	Cultural experience	Snowball - from Franco

Figure 8 – participant details

3.1 Individualism, freedom and anonymity

Individualist freedom as anonymity was prompted by the fact that they were removed both literally in space and psychologically from ties and responsibilities associated with their family back in Brazil. There can be constraining effects of living as a known and interdependently connected person within an established community (Prado 1995). As one interviewee put it when I asked him about the drawbacks of growing up in a small town in Brazil, '[w]ell my parents could know what I had done wrong (laughs) that's the main point' (Interview in English, London, 27.06.17). This theme of freedom as escape from constraint is one that featured heavily in the discourse of many interviewees. Take 'Ariana', forty-nine, from Bahia. Ariana's upbringing was upper middle-class and at the time of her decision to migrate she was also independently wealthy due to her previous career in Brazil as a concert promoter:

> Interviewer: What did you like about London that made you decide to stay?
>
> Ariana: First of all, I was by myself more or less… I was by myself without family for the first time so that was great, the feeling of freedom. I like to feel free. I hate castration and the people trying to suffocate me, to castrate me, to manipulate, I hate this feeling. I don't live like that. Even though, I didn't live with my family since I was 16, 17, you know, I felt I was kind of more free to feel myself as independent (Interview, in Portuguese, London, 15.03.17).

Another interviewee, Alcindo, thirty-seven, from Mato Grosso do Sul described the sense of freedom via anonymity thus:

> I think everything's allowed and that's the good thing about London, you're kind of invisible, you know? It doesn't matter which clothing you go out in, doesn't matter if you have money or a car. It doesn't really matter (Interview, in English, London, 10.07.17).

Vitor, thirty-eight, from Rio Grande do Sul not only illustrates the importance of freedom within the interviewees discourse but is also a good example of how many interviewees experienced a reduction in material standards of living in exchange for 'freedom' as they imagined it. At a young age Vitor was made the director of a regional branch of his family's business. Despite the wealth and independence, he enjoyed as a result, he decided to move to London, 'as a kind of adventure' and spent the next few years working as a bartender and other low skilled catering jobs. He was now working as a commercial photographer. His

reasons for wanting to live in London were exclusively tied to individualist values based around freedom and anonymity. He summed up his attitude thus:

> I love London... It's a completely different culture from Brazil. As people don't really care what you have. That's my feeling. Maybe I'm wrong but I feel here, people don't worry about who you are. In Brazil if you have a nice car or house or expensive clothes. It makes a huge difference as to how they will treat you, but I don't feel that here. As a joke since I bet my friend, I will go to work wearing pyjamas. And I did. And nobody even cared! I was in the tube wearing pyjamas and he was filming 'oh look V is wearing pyjamas going to his work' and I did that intentionally to prove nobody cared. And that for me... I was looking for my freedom when I moved from Porto Alegre to São Paulo. Well I have to say I found the freedom here (Interview, in English, London, 02.08.17).

It is worth noting that this idea of not being judged as a known person but rather treated as a free individual (DaMatta 1991b) is largely imagined in the sense that it is dependent on the subjective perspective of the lifestyle migrant and their lack of social ties (or use of 'weak ties, as Florida calls them). A similar discourse can be found in the lifestyle migration literature. For example, Oliver finds that many of her interviewees, British migrants to Spain, expressed a similar feeling. One interviewee, 'Willie', explains his experience of life in England and Spain thus:

> I got sick of the whole treadmill… all the people talked about how much they had, what cars they drive. Whereas here nobody cares. No one gives a shit who you are… You can have fifty million pesetas or nothing at all (Oliver 2007, p.132).

'Objectively' speaking it is hard to say that London or Spain is less materialistic or superficial than the places of origin of these migrants. Instead, what seems to have changed is the migrant's imagined relationship to the space they now live in. This difference is most usefully analysed via reference to Da Matta's (1991) concept of *a casa e a rua* (the house and the street). This is the difference between experiencing a place as a known person and as an anonymous individual. In the places of origin, as a known person, they occupied a set place within the societal structure which was determined by their historical relations and actions within that structure. They were therefore subject to the judgements of other known persons. At the migration destination, they are free, as Oliver writes to feel as if they can 'reinvent' their identities, to start again as an anonymous individual. It would be just as easy

to imagine a Spanish migrant from the area 'Willie' had moved to complaining of the 'hell of personalism' (Prado 1995) that living in a town where you are well known brings and instead wanting to 'start again' in the part of the UK Willie came from where they imagined they would not be judged in the same way.

3.2 Anonymity interrupted

A sense of anonymity, of 'blending in', was often cited as a key attraction of living in London but there were times when their perceived identity as a 'Brazilian' would be projected onto them in their encounters with others. Sometimes this was conveyed in a negative sense. Ariana, remarked:

> But we also have a life before we come here, we have universities, we have good education, we're not like in the jungle and the people treat us as if we are coming from a favela (Interview, in Portuguese, London, 15.03.17).

Another interviewee, Tara, twenty-eight, from São Paulo, who was unemployed, felt that her status as an 'immigrant' had precluded her from finding an equivalent job in her previous profession:

> I sent my CV to so many places. Barely an answer. And when I did have an answer 'oh you're not qualified enough; you don't have experience. What do you mean? In São Paulo I was working in a travel agency……I'm starting to get the feeling that I'll never get a proper job here. I'm seen as an immigrant that can only work in a cafe or reception. I'm not good enough to do anything else (Interview, in English, London, 03.06.17).

Others reported encounters whereby stereotypes of an 'exotic' other would be projected onto them. Julia, thirty, from São Paulo, was one of the few who claimed to have migrated for economic reasons. She worked as a waitress in a restaurant in the City of London, and described how the customers would often react to her:

> They often ask where I'm from and every time I tell them I'm Brazilian they usually do a little dance with their hands and say, 'oooh Brazil!'. It's so silly (Interview, in English, London, 05.07.17).

Another interviewee, Fred, twenty-four from Minas Gerais who worked as a research consultant, described his encounters:

> Fred: a lot of peoples' first reaction is something along the lines of, 'Wow, I would have never guessed. Your English is so good.' That tends to be a lot of peoples'

> reaction. I mean initially, I used to take that as, 'Oh seriously? I can't be Brazilian with my English being good?' At this point, I just take it in stride, because I get where they're coming from… you can tend to tell that they're like, 'Oh, wow. That is so exotic. That is so cool. You're so different and stuff.'
>
> Interviewer: So, it's generally quite positive?
>
> Fred: No, yeah. It's a positive. It's like, how do I put this? It's sort of like there's an othering going on, but that othering isn't so much in a negative sense. There's very much a kind of curiosity behind it. It's not like, 'Oh my God, ew, you're different to me. Get away from me.' It's more along the lines of, 'Oh wow, you're different from me. Tell me more.' (Interview, in English, London, 05.06.17)

Fred's comments show that this process of 'othering' can work both ways and, in fact, many reported positive experiences. It has been noted that Brazilians do generally enjoy a good reputation abroad (Margolis 1994) and in London this is no exception. Bernardo, 38, a personal trainer from Minas Gerais stated:

> They, well, I never had like problems with, because I'm Brazilian, actually when they noticed I was Brazilian they'd be happy they were like 'oh nice you're Brazilian!' (Interview, in Portuguese, London 06.07.17)

Another interviewee, Caetano, thirty-six, from São Paulo even thought that his status as a Brazilian had helped him during situations where he had faced prejudice or, at least, weariness from others over his race:

> There have been some times where I've been in a pub where it's been all English people and I was the only black guy and maybe at first people would treat me with a bit of fear or something but it was like as soon as they found out I was Brazilian then it would be positive like, 'oh football! Nice!' and we'd start talking about football (Interview, in English, London, 04.07.17).

Regardless of whether the stereotypes that Brazilians encounter in London are taken positively or negatively, they nevertheless persist and can thus interrupt the sense of anonymity that London can create. What these kinds of encounters perhaps help to reveal, is why so many Brazilians feel it is important to differentiate their motivations and experiences from those of the 'typical Brazilian migrant'. As the above vignettes reveal they are often faced with a stereotype of Brazil as an 'exotic' and underdeveloped place. Considering these

kinds of stereotypes, it is perhaps understandable why so many rely on a discourse of identity mobility which sets them apart from the 'typical transnational' Brazilian as 'other'.

3.3 Individualism, freedom and mobility

This section will discuss the importance of mobility, particularly mobility of identity, for and the different ways my interviewees articulate it. For them mobility, or freedom of movement, is realised both literally and as an ideological value. This type of mobility is often articulated in post-nationalist terms such as 'world citizenship'. It is often dependent on social class, and, more specifically, educational, financial and symbolic capital, and constructed via a process of individualisation whereby the migrants differentiate their experience of migration as an exercise in individual discovery and self-fulfilment. In keeping with Korpela's (2014) observations, many interviewees would describe themselves not as Brazilians but as 'citizens of the world'. Many young middle-class people independent of nationality appear to share this trait. Take, Tissi, thirty-six, from São Paulo who worked as a catering manager and was a long-time resident of London who described her motivation to migrate thus:

> But the most important for me in terms of freedom is just being independent and not relying on parents or husband, boss because I'm also self-employed but also being a citizen of the world… As an immigrant, freedom is the most important for me and I always try to conquer my space in the world because I want to be a world citizen. I want to be anywhere. Wherever I want (Interview, in English, London, 19.07.17).

This is best expressed perhaps by Franco, a chef from Minas Gerais who declared, 'I've never felt like I'm Brazilian. I'm not from anywhere, I'm a nomad'. Another interviewee, Caio, who first left Brazil over twenty years ago describes his relationship to his Brazilian identity:

> Caio: I find that my blood, actually, is very European. I don't have Brazilian blood. My family is Italian on one side and my other side is Portuguese. Mixed a little with Brazilian. My great-great grandmother… was Indian [indigenous]
>
> Interviewer: So, you don't feel Brazilian?
>
> Caio: No, I don't feel Brazilian. No, Brazilian culture, I remain totally alienated from it. I stay out of it. I don't adapt well to Brazilian culture (Interview, in Portuguese London, 30.06.17).

Here we see that mobility takes on two senses. First, is the mobility that access to economic, social and cultural capital affords in their ability to obtain an ancestral EU passport and thus cross borders with much greater ease than those Brazilians who must first obtain visas. Possession of an EU passport helps Caio to identify as 'European' able to cross national borders and construct a more cosmopolitan identity. Second is the related concept that this freedom of movement is tied to and perhaps even allows for a greater mobility in defining national identity, which could explain why it is important for Caio to feel 'European' as opposed to 'Brazilian'. As we have seen, many Brazilians face a certain kind of tension between their identity as an individual and their identity as a 'Brazilian migrant'. The fact that an alignment with an individualist ideological outlook has the potential to be interrupted by projected stereotypes of 'Brazilian migrants' who are typically imagined by the mainstream as 'exotic', uneducated and, often, 'non-white'.

Thus, it makes it even more important to perform their identity as an individual, or as a free 'world citizen' who, in Franco's words, is not from 'anywhere'. It is perhaps no surprise then that a key way that this individualist, cosmopolitan identity is articulated was via, typically unfavourable, comparisons to those 'other Brazilians' who, they asserted, had moved to London for more straight forward economic reasons and who made active use of the transnational Brazilian networks in the city for work, residence and leisure. The perceived divide between these two classes of Brazilian migrants speaks to Cohen et al.'s observation that, 'issues of social exclusion and class still have resonance' (2015, p.157) within lifestyle migration and mobility. A key differentiator is that these lower middle-class migrants typically are not able to secure an ancestral EU passport and therefore never lose their status as undocumented or 'semi-documented' Brazilians in London. My interviewees would often take pains to underline that they did not fall into the later category. Take Leonidas, forty, from São Paulo. On arrival he worked in a cafe but quickly progressed up the social ladder and at the time of interview had recently moved to Switzerland where he worked as an analyst. He answered the following question thus:

> Interviewer: Why did you choose London?
>
> Leonidas: Just to differentiate the sort of immigrations. Most of the people I met at first… I realised the reasons why they left was pretty much the same, economic reasons. Mine were not purely economic, I was just fed up with being in the same place, nothing to do with money actually. Most of the people I met when I first

> arrived, they wanted to go to London, save money and move back. I didn't have this intention. My goal was not saving money, perhaps learning. Not setting a new path or new life in London, actually I didn't know. I just wanted to leave at that time. But for sure my main driver was not for economic reasons…. the Brazilians were mostly from Minas and Goiás and you can trace a parallel with people from São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro above that going North-East and Central they're more economic so they go there to save money. The people from São Paulo and Southwards Curitiba, Florianopolis, they don't go for money they go to learn something else (Interview, in English, via Skype, 28.07.17).

Many interviewees were disparaging of these 'other Brazilians'. As Gerardo, thirty-seven, from São Paulo state put it:

> I mean everyone's free to do whatever they want but, in my view, you miss so much. If you get just enclosed in your small community, you don't learn, you don't interact with British people, so you miss a lot of opportunities... It's not ideal is it? … I don't see it with good eyes to be honest. This thing (Interview, in English, via Skype, 25.07.17).

Rather than viewing a 'super-diverse' London as a threat or an obstacle to fulfilling their migration goals my interviewees regarded it as driver when contemplating migration. Instead of taking comfort in a transnational identity, they displayed a more cosmopolitan attitude in their desire for, 'unfamiliar cultural encounters' (Ley 2004). There is good evidence to suggest that many Brazilian migrants feel this way about migrating to a multicultural centre of 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007). The quantitative findings of Evans et al. (2015) demonstrate that there are sizeable numbers for whom a more individualistic framing of their migration experience is called for. Although social networks may often help Brazilian migrants find initial employment (Evans et al. 2015, p.29), many respondents stated that it was unimportant for them to socialise with Brazilians (46%) while many avoided socialising with Brazilians altogether (34%). Similarly, when questioned on their leisure activities, the majority chose non-Brazilian venues and consumed non-Brazilian entertainment media. As one participant casually explained when asked about her attitude towards the transnational Brazilian culture which existed in London, 'To be honest, all the Brazilians I know moved to London to escape Brazilian culture!'.

3.4 Race and contested meanings of Brazilian identity

It is worth pausing here and returning to Caio's comments about not 'feeling' Brazilian. What is the 'Brazilian culture' that Caio does not identify with? It is well documented that European Brazilians from the South are in some ways not considered to be 'real' Brazilians. As we saw in Chapter Three, Schommer (2012) mentions that in many parts of the South, 'the descendants of Italian immigrants self-denominate themselves and are denominated by non-descendants as 'gringos', or simply 'Italians.' [translation mine]' (p.110). There is then a tendency to think of 'real' Brazilians as *mestiço* (mixed Portuguese and Indigenous) or *mulatto (*mixed Portuguese and Black), as reflected in Freyre's (1945;1968) concept of Brazilian identity being based around *mestiçagem* (mixing). Schommer claims that for this reason Brazil is intercultural rather than multicultural. The implication can be that those who are not mixed (either entirely White, entirely Black or entirely Indigenous) are in some way less Brazilian than those who are. Consider Caio's description of the town he grew up in:

> Londrina is a European city ... The people are all European ... Italian, Spanish ... You know, the culture is different. If you go to the Northeast, the culture is very different.

There are then clear racial connotations and practices of racial distancing in the discourse of some of migrants even though it may not necessarily be made explicit. The closest my interviewees came to mentioning this social divide in terms of race came from Laura, thirty, who remarked that she did not often go to Brazilian clubs or parties. When I asked her why not she replied:

> I don't like, I'm gonna be a bit race, not racist but most of the Brazilians here are not really my kind of Brazilian… if you go to a Brazilian party for example it's like people that come here without chapters without things and they come to try to support family so it's a different reality to mine (Interview, in English, London, 30.05.17).

Laura's answer shows how class divides in Brazil often intersect with racial and regional divides. This is especially so since many who are able to travel to the UK on an ancestral EU passport have partly or entirely European descent and are able to use these passports as a material enabler of their ability to imagine their migration as motivated by cultural or lifestyle reasons rather than from economic hardship. The geographical divides between the poorer Central, and North-Eastern states and the richer Southern and South-Eastern ones can often

serve as place holders for race and class differences. However, among those I interviewed from the wealthier Brazilian states who were of Afro or Indigenous descent there was often a similar distancing towards those from poorer states. At times, it seemed that their regional identity took precedence over a racial identity. Take for example Caetano who described himself as 'three quarters black and a quarter Portuguese'. He viewed his own migration as a kind of adventure or cultural experience and assessed what he considered as labour migrants from the poorer state of Goiás thus:

> Yeah, there are many people from Goiania… like the centre of Brazil. We Brazilians, we don't trust them. They are all leeches…Different kind of Brazilian (Interview, in English, London, 04/07/17).

Thus, for some, denying a Brazilian identity or differentiating between different 'kinds' of Brazilians, becomes a way to distance themselves from the 'typical' Brazilian migrant who is portrayed as poor, undocumented, and subaltern. To be sure, there are some white Brazilians who deny their Brazilian identity in order to 'pass' as European. On more than one occasion interviewees would inform me they would use their EU passports to 'hide' the fact they were Brazilian when it came to apply for jobs or in certain social encounters. This may be because some Brazilians feel that their nationality may be a barrier to achieving higher social status in London as was reported earlier by Tara. However, where 'Brazilianess' was denied or hidden by some, it was embraced by others, who saw their passport only as a means to an end with no implications in terms of their identification with Brazil. To return to Laura, she stated:

> It doesn't affect anything apart from I'm legal, it's fine, I'm a European but I don't consider myself Italian it's just a passport. I'm Brazilian... it doesn't really affect me I'm 100% Brazilian [she pauses to show me her 'Brazil' necklace].

For Laura then, unlike Caio, there was no contradiction between being 'European' and Brazilian. Instead her discourse again relied on the idea of different 'kinds' of Brazilians. A concept that has also been noted by other researchers (McDonnell & de Lourenço 2009). Laura, as a native of São Paulo, had had an experience of Brazil that, unlike Caio's, was multiracial and multicultural: where there was conceptual room for White, Black, Arab, Asian and indeed practically any other 'kind' of Brazilian. Schommer too notes that because of the

strong history of migration to São Paulo, the alterity between the more recent waves of immigrants (namely, Japanese, German and Italians) and the 'original' inhabitants, 'has almost completely disappeared' (2012, p.110).

It seems the reason for this emphasis on social and regional divisions is often precisely because the divisions in social status become blurred in London since many Brazilians, regardless of race or region often end up working side by side in unskilled job sectors. Caio occupies a liminal space in this sense. Although he emphasised the cultural reasons for his migration, it is worth noting that he was not proficient enough to conduct the interview in English and he worked in an unskilled occupation as a cleaner (alongside Brazilians from other states) despite coming from a middle-class background in Brazil. It is perhaps because of these factors that he was so keen to emphasise the differences between his own outlook and motivations to migrate over the 'typical' Brazilian migrant. This speaks to Pereira and Siqueira's (2013) suggestion that framing one's migration experience in terms of lifestyle and cultural and personal experience can sometimes be a way to 'save face'. Further, Laura's occupation, a fashion stylist, did not rely on a high level of proficiency in English and did not require any formal qualifications meaning she was able to maintain her career and thus more effectively preserve social status across borders with less trouble than Caio. However, it is also worth noting that another interviewee, Catarina, thirty-three, a digital marketer, who reported she had always felt alienated from Brazilian culture was from São Paulo and of *mestiço* ancestry. Unlike Caio, but like Laura, there had been no 'downward shift' in her social status, having managed to secure a job of equivalent seniority in the same field as she had worked in São Paulo. It was her pre-existing English language ability that perhaps secured this. This demonstrates the complexity involved when trying to make clear cut distinctions when discussing the way migrants reflect on their national identities and experience their migration project.

4. Conclusion

This chapter ultimately argued for middle-class Brazilian migration to London as an example of 'South to North' lifestyle migration, a migration stream category that has been neglected within the lifestyle migration literature. This was in response to a tendency, to frame all free

migration streams from the Global South to the Global North as being economically motivated. It proposed that, in a move away from 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer & Schiller 2003) social class, over national origin could be a more fundamental determinant of what should be categorised as lifestyle migration. It argued that some middle-class Brazilian migrants to be considered as 'lifestyle migrants' as this term is used in the literature, based on shared traits between the two in terms of motivations to migrate, identity as a migrant and ideological outlook. Further, it explored the underlying themes which help to illuminate how the category of 'lifestyle migrant' is operationalised by Brazilians living in London and in the process revealed how their situation differs to Global North lifestyle migrants. Popular discourse around the term 'economic migrants', with its associated negative media images, combined with the presence of a Brazilian migrants who may have moved for more tangible economic reasons mean that those Brazilians who see themselves as lifestyle migrants must seek to differentiate themselves from these negative popular stereotypes. It explored the idea that an individualist desire for 'quasi-anonymity' and 'mobility' not only in terms of freedom of movement but also mobility of identity was often confronted with projected stereotypes of 'otherness' from encounters with other inhabitants of the city.

The next chapter continues with the theme of middle-class 'lifestyle' migrants distancing themselves from a perceived transnational 'community' and probes more deeply into the underlying causes of this. In doing so it employs the concept of the geographical imagination to more deeply explore motivations for migration beyond the economic. It sets up the idea that migration can be motivated by 'societal' alienation as well as 'material' alienation and that the cultural practices at the migration destination can themselves be a draw for would be migrants.

Chapter Six: Imagining London[10]

1. Introduction

As Chapter Two revealed, recent quantitative data (Evans et al. 2015; Carling & Jolivet 2016) on the Brazilian population of London paints an intriguing picture. To briefly recap, it shows there are many who do not socialise with other Brazilians, do not engage in Brazilian cultural and/or leisure activities, claim not to have migrated for economic reasons and instead come for the more ephemeral ideal of a 'better quality of life'. Almost three quarters of Carling and Jolivet's interviewees had a positive perception of the economic situation in Brazil. Conversely only half had a positive perception of the economic opportunities available in Western Europe (p.34). Far from prioritising 'opportunities for work', the majority cited 'learning a language' and 'experiencing culture' as the main motivations. Evans et al. (2015) found a similar pattern. A third of respondents had moved to London for, 'a life/cultural experience' and almost half had chosen the UK generally for the 'adventure/language/ culture/ quality of life' (p.18). Their answers seem to set them apart from other migrant groups in Carling and Jolivet's study. Regarding the Moroccans interviewed, most reported a financial benefit to living in the UK but felt that their 'quality of life' had deteriorated (2016, p.34).

This chapter aims to expand on what the quantitative findings hint at, to explore the motivations and values of many Brazilian migrants in the capital. It argues that for many middle-class Brazilians, the motivation to migrate is couched in terms of 'societal alienation' (Dashefsky & Lazerwitz 1983): a feeling of distance from the place of origin resulting from a lack of identification and trust in its institutions and even the very culture of the place itself. This is in contrast to the concept of migrating due to 'material alienation' whose origins stem from 'commodity fetishism' (Marx 1867); migrating to access a higher level of material consumption or to acquire financial capital to use 'back home'. For those who migrate due to 'societal alienation' what is 'fetishised' is a less material interpretation of the 'quality of life' at the migration destination which becomes a kind of commodity in its own right. What is key it is that it seems that the less tangible 'cultural' aspects of the migration destination (in this

[10] This chapter is based on the published article 'Imagining London: The role of the geographical imagination in migrant subjectivity and decision-making' (Robins 2018)

case London) can act as a major 'pull' factor. Although there is lifestyle migration literature which considers the cultural and immaterial 'quality of life' of the destinations for migrants (Griffiths & Maile 2014; Hoey 2010; O'Reilly 2014), the novelty of this chapter lies in its exploration of this phenomenon in the context of South to North migration.

The chapter argues that class divisions, which often intersect with regional and racial divisions within Brazilian society, are a key marker of difference in these two types of imaginary. This chapter takes the following form: section one explains the theoretical framework. It first provides a working definition of 'middle-class and goes on to explore the role of the geographical migration in free migration, and the two imaginings of the global north which inform the motivations for and experience of migration for those who choose to leave. Section two explores Brazilian migration to London and the geographical imagination examining how the idea of the geographical imagination can help us understand the desire to emigrate and where to immigrate to by focusing on the motivations for emigration from Brazil via an understanding of how London is imagined and experienced. Section three, examines the impact of returning to Brazil, envisaged either as a temporary visit or as a 'return migration' on interviewees' geographical imaginings of Brazil and London. It finds that the experience of living away can radically alter how they perceive their once 'home' country as well as their perception of London. Finally, section four revisits the phenomenon of how many middle-class Brazilians imagine their migration project as distinct from the perceived transnational Brazilian 'community' in London from which they seek to distinguish themselves. Here an analysis of this phenomenon is employed to argue that they often position themselves as cosmopolitan consumers rather than 'authentic' producers of multiculturalism, in their imagined relationship to London as a multicultural world city.

2. The role of culture in migration geography

Chapter Two provided us with some conceptual clarifications and working definitions of the term 'middle-class' and how it is used in the context of this thesis. Since this chapter is concerned with cultural geography, it is important to also clarify how 'culture' is used here, especially in the context of migration geography. As Thompson (2016) notes, although researchers frequently consider cultural factors when theorising migration decision-making,

this is usually in terms of the culture of origin. Either a culture of migration that exists in the origin country, or the attraction of migrating to a place that has similar cultural traits, like language or religion, to where one is from (Massey et al. 1993). What remains under-examined is the possibility of the culture of a migration destination acting as a 'pull' factor in migration decision-making and in the migration experience itself. This chapter uses the geographical imagination to explore the findings of my qualitative empirical work with predominantly middle-class Brazilian migrants living in London. It examines how these migrants imagine London and their place within it both before and after they arrive. Many of those I interviewed maintained an ironic distance from the transnational Brazilian culture that is created 'by migrants for migrants' (Frangella 2010), which exists in London. I follow Sewell's (1999) definition of culture as both system and practice: as a set of practices that take place in the context of a semiotic system. Crang et al's (2003) concept of transnational culture as 'grounded' in a culture of material commodities helps make this more concrete. Rather than producers of an 'authentic' transnational Brazilian culture, here, many middle-class Brazilian migrants position themselves as consumers of wider transnational cultural commodities. They imagine themselves from the universalised perspective of one able to practice the consumption of (multi)cultural commodities with London imagined as the place, as the focus of the semiotic context or system, which provides this opportunity. Middle-class Brazilians are often more ambivalent in their relationship to national identity (Caproni 2014). This ambivalence towards national belonging can explain why many middle-class Brazilians distance themselves from Brazil both rhetorically, literally through the act of emigrating and in their social practices once they have migrated. Other researchers have found evidence of a tendency in the discourse and practice of many Brazilians to distance themselves from a supra national identity as 'Latin-Americans' (McIlwaine 2016, pp.174-175).

2.1 'Free' migration and the geographical imagination

For DellaPergola (1984), free migration, 'is associated with a very peculiar and narrow "space awareness"' (p.297) and certain goals, also assert that social imaginaries, 'are highly place specific' (p.156). The geographical imagination can help us understand why some places are attractive to migrants. As a working definition I follow Marcus (2009) who describes the geographical imagination as, 'the spatial knowledge – real or abstract – that allows individuals to imagine place'. The geographical imagination pertains to perceptions and

experiences of place, and the behaviour and practices that occur within those places. Yet it is also a productive way of understanding how individuals imagine and negotiate their identities in relation to wider national and cultural ones (Gregory 1994). The geographical imagination is not just the understanding of space as the production of meaning attached to particular spaces, it is also used by individuals (and collectives) to negotiate their own sense of place and belonging within these imagined spaces. Although the geographical imagination can describe how people imagine the unfamiliar or 'exotic' (Said 1977), it is also useful to understand how the familiar, how the places of origin and the aspects of the migration destination which are already familiar to migrants, yet not necessarily familiar in terms of dominant cultural practices at the place of origin, are imagined and, importantly, how the way the places of origin and destination are imagined, occur in reference to each other. What is imagined as 'unfamiliar' is often done so within a frame of reference of what is already familiar. The culture at the migration destination may be imagined as 'unfamiliar' and the desire to move there read as a kind of cosmopolitan desire for difference but it may also be imagined as 'familiar' through prior exposure to the semiotics of that culture via mediascapes (Appadurai 1996). Referring back to Sewell (1999) and Crang et al. (2003) then, it is possible to become familiar with 'unfamiliar' cultural commodities while feeling that one is unable to truly 'practice' the consumption of these cultural commodities without moving to a specific imagined place or semiotic context. Another key concept here is settlement identity (Feldman 1996), which can explain how the seemingly 'unfamiliar' is often imagined within a familiar context. In the same way that a desire for an unfamiliar soft drink still exists within the familiarity of the category 'soft drinks', so too can the desire to experience an unfamiliar city, be imagined within the familiarity of the category 'cities'. Finally, the geographical imagination emphasises how people imagine not only their migration destinations and what their lives will be like once there, but also the teleology of their migration. Benson and O'Reilly observe that, '[m]eanings and imaginings… have the power to shape reality because people act on them, not only by migrating but in the ways they live after migration' (2016, p.11). Thus, the way in which migrants imagine their migration project shapes the reality of their lived experience at the destination.

2.2 Material and societal alienation: modernist and post-modernist imaginings of the West

As Marx (1867) observed, modernism is characterised by the fetishisation of material objects. Commodities can transcend their straight-forward 'use-value' and be reified to take on almost mystical properties. Applied to migration theory then, migrants are exposed, via mediascapes (Appadurai 1996) to a consumption led lifestyle that they are unable to attain in their home country resulting in a kind of 'material alienation', prompting a desire to migrate. As Portes and DeWind (2004) explain, 'the forces of capitalist globalization… expose and entice Third World populations to the benefits of modern consumption, while denying them the means to acquire them (p.831). This understanding of international migration can thus be termed 'modernist' since material consumption is a key motivation to migrate. However, what this cannot account for is why those, whose material comfort in their home countries is already at a comparable level with the Global North, can still feel a sense of alienation or distance from their origin society and desire to emigrate. Dashefsky and Lazerwitz (1983) refer to this as 'societal alienation'. Here migrants do not necessarily imagine their destination in terms of material benefits but societal or cultural ones. This echoes Carling and Jolivet's statement that, in contrast to other nationalities they interviewed, the Brazilians 'tend[ed] to be more satisfied with the quality-of-life impacts of migration than with the financial benefit' (2016, p.39). For many middle-class Brazilians, what makes London an attractive migration destination, and Brazil an unattractive place to remain, is not only the possibility to consume or practice the material aspects of what they imagine as London's culture, but also the immaterial aspects which too become commodified.

3. Brazilian migration and the geographical imagination

A 'modernist' understanding of migration motivations illuminates how the West, imagined in terms of the material can still be compatible with the values and culture of the country of origin. As Hannerz writes:

> [F]or many 'labour' migrants, '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' (1990, p.248).

Dias' (2009) work on 'semi-documented', typically lower middle-class Brazilian migrants in London provides further insight. He reports that his subjects viewed London's public spaces as unfamiliar and even hostile due to linguistic and cultural barriers. Their priority then was to (re) create a transnational support network within London as a kind of psychic defence against the unfamiliar. He writes, 'for the Brazilian immigrant, [even] leisure is not essentially linked to the enjoyment of the English culture or the universal culture that the city offers' (p.44). Instead their leisure time is spent engaging with what Frangella (2010) and Brightwell (2012) have identified as an 'economy of *saudade* [homesickness/longing]': a network of restaurants, cafés, bars and social events created by and for Brazilian immigrants themselves. The unfamiliar cultural, geographic and linguistic aspects of London are imagined as a barrier in the discourse of Dias'

subjects. Their goal was to earn and save money and return to Brazil. As one migrant put it, 'I do not care how flexible I need to be. The more I work here, the sooner I can return to my home and my family' [translation mine] (p.23). But what of those who migrate precisely because of the desire to experience what they imagine as unfamiliar? Many of my interviewees decided to move to London despite coming from relatively wealthy backgrounds and/or had well established careers. Ariana, who we encountered in the previous chapter, described her life in Brazil thus:

> In Brazil we have people who work for us and it's different… I had my house, a big house, a four bedrooms house with swimming pool, dogs, people helping, babysitter, cars in the garage (Interview, in Portuguese, London, 15.03.17).

Gerado, thirty-seven from São Paulo state, on the other hand, came from, as he described it, 'a poor family' but had built his career up as a journalist before deciding to emigrate:

> [T]hinking about it my life was generally good. I mean I came from a poor family but then kind of found my way and had a career basically, working properly as a journalist. I was really integrated in my field and then I left that behind (Interview, in English, London, 25.07.17).

As emphasised in the literature review and the previous chapter, many Brazilians who migrate to London, despite their background experience a downward shift in terms of their

social status with many finding work in the service sector. As Ariana, half joking, remarked, 'here we are treated like slaves and there we are like princes, it's really funny.' Gerardo recounted how he went from being a journalist to a waiter resulting from his move to London:

> [Y]ou kind of downgrade yourself to a level where you need to work as a waiter, doing events, which I didn't mind. It was all part of the novelty, to start with.

Often the material quality of their living conditions are worse in comparison to what they were accustomed to in Brazil. Here Naida, thirty, a film student from São Paulo, explained:

> I think the way of life here is completely different. Housing in Brazil: the rent is much cheaper in comparison… I also lived in a much larger space ... I've had to adapt to a much smaller space [in London] (Interview, in Portuguese, London, 22.07.17).

Further, when asked about their motivations to migrate, interviewees often highlight factors relating to societal rather than material alienation. Frustration with corruption, inequality and in fact, the entire culture itself were often mentioned. Ricardo, thirty-four, was a graphic designer from São Paulo city. When asked about his reasons for wanting to leave São Paulo his first reason was 'because there is a lot of inequality' in the city. Carla, thirty-six, originally from Minas Gerais expanded on how the extreme inequality in São Paulo led to her feeling alienated from the city. This was despite having a successful career as a high-end chef there:

> I had a really good salary there. And I couldn't stand that the people who worked with me, the kitchen porter, how does he live…? I know it's cowardly [to leave] but I couldn't stand this. [I]n São Paulo, seeing people in the [bus] queues. I had money to take a taxi, but they don't, and I think this is the most heart-breaking thing in Brazil. If everybody's poor ok everybody's poor what can you do. But… São Paulo has the biggest amount of helicopters, they have [helicopter] traffic! (Interview, in English, London, 31.05.17)

Carla had moved with her husband Fernando, a native from São Paulo. He stated that he had come to feel like a 'fish out of water' [*um peixe fora da agua*] there, despite having achieved a successful career:

> I was born in São Paulo, in that rush... And as time passed, I began to realize that I did not like to live [there] anymore... That my business was in a smaller city... where time

> passes more slowly... You take more advantage of nature... And São Paulo has changed a lot... The city's growing disorganized, growing more than it can withstand… So much has changed for the worse … it was like… What am I doing here?" (Interview, in Portuguese, London, 20.07.17)

To return to Ricardo, he also cited the stress of daily life in São Paulo as a key motivation to leave. He recounted this largely in terms of he and his wife's commuting problems:

> [W]e took the metro to go to work took a long time because we lived in the east zone, Our jobs were in the centre of the city and to get there it took five subway lines so it just felt like it was endless (Interview, in Portuguese, London, 28.06.17).

Fernando's and Ricardo's imagining of London as a more 'intimate' and less hectic place to live can be understood in reference to Feldman's (1996) concept of 'settlement identity'. People often identify with a type settlement and so migrate to similar places to maintain a sense of place attachment and self-identity. An actor's imagining of what constitutes 'difference' often takes place within the context of what is already familiar. Within the framework of the type of settlement that Fernando has grown to identify with (large urban centres), London is imagined as a less stressful alternative to São Paulo. Fernando imagines a 'different' pace of life then, within the context of the familiarity of the pace of large urban centres. For other interviewees their dissatisfaction was more far reaching. Take Catarina, another São Paulo native, who left a well-paid career and comfortable *material* quality of life because she too felt unsatisfied. Her sense of alienation extended into the very culture of the country. She explained:

> I lived in São Paulo and did not have such a bad life. I had a house I had a car but…. the country has this *jeitinho brasileiro* [Brazilian way of bending the rules] … it's something that annoys me about Brazilians… you find it there in public services… the government, they do not care … I never liked anything… not even the food! I never really liked the music too.
>
> Interviewer: You don't like Brazilian music? So, all your life you were listening to?
>
> Catarina: Music from here, bands from the United States. Maybe because of that I have always had the will to see things like that. (Interview in Portuguese, London, 22.06.17).

Here, via exposure to media generated from the UK, Catarina had come to identify with certain cultural semiotics over and above those of her place of origin. Her desire to migrate

then can in part be understood as a desire to practice the cultural 'language' (Sewell 1999) she had learnt prior to migrating to where she imagined the source of this 'language' to be. Adriano, fifty, from Porto Alegre, also revealed how his geographical imagination of the UK before arriving was heavily influenced by his exposure to UK music and his association with it having a certain 'cool' factor:

> Adriano: I had in my mind that I wanted to come here somehow. I knew very little about here, but I wanted to come.
>
> Interviewer: Do you know why?
>
> You might laugh but well… [f]irst of all I liked the music so much. All the bands I liked in those days came from here. Somehow it seemed so exotic (Interview, in English, London, 29.07.17).

Laura, thirty-three, from São Paulo described how her geographical imagination of the 'West' was also influenced by the mediascapes she encountered prior to emigrating.

> I think as a Brazilian kid I was like, I'm gonna be honest, everyone's beautiful [in America and the UK], everything looks cool. I think now with the internet we are not that behind but at the time we were really behind in fashion and music. So many festivals here so much going on when in Brazil everything was like three years late. So, for me, always I was a bit like that… [S]o when I came [to London] I was like, 'Oh my God, here I have access to everything and like not just here but from America too. So, I think that was the first thing that fascinated me... As I said the music thing and when you're young and everyone [here] dresses like they're in a band. When in Brazil everyone dressed horribly. At least the boys maybe not the girls (Interview, in English, London, 30.05.17)

This reflects Thompson (2016) and Fujita's (2004) work on Filipino and Japanese emigrants respectively. They both found that emigrants desire to move to specific places was influenced by the geographical imaginary they had formed of those places based on their exposure to and identification with the cultural exports of those places. Thompson's (2016) research into Filipino emigration showed that those who identified more with, 'anime, K- Pop and gaming (dominant forms of Asian pop culture) generally aspired to migrate to destinations within Asia' whereas Filipinos, 'who primarily engaged with US and British pop culture… aspired to move to 'the West' (p. 4).

The final source of societal alienation I encountered in my interviewees is based on racial or ethnic identity. We saw in the literature review chapter how Brazilian society framed as a culture of *mestiçagem [mixing]* can result in those not fitting the stereotypical image of how a Brazilian 'should' look, like becoming societally alienated; being considered too 'black' or too 'white' to be Brazilian for example. This process often relies on notions of 'real' Brazilians in distinction from these groups. Lara, who was pale with auburn hair, had an experience of growing up in Rio de Janeiro that often left her feeling like a foreigner in the country she was born in because of her appearance:

> In Brazil I draw a lot of attention because of physical characteristics… I had some certain senses that I was kind of 'chased' in the street because people were pointing at my hair… I felt like a tourist always. People looked at me as a tourist. Often people would come to me and speak in English or French, so it was a very awkward situation (Interview, in English, London, 15.03.17)

For Lara then, London (and, as we shall see later, specifically London rather than England), represented a place where, due to the sheer diversity of society there, she would not stand out and hence not feel as alienated from the society she lived in. These examples demonstrate the importance of considering how migrants imagine and can thus identify with the cultural, as well as social and economic aspects, of their preferred migration destinations.

4. Return and the geographical imagination

This section analyses how the act of returning to the 'sending' country can affect the geographical imagination of migrants in terms of their subjective experience of both 'home' and 'away'. As the literature review argued, the 'foreign' and the 'familiar' almost always occur in reference to each other (Feldman 1996). Therefore, the act of returning to what was once considered familiar can be illuminating in demonstrating how these two concepts are imagined and experienced. In some cases, the act of returning aided in disavailing the returnee of their romanticisation of cultural commodities from the 'West' as exotic and exciting, something we saw could act as a motivation to migrate for some. Here Roberto, thirty-one, an accountant from São Paulo explains:

> [O]nce I left Brazil you see things in a different way [in Brazil]. For example, it's a stupid example, but I like cars. So, in Brazil it's like, 'wow a Grand Cherokee, wow!'. You see a few cars: they're amazing. Once I [left] you realise that like, it's just like a random car or in Europe it's not a big deal. With [clothing] brands also, like Polo…. You grow up thinking, 'wow that's amazing' and then you realise, you know? In Brazil you kind of live in a bubble… because you know it's not that big of a deal but in Brazil it's just because it's expensive if it's not made in Brazil. But it's not actually true. (Interview, in English, London, 23.03.17).

Catarina expanded on this theme using the example of McDonald's to illustrate her sense of disillusionment with 'glamorous' Western brands that emigrating and then visiting Brazil again provoked:

> Catarina: McDonald's is something that is very interesting because, for example, a meal in Brazil at McDonald's costs like twenty reais, and here five pounds. But in Brazil the minimum wage is only 800 [reais] per month and twenty reais for a meal [at McDonald's] so there are little things like that… you get to compare the prices of clothes all this and it's all very expensive in Brazil…. So, I began to see it all in a different way. I started to think [of Brazil] as a backwards country.
>
> Interviewer: So, McDonald's appeared less special, less 'glamorous'?
>
> Catarina: Yeh, here McDonald's is a place you go when you are hungry, and you do not want to spend too much money. But in Brazil it's like the McDonalds restaurants… it's an event like, 'Oh, I'm going to McDonalds! oooh '. It's a big thing! It's just funny (Interview, in Portuguese, London, 22.06.17).

Returning to the previous section's theme of 'societal alienation', for Carla, it took a return visit to Brazil for her to realize that she felt alienated from her experience of Brazilian culture and her memories associated with it:

> Carla: I returned to my city for six months and hated every moment.
>
> Interviewer: What did you hate?
>
> Carla: There is something we inherited from Portugal. There is a kind of, still a king and queen and a court and which family you belong to, what's your last name. This isn't important for me, it's a kind of aristocracy. It's a small, it's provincial. To me it's not important the small things they discuss as a drama. I'm like come on…. and the sad thing is I walked through the streets and it was like walking through Tokyo streets. No one knew me cos I'd been absent. There is a beautiful scene in [the film] *Cinema Paradiso* where he says, 'once you go don't come back because you think you're going to find the people and the places you left but it's all gone'. The wire is cut. Don't come

> back. I think this happened. I had a lot of hopes 'I want to find my city' but it was an illusion (Interview, in English, London, 31.05.17).

We can see from Carla's response that the act of being away from what she previously considered her 'home' town, radically altered her perception and experience of it. We can see that her description of her previous life in Brazil as too 'provincial' stands in implicit contrast to the more cosmopolitan life available to her in cities like London. This feeling of alienation from one's past 'roots' in favour of an embrace of a cosmopolitan identity was reflected on in more detail by Leonidas, forty, a bank clerk from São Paulo:

> [O]nce you open the door and leave your country you no longer gonna be the same person. You're gonna live in a limbo. The more you stay abroad the more you live in a limbo. You're no longer a local but not a national either. I don't feel like a Brazilian I feel like ET in my own country. But I dont feel like a local (Interview, via Skype, 28.07.17).

Leonidas' response then points to a feeling of anationalism. His identity is cosmopolitan in that it is not affiliated with or defined by a sense of national belonging. Further, the interviewees responses suggest that this cosmopolitan identity can result from not only the act of migrating but also be reinforced by returning to what was once considered home. Cosmopolitan identity often played another role in the discourse of the Brazilians I interviewed, as a way of demarcating and reinforcing class boundaries between themselves and their 'transnational' (as opposed to anational) others. Before this concept is explored further in the next section it is worth reiterating that my interest in this phenomenon in the previous chapter had less to do with whether this dichotomy between transnational and anational (or cosmopolitan) experiences of migration exist 'in reality' but instead, the 'work' that how this claimed dichotomy performs. In other words, how is this dichotomy operationalized as a form of 'boundary work' (Bygnes 2017) to distinguish their experience of migration from 'economic' migrants? In this chapter I analyse the same phenomenon in order to explore what it says about how these interviewees imagine London, and their role within it.

5. Cosmopolitanism and class: consumers and producers

As Horst et al. (2016) have noted middle-class Brazilians often imagine their migration in individualistic terms (p.102). Many of their interviewees stressed their distinctiveness from 'those other Brazilians' who do not interact with the 'host' society. Martins Jr. also found that:

> [M]iddle-class Brazilians… reproduce class differences… by constructing and distancing their 'cosmopolitan experience' from… 'the community', as well as those of 'the Brazilian (economic) migrant' (2017, p.176)

As we saw in the previous chapter, this distancing from 'economic' or labour migrants often appeared in the discourse of my interviewees. Here I return to this theme to examine how it intersects with the interviewee's geographical imagination of London as a 'world city', a centre of cosmopolitanism and how their identity and sense of place within the city is informed by this imagining of London. It was often used to insert one's individuality as Bruno, originally from São Paulo demonstrated in his remarks about the 'other Brazilians':

> Well most of the people come here to make money for the jobs…. So, they come here because of this but I think they're missing their life in Brazil, so they try to find this life here… *I prefer to do things differently* [italics added for emphasis] (Interview, in Portuguese, London, 10.06.17).

'Doing things differently' often involved a positioning of London as a 'world city' and the interviewee as a consumer of its multicultural cosmopolitanism rather than an 'authentic' producer. This is a distinction alluded to in the literature review via Frangella's (2010) ideas about two parallel forms of transnational Brazilian cultural practices and commodities in London. The first is characterised as an economy of *saudade* (homesickness), produced by and for Brazilian migrants. The second form is the commercialised form aimed at typically non-Brazilian cosmopolitan consumers of culture. Although Frangella argues that these two forms often intersect as in the case of the Paraiso Samba School and its role at the Notting Hill Carnival, the distinction between the two forms is useful here to demonstrate which category many of my interviewees aligned themselves to as Vlad, demonstrates in this response:

> I am here because I always want to learn something different. If I speak Portuguese, go to a Brazilian concert, I'm not learning. I would swap that for a Japanese concert. I have a lot more to learn from that than everything I already know from my country (Interview, in English, London, 12.05.17).

Isilda, twenty-seven, a receptionist from Paraná, was another interviewee who described her appreciation of London in terms of not only her ability to express her individuality but also in terms of her status as a consumer of 'exotic' cultural commodities in London:

> Yeah, just the way to live, like "Oh, okay. I wake up now and I can go to work and wear whatever I want," it's amazing... and also like oh, okay, I want to eat Japanese, I want to eat Chinese, I want to go to any place and eat whatever I like' (Interview, in Portuguese, London, 27.06.17)

This also extended into the social circles in which my interviewees chose to move. Being friends with people from other countries who were framed as 'modern' and 'international', thus implicitly suggesting that to be friends with only Brazilians would be something akin to 'backwards' and 'parochial'. Here Alcindo, thirty-seven, a chemist from Mato Grosso do Sul, captures this sentiment when describing what he enjoyed about living in London:

> I think it's the mentality. The mentality and the culture. Here you have modern international friends and so you have the whole world, [you're] just next door to everything as a possibility. [In Brazil] people are more conservative. You don't get to know people from other countries and people are going to have the same mentality across the board. While over here it's completely different. People are from different corners of the world, so you learn more. You get to interact more (Interview, in English, London, 24.06.17).

Many interviewees were thus ambivalent towards the transnational Brazilian places and cultural practices in London instead preferring to think of themselves as 'fitting in' to the prevailing culture. But what is the prevailing culture of London? Traditionally, 'blending in' has been thought of in terms of assimilation to the 'host' majority culture. We can see this in the following quote from Joaquim Nabuco, a Brazilian diplomat who lived in London and became enamoured with the city. His desire to 'blend in' and thus become anonymous is apparent when he writes in his diary, 'I exchanged my chain for another, and thus was bereft of the last external sign which I had of being a foreigner (Nabuco, 1950 [1900], p.253). However, it can be argued that London has now reached the status of a city of 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007) to the point that it has become less salient to talk of a 'native' 'host' majority.

Thus, for many of my interviewees 'blending in' did not mean fitting into 'English' culture. They instead imagined their experience in more cosmopolitan terms. London was viewed as embodying in space, a multicultural, post-national or anational ideal. The culture that many interviewees wished to experience was not transnational Brazilian culture, in fact it was not specific to any one country or nationality but, more accurately, specific to a London imagined as a world city. It is within this multicultural paradigm that many of them articulated a sense of belonging; of feeling that they 'fit in'. Tissi, thirty-six, from São Paulo explained:

> Tissi: [It feels like] there is always a place for you and I really appreciate that. I've also learnt a lot about the culture itself…
>
> Interviewer: The culture of what? What culture do you mean? The culture of London or the culture of...?
>
> Tissi: This is a good question. The culture of London. So, what would be the culture of London?
>
> Interviewer: Yeah, what do you mean by...?
>
> Tissi: Yeah, I'd focus more on the culture of London than the UK itself because I'm not very well travelled in the UK to be honest. I haven't explored much. I've been to Scotland, I've been to the South, Manchester, Liverpool but didn't have enough a time to enjoy with locals to be able to compare the difference between Londoners and the other English people from different areas but yeah, we all know that there is a specific culture in London especially because of this multicultural point we've got here so maybe that's the answer. What I most like about London is this multicultural thing (Interview, in English, London, 19.07.17).

This feeling of belonging in London due to its status as a centre of 'super-diversity' was also echoed by Celsio, forty-two, from Minas Gerais:

> When you see all these things, the terrorism, the bad things that happen. You see people showing that they will not give up. You see this sense of unity. Although we come from different countries and we just want to live our lives in peace, we don't to divide and make things worse. This is something that makes me feel proud to be here. One of the main things, you know, it's diversity and everything working, not perfectly because it's impossible but you see how things are possible to be right you know. Even you have Muslims, Christians, Jews all kinds of religions and political views in London it's amazing. A great city. Once I went to the museum of London and there, I saw that England had 3,000,000 inhabitants when the Portuguese went to Brazil for the first time 500 years ago so you can see how London was already with 500,000

> inhabitants. At that time, I believe we could find different nationalities here (Interview, in English, London, 27.06.17).

Celsio had been living in London for twelve years and was now raising a son in the city. He felt that his son's status as a child of immigrants living in a multicultural city would be beneficial in his son's development:

> [Speaking about people in his son's situation] They consider that they are born here but they feel they are part of the world. When you have a parent from a different country. You have less chance to become xenophobic.

Interviewees who had visited other parts of the UK often drew a distinction between multicultural cosmopolitan London and the 'real' country. Here Bernardo, thirty-eight from Minas Gerais described his impression of the cities he had visited in the north of England:

> Bernardo: I noticed more difference in Liverpool, in Manchester, Leeds.
>
> Interviewer: What were the main differences?
>
> Bernardo: The people were different, calmer, more English people. It's not like here with this multicultural thing. It's more properly English. You can see how they talk; the accent is different (Interview, in Portuguese, London,06.07.17).

A sense of belonging to London then was often made more apparent upon leaving the city. Leonidas, who had recently moved to Switzerland after many years in London, revealed that he had felt less homesick for Brazil in London than he currently did in Switzerland because of the city's multiculturalism:

> London is another world. London is no longer an English city, right? It's not an English city at all. So, since you find people pretty much in the same situation as you are it's like you're flocking together, birds of a feather flock together. I met people in the same situation, so you start developing a relationship with the people and start considering them your own family (Interview, in English, via Skype, 28.07.17).

Here Lara recalled her experience of leaving London for the first time to visit 'the real England'; an experience that reinforced her sense of belonging to the city:

> I noticed there wasn't a lot of non-white faces around. And this is very strange if you live in London… So, I think for the first time I really felt out of ... I felt I'm in Britain. I'm not in an international city. Because here I don't feel different from other people, but there for the first time I really did. It was like, okay, I am out of my element here. I am the stranger (Interview, in English, 12.05.17).

If we compare, Lara's experience of feeling alienated from her experience of Brazilian culture based on her appearance, her response here becomes more interesting. It is not as simple as Lara feeling more comfortable in places with lots of 'white faces' despite her being white. Instead, it is London's 'super-diversity' that made her feel that, as a white foreigner, she could be at home in a world city. As one of the interviewees from the THEMIS project (Carling & Jolivet 2016) put it, 'I can live in London, but I cannot live in England' (Interview with Alvaro, London, 2011). In other words, many do not imagine London as an opportunity to immerse themselves in English or British culture so much as to experience what they understand as 'London' culture, which they unanimously define as multicultural. Yet they do not view themselves as forming the 'authentic' transnational manifestation of a Brazilian culture in London. Rather they often see themselves from the universalised perspective of one able to appreciate multiculturalism as consumers of an anational multiculturalism rather than its 'authentic' producers.

6. Conclusion

This chapter used the quantitative findings described by Evans at al. (2015) and Carling and Jolivet (2016) to explore the motivations for migration amongst middle-class Brazilians living in London. It juxtaposed two modes of alienation: material and societal. Material alienation was understood as stemming from an unfulfilled desire for higher levels of consumption and financial accumulation. This mode of alienation can act as a motivation to migrate exclusive from any identification with the cultural practices at the migration destination. Societal alienation hinges on the idea that the culture at the migration destination can act as a draw itself and is often contrasted to the culture at the place of origin.

These two modes of imagining migration destinations often intersect with differences in social class which in turn may relate to racial and regional divisions. Those who already

have their material needs or desires satisfied are unlikely to migrate due to 'material alienation'. Instead, they are more likely to frame their desire to migrate in terms of 'societal alienation'. Throughout, this chapter referred to the concept of the geographical imagination to argue that, for many middle-class migrants then, it seems that 'quality of life' and 'cultural experiences' are the primary stated impetuses for migration over financial accumulation. The chapter ended by drawing on data from qualitative interviews with middle-class Brazilians originally from São Paulo. For many, 'quality of life' was couched in terms of imagining London as a place with more equality, a less hectic and more intimate pace of life than São Paulo and as a place to consume cultural commodities and participate in cultural practices that do not originate from Brazil. These 'pull' factors are attractive independent of any potential drop in financial or social status that may arise because of migrating. Ultimately, although cultural motivations to migrate have long been acknowledged, this chapter demonstrated that, a migrant's imagined relationship to the existing culture at the migration destination is an important factor to consider. This chapter also explored the effect of returning to one's former 'home' on the geographical imagination. It showed that returning can have a profound impact in multiple ways: by creating a sense of rootlessness from one's place of origin, thus reinforcing one's identification with the migration destination. But, at the same time, altering one's perception of this location in terms of the perceived social and cultural significance of the cultural commodities available there. Finally, the chapter showed that London, imagined as a multicultural world city, can have different connotations and produce different subjective experiences dependent on how migrants imagine their relationship to and place within it. The chapter returned to the dichotomy in the interviewee's discourse between cosmopolitan lifestyle and transnational labour migration to show how this dichotomy is employed to position themselves in distinction from 'economic' migrants.

The chapter ultimately shows that we should problematise the concept of transnational 'communities' defined by national origin and instead look to class and social status as markers of difference. The chapter also raised questions about the nature of what migrants felt they were integrating into in expressing a sense of belonging to London. By comparing their experiences of living in and visiting other countries and locations within the UK, the chapter showed that London is imagined as a distinct cosmopolitan cultural and

social space and that, again the imagining and experiencing of London in this way is intimately bound up with perceived social status as consumers of multiculturalism rather than 'authentic' producers. This kind of 'post-national' or post colonial framing of London in many ways parallels how those such as Marques de Souza (2013) have framed the utopian dimension of Brazil as a *vira-lata* nation. What makes London special then as a migration destination then is that is becoming increasingly meaningless to talk of a 'host society'. Questions of how Brazilians are perceived then take on a totally different frame of reference. The appropriate response to, 'how are Brazilian migrants perceived in London?' should be, 'by whom?'. In Chapter Two we encountered Rezende's (2006) Brazilian interviewees who had migrated to US college towns and were often faced with stereotypical assumptions and other forms of othering regarding Brazilians from members of the 'host' society. The difference between her interviewees and the encounters my interviewees had were that many did not have any real interaction with members of what they considered to be the 'host society'. In fact, I was often the first (or one of the first) London born 'natives' they had met. Therefore, they often imagined their migration experience in London in terms of a participation in a cosmopolitan multiculturalism. Many were keen to have non-Brazilian friends and thus 'assimilate' into London's social cultural milieu, but what they were 'assimilating' into was described as multicultural: often these non-Brazilian friends would themselves be born outside of the UK.

To return to Marques de Souza's (2013) analysis, we can perhaps now understand why so many middle-class Brazilians, find London so attractive. London, as a perceived global centre of this new post-national or anational paradigm, is a place where, for some, it is possible to imagine national origin and identity as subsumed by the category of the individual. For some, London is imagined as a place that comes closest to achieving Durkheim's vision of an individualist cosmopolitan society where, "the members of a single social group will have nothing in common among themselves except their humanity' (1898, p.51). Durkheim, and Marques de Souza view this anational individualism in utopian terms. For Durkheim it, 'is the only system of beliefs which can ensure the moral unity of the country' (ibid.). Likewise, Marques de Souza writes:

> [T]he only possible utopia is to live in the reference to the *Absolute Alien* [literally: Absolute Foreign] …to live "nowhere", as the mutt does. Or, better still, since the expression "nowhere" denotes the risk of a complete desistance, or the surrender to

> the vacuum delusion of the Freudian-type melancholy, we can propose a subtle change, adopting the expression "somewhere" [translation mine]' (2003, p.9).

In many ways it can be argued that world cities like London are fast becoming the 'Absolute Alien' which Marques de Souza writes of. This de-coupling from a specific national root, leads to a unique flexibility: an ability to adapt to all cultures, yet at the same time still preserving something of oneself; or, in Marques de Souza's terms, the ability to live 'somewhere' rather than 'nowhere'. As we have seen, when confronted with the super-diverse 'other' of London's social and cultural milieu, Dias's (2009) subjects responded by reinforcing their transnational identity as Brazilians which acted as a kind of psychological defence mechanism. Conversely, this chapter hopes to have demonstrated that there are also migrants who, instead of viewing a 'super-diverse' 'non-place' like London as a threat or obstacle to fulfilling their migration goals see these aspects of London as drivers to migrate in their own right. Migrants who, instead of retreating into a transnational identity embrace a more cosmopolitan identity. Although many scholars have demonstrated that transnational social practices undoubtedly play an important role in the lives of many Brazilian migrants (Sheringham 2013; Sheringham 2011; Brightwell 2010; Brightwell 2012; Frangella 2010; Dias 2009), the findings of Evans et al. (2015) as well as my own work presented here, demonstrate that there are sizeable numbers for whom a more individualistic framing of their migration experience is called for.

The two previous chapters used the concepts of lifestyle migration and the geographical imagination to explore motivations for and experiences of migration amongst middle-class Brazilians who had moved to London. The next chapter takes these two concepts and applies them to the 'stayers': those who possess the means to migrate but do not. In the process it will aim to problematise the dichotomy between voluntary and involuntary immobility, show how an imaginary of 'world citizenship' need not be limited to residents of the world cities of the Global North, and examine how the recent political crises in Brazil have affected people sense of belonging and citizenship and exposed contested understandings of the social objects to which these terms relate.

Chapter Seven: Immobility and belonging in times of crisis.

1. Introduction

A core theme of this thesis is identity at different scales; how individuals either associate or disavow national identity and the influence this may have on the experience of migration. Chapter Five looked at those who claimed to have migrated for lifestyle reasons, which, it is argued, constitutes a form of ideological migration. It analysed how, to varying extents middle-class migrants distanced themselves from a transnational Brazilian identity which was interpreted as a kind of 'boundary work' which they performed in order to distinguish themselves from their lower middle-class peers. Chapter Six turned to the concept of the geographical imagination in order to examine how both Brazil and London are imagined and in turn how an identity as a 'world citizen' is negotiated amongst this demographic. This chapter combines and expands on these themes and applies them to the stayers: those interviewed from within the same family and social networks as those who migrated to London. It therefore asks, how is the concept of 'lifestyle', especially the lifestyle of a 'world citizen' imagined and interpreted amongst the friends and family members who remain in São Paulo compared to those who have migrated? This is significant because, although the idea of 'lifestyle' as a motivation to migrate is well understood, less well researched is how the same imaginary is articulated by stayers. In the case of world citizenship (which here is read as heavily intertwined if not synonymous with cosmopolitanism), examining how it can manifest outside of the Global North helps to de-territorialise the concept and widen our understanding of its prevalence.

This chapter ultimately aims to contribute to the current debate about the meaning of immobility in terms of its place within migration studies. As Schewel (2019) has recently pointed out, '[t]o meaningfully incorporate immobility into migration research, immobility should be approached as a process with determinants of its own (p.2). This is important since, as Fischer (2002) argues there is within social science a 'grand narrative' of hypermobility and rootlessness. As Halfacree (2018) writes, "much of humanity as seemingly entered… an era of mobilities' (p.273). Immobility then has been relatively overlooked both in terms of internal and international migration studies and, when it is studied is often thought of in terms of involuntariness. As Halfacree puts it, in a society which places a great value on mobility, '[f]rom this perspective, to be immobile is thus to be a 'problem', a source

of shame, embarrassment and inadequacy' (p.275). This may in part be due to the word itself since 'immobile' in English carries with it a certain connotation of forced stillness. For this reason, some such as Thompson (2016) prefer to use 'non-migration' since, she argues, ''immobility' evokes connotations of being stationary beyond international movement and can signify social and physical immobility' (p.7). Of course, as Thompson also acknowledges there are problems with the term non-migration (and especially non-migrant) too not least because it implies that migration is the norm which is not the case. Indeed, mobility, at the international scale, does not reflect the lived experience of most people since even in countries with high rates of emigration, the majority choose not to (as opposed to cannot) leave (ibid.)

In order to tackle these issues, this chapter explores some of the narratives or 'ways' of staying as articulated by the interviewees who are framed as a group of 'conscious' over 'voluntary' stayers. These reasons are examined against the background of political crisis and change. This is in response to feedback from both those interviewed in London and São Paulo who frequently cited the current political crisis as a factor which affected their sense of belonging to and citizenship of Brazil. This chapter will thus take the following form. Section one will provide a literature review based on a 'typology' of some of the different ways that these interviewees articulated their immobility or non-migration. These are:

- Loyalty – I stay because this is where I am needed[11].
- Belonging - I stay because this is where I am understood and am most able to flourish economically, socially and culturally.
- The rooted 'world citizen' – São Paulo is a world city, so I do not need to migrate to have a cosmopolitan experience of 'global culture'.

The first narrative, 'loyalty', can be conceptualised as a form of collectivist duty which, as I will argue serves to problematise the apparent dichotomy between voluntary and involuntary immobility. The second narrative, 'belonging' is tied to the concept of 'insider advantages' (Fischer et al. 2000) which, as well as having a practical connotation (I know how things work here) can also relate to subjective feelings of belonging (this is where I feel understood). The

[11] Needed by their family, their 'people' or their country, depending on what scale their sense of loyalty is framed at.

third narrative of the 'rooted' world citizen relates to an inversion of the idea of de-territorialised transnational cultural flows into the Global North. This can be theorised as 'lifestyle immobility' – a conceptual counterpart to lifestyle migration. Here, cultural (both material and digital) flows from the Global North manifest in the Global South meaning that, for those who can afford to access them, they feel less of a need to emigrate in order to experience and appreciate this global culture as a world citizen. In other words, being experientially part of the geographical imaginary of the 'world citizen', a concept explored in the previous chapters, does not necessarily need to involve international migration and many stayers are able to identify with this term as a citizen of São Paulo. Just as identification with citizenship and belonging to 'sending' countries can be de-territorialized from the sending countries and reconfigured in migration destinations so too can an identification with 'world citizenship' and the lifestyle associated with 'global culture', traditionally geographically focused in 'world cities', be de-territorialised from these traditional locations and configured in traditional 'sending' locations. Section Two will then use the qualitative empirical research to explore this typology of motivations as articulated by the interviewees.

These motivations are analysed in terms of how they have been affected by political crises, in particular, how 're-territorialisation' exemplified by the return of right-wing nationalist politics to Brazil comes into conflict with interviewees' ideas about what Brazil is and should be as well as their identification with world citizenship. This section ultimately explores how interviewees' geographical imagination in relation to their identity as a Brazilian citizen affects their desire to either leave or stay. These desires may not be acted on but instead speak to a subjective sense of either belonging or alienation from their imagined Brazil. Further, it shows that these motivations for immobility often overlap with each other and even at times contradict each other revealing the 'constructed primordiality' (Croucher 2004) of individual identity in that it is both affective and multi-dimensional and multi-scalar.

2. Theoretical framework

Given the political situation in Brazil described in Chapter Two, this chapter explores the narratives of the 'stayers' 'choice' of immobility. Specifically, it seeks to understand how they narrate immobility and how these narratives relate to ideas of national identity and

belonging. I argue that an exploration of these narratives can help us to interrogate what forms national identity can take and how the concept can be contested. Further, although much has been made of de-territorialisation in the context of transnationalism (Basch et al. 1994), this chapter explores the ideas of deterritorialization as they apply to 'sending' countries through further exploration of the concept of the 'world citizen'. The chapter thus examines how national identity and an identity as a 'world citizen' translate and interact in the lived experience and daily practice of the interviewees. The theoretical framework for the exploration of these topics is partly inspired by Hirschmann's*, Exit, Voice and Loyalty* (1970) which, although previously criticised for a 'methodologically nationalist' approach to explaining migration and non-migration has been revived and reinterpreted by some considering the phenomena of transnationalism and de-territorialisation (Ahmed 1997; Moses 2005; Hoffmann 2010; Schewel 2019). Hirschman's Exit, Voice and Loyalty (1970) offers a model to account for the reactions of actors in the face of dissatisfaction with their lived environment. Applied to international migration, Hirschmann posited that those dissatisfied with the economic or political situation in their country could either emigrate (Exit), stay and protest (Voice) or stay and remain silent (Loyalty). The study of incidences of transnational Loyalty (Glick-Schiller & Fouron 2001)and transnational Voice amongst migrants appeared to undermine the validity of Hirschmann's 'methodologically nationalist' trinary that appeared to take the territorialised nation-state as the fundamental unit of analysis (Hoffmann 2010). To expand, Glick-Schiller developed the concept of 'long distance nationalism' (Glick-Schiller & Fouron 2001). Using her ethnographic work with Haitian migrants, she argues that 'Exit' and 'Loyalty' need not be mutually exclusive. Similarly, Portes (2007) uses the example of Cuban-Americans using their influence on U.S. government to change their foreign policy towards Cuba as an example of Exit being compatible with Voice. Therefore, it is problematic to necessarily equate politically motivated Exit with 'restraint of voice' (1970, p.61). As Hoffman (2010) writes:

> [w]ith the transnational nature of present-day migration, exit is not the opposite of loyalty; instead, both can go hand in hand. Similarly, exit does not mean abandoning the option of voice, but rather a change of the context for its articulation' (p.68).

The fact that remittances have had such a profound economic effect on sending countries also seems to undermine a sharp divide between exit and loyalty. Applying Hirschmann's

ideas to immobility, Ahmed (1997) suggests 'despondence' instead of 'loyalty' to account for the fact that Hirschman seemed to 'exaggerate the consensus basis of the political system, which presumes that most people stay put because 'voice' can be exercised and necessary corrections can be demanded of the system' (p.176). Despondence, Ahmed argues, is more suitable to describe certain forms of immobility. Hirschmann also hints that there may be a class element to who chooses which option implying that affluence will allow for greater exercise of voice and exit as responses to dissatisfaction. He writes that, '[i]f organisations can be ranked along a single scale in order of quality [or] prestige… then those at the densely occupied lower end of the scale will need loyalty and cohesive ideology to a greater extent than those at the top' (1970, p.82).

This is also picked up by Coulter et al. (2015) who note that the causes and experiences of immobility are often hierarchised. On the one hand we have the 'methodological nationalism' of Hirschmann and others who conceives of the 'loyalty' of non-migration as loyalty to nation-state, in other words as a form of patriotism. As Finifter puts it, '[t]he phenomenon of patriotism or loyalty to one's country sharply reduces the likelihood that citizens will exercise the "exit" option in response to "quality decline" in nations' (1976, p.36). Similarly, Halfacree (2018) points out that there are times when to be immobile can be a political act. On the other, we have those such as Ahmed who argue for 'despondence' as a more accurate narrative of immobility. Where Ahmed does speak of non-migration as 'loyalty', he argues that this is the preserve of those who most benefit from the status quo, those loyal to the ruling party. For some members of the middle-class then Ahmed suggests that they stay, 'out of loyalty and support for the regime because of socialisation and the influence of the nation-building process' (p.184). In other words, Ahmed argues that they stay from a sense of duty to the state as they imagine their role within and relationship to it. Although it is possible that Exit can be compatible with Loyalty and Voice, what is often overlooked is that many still think of their relationship to their country in 'methodologically nationalist' terms and Hirschmann is right to assert that Exit has a high price for those who strongly identify with their home country. Therefore, many view staying as the best way to effect the change they desire. This leads to a concept I develop in this chapter, of Loyalty through Voice. By staying and working to effect change, many citizens construct this as a form of loyalty to the nation as 'people' which they may demarcate from nation as state. This

distinction will prove to be an important one when discussing feelings of national pride and identity.

Further, other ways that stayers imagine 'loyalty' as the cause of non-migration should be examined. Hirschmann equates Exit with individualism whereas for him, Voice is a collectivist one describing it as a 'group process' (p.111). The phenomenon of transnational social networks would not only call into question the idea that Exit is necessarily individualist, but, further, as we shall see from the empirical section of this chapter, Loyalty and even Voice can be articulated in terms of identification with individualism as well. All this also goes back to Brewer and Chen's (2007) observation that research into the nature of collectivist loyalty to social groups has often failed to properly demarcate the different scales at which the subjects perceive themselves as part of a larger cohesive social group. Brewer and Chen identify familial collectivism and group collectivism to distinguish between attachment to the family compared to the 'people' or 'nation'. The most salient for the purposes of this chapter then is group collectivism but this does not need to rely on any sense of collectivist identification with the nation-state as Ahmed could be read as implying, but rather the imagined nation as 'folk' entity (Anderson 1983). It is thus important to emphasise that loyalty to 'nation' or 'people' need not be conflated with loyalty to 'state', indeed it may be that disloyalty to 'state' could be imagined as loyalty to 'the people'. For many, it can be just as much an act of patriotism to stand against the state as it can to support it. This leads to a concept of Loyalty through Voice. By staying and working to effect change, many citizens construct this as a form of loyalty to the nation as 'people' which they may demarcate from nation as state. Therefore, although those such as Moses (2005) are right that '[l]oyalty – in the form of patriotism – is, of course, one of the modern state's strong suits' (p.67), it is important to remember that 'the state' does not have exclusive authority over how its citizens may imagine their patriotism.

3. Empirical research: Brazilians in São Paulo

This section will explore the typology of narratives of staying within the context of the empirical research in São Paulo conducted with friends and family of those already interviewed in London. Using Hirschmann's Exit Voice and Loyalty as a theoretical

touchstone, this section also explores how citizens from both sides of the political spectrum have reacted to and negotiated the recent political developments in Brazil referenced in Chapter Two. The themes discussed here emerged from a consideration of all the interviews conducted including in reference to the ones undertaken in London. What follows is a selection of seven of the thirty interviewees whose responses, I believe, most effectively capture these ideas. It is worth emphasising that even though the focus of this chapter is on immobility, there were many people who were thinking about leaving even if these thoughts lay more in the realm of fantasy than in terms of a practical plan. Of the thirty participants in the fieldwork conducted in São Paulo, seventeen stated that emigrating had at the very least crossed their mind at some point. Even still, only five claimed they had definite plans to leave in the near to medium term. Figure 9 gives details of the participants, their motivations for (im)mobility and whether they had considered leaving.

Figure 10. Participant details and motivations to leave and stay

Name	Age	Occupation	Place of birth	Considered leaving	Planned to leave	Reason to leave/ stay
Dani	26	Lawyer	Pernambuco	No	No	Professional ties
Daniel	27	Marketing	São Paulo	No	No	Family ties
Ricardo	28	Marketing	São Paulo	No	No	Family ties
Julia	28	Marketing	São Paulo state	No	No	Professional ties
João	30	Journalist	São Paulo	No	No	Loyalty to country
Claudio	27	Fashion	São Paulo state	No	No	Lifestyle
Joana	29	Marketing	São Paulo	Yes	Yes	Economic/ Learn English
Jessica	29	Film	London	Yes	Yes	Political crisis in Brazil
Natalia	30	Lawyer	São Paulo state	Yes	No	Professional ties
Larissa	65	Retired	São Paulo	Yes	No	Felt she was too old/ rootedness to city
Mariana	55	English teacher	Minas Gerais	No	No	Had already spent time abroad/ Belonging/ Family ties
Luiz	35	CTO	Pernambuco	Yes	No	Lifestyle/ family ties
Justino	31	Video editor	Pernambuco	No	No	Belonging/Had experienced living abroad and felt alienated
Gilberto	31	IT	Pernambuco	Yes	No	Family ties
Walter	32	Videographer	São Paulo	Yes	Yes	Political crisis in Brazil
Denisa	33	PR	São Paulo	Yes	Yes	Economic/ Societal alienation
Roberto	36	Barber	São Paulo	Yes	No	Family ties
David	40	Activist	Brasília	Yes	No	Loyalty to country
Paulina	37	Activist	Brasília	Yes	No	Loyalty to country
Enrico	37	Travel agent	Pará	Yes	Yes	Learn English/ Education/ Economic
Guillherm	72	Retired/ Editor	São Paulo	No	No	Belonging to city/ Loyalty to country
Enzo	40	Engineer	Pernambuco	Yes	No	Family ties/ Belonging
Jorio	50	Journalist	Rio de Janeiro	No	No	Lifestyle/ Belonging/ Family ties
Isaac	46	Teacher	São Paulo	Yes	No	Economic
Hugo	50	Retired/ Notary	São Paulo state	No	No	Belonging/ Family ties
Ronaldo	32	Credit analyst	São Paulo	No	No	Lifestyle/ Familty ties
Ana	32	Credit analyst	São Paulo	Yes	No	Lifestyle/ Family ties
Fernanda	60	Retired/ Teache	São Paulo	No	No	Family ties/ Belonging
Francisca	29	Doctor	Santa Catarina	Yes	No	Professional ties
Lorenzo	30	Doctor	São Paulo	Yes	No	Professional ties

3.1 Jorio

Jorio is an ideal candidate to explore how the theme of 'world citizenship' translates in the context of stayers in 'sending' countries. However, we shall see that other themes emerge and overlap in his discourse. Jorio, fifty, was a freelance journalist originally from Rio de Janeiro who moved to São Paulo several decades ago due to a romantic relationship and has stayed ever since. Although he had never held an institutional academic position, he was evidently very knowledgeable about the themes I was exploring in my research meaning that at times my conversation with him became less of an interview and more of an impromptu lecture. This had the advantage that he often articulated his thoughts in relation to social theory. First and foremost, his sense of belonging was firmly rooted in his identity as a Brazilian and yet he did not see this as incompatible with his identity as a world citizen. Here follows his answer to whether he would consider living in another country:

> Jorio: I hope that in a few years I can travel a lot. What I work, what I do, I do anywhere in the world today on the internet. I am creating my economic structure for this, but not to leave Brazil, but to be able to know other realities and exchange ideas, to develop new concepts. For example, I have a website for politics and economics since 2005, today a curious thing, my site today has almost a million views a month, 60 to 70% of my readers are from outside of Brazil. It is people who want out there, Brazilians or not, to understand the reality of what is happening here. What a curious phenomenon. So, you end up being a citizen of the world.
>
> Interviewer: It's interesting because a lot of people in London said that being a citizen of the world is achieved by them living in a different country but for you…
>
> Jorio: Perspective does not mean that, it is not related to territoriality, it refers to the possibility of establishing relationships even if you do not dwell in the place. This is a different interesting perspective, the evolution of the communication… allowed us this. That old McLuhan concept of the global village… He thought that long before the concept of an internet. Today with the internet it is very clear, you talk to anywhere in the world at low cost and instantly. If I want to pick up the phone and call a friend in England, she'll pick up. Calling a friend who is in France… Portugal, they will meet me. This is a rich thing that could be better explored. You can do what we are doing here, you can exchange ideas for theses, for studies. How much that would contribute in any area, be it in the social area, in the scientific area… What kind of contributions could this generate? (Interview, in Portuguese, São Paulo, 30.05.18)

Jorio's responses then reflect the concept of a 'rooted' world citizen, one that is de-territorialised from the Global North. It is also clear that he believed that technology had played a major role in helping to achieve this possibility. Perhaps most importantly, Jorio's

identity as a world citizen was not incompatible with his sense of belonging to Brazil. Indeed, he saw a Brazilian identity as uniquely intertwined with the concept of world citizenship. His pride in Brazil and sense of belonging there meant that he cared deeply about Brazilian politics, but he viewed the recent polarisation between right and left as uncharacteristic of what he viewed as the way Brazilians 'should' be. This polarisation then was incompatible with his vision of Brazilian identity writ large:

> I do not believe in radicalism in the extremist sense. The Brazilian people have an advantage that it is losing, that it is becoming a radical people. And this is not the genesis of the Brazilian people. The Brazilian people are the mix of everything that the world has… I have this characteristic of the Brazilian being the synthesis of everything. It is a people that if well educated, having political and economic freedom, is a people that has great potential for development. But today our state model is depriving people of exercising that capacity. This is the drama. So, what do we have to do? Change this state model. Changing the state model in Brazil and the only way Brazil has, there is no other way. Brazil must be reinvented.

We can see how then a concept of a duty to 'reinvent' Brazil is also prevalent in his discourse. Indeed, Jorio's political position was often more diagnostic than partisan. He viewed both the left and right in Brazil (and perhaps globally too) as having lost their way, become confused as to what they wanted or even are:

> Most university teachers [here] of History, Geography, Sociology and Philosophy, they have a cradle of, say, leftist reasoning. What is the problem? What scares me the most? In general, these teachers have a very low quality of reading about the traditional left thinkers themselves. Rarely, very few people read Karl Marx, very few people read Lenin, which is a revolutionary reasoning. Almost nobody has read Trotsky. So, you do not have a knowledge of the original thought of what would be a classically speaking left-wing reasoning. And then what is passed by these teachers, what they convey to the students is a superficial understanding: a partial knowledge of prejudice and without a correct definition of what is left… The left-wing guy here today is confused…he is left because he thinks that romantic fashion is defined as left… And on the other pole you have a right that has a speech too that is lost. [The right] does not know what it wants. They keep clamouring for military interventions. That is, for an Other that it will solve all your problems for you. Not you the citizen, taking action, inspecting, acting. Because really, it's you that must solve it… So, what is the left today? There is no clarity of what the left is today. Ask a leftist… what it means to be left. He's not going to give you a concrete answer on this, but at the same time the guy who's here on social networks saying, "I'm right, I'm conservative." You are right in what? Are you conservative in what? In economics you are liberal, but what is liberalism? For the Brazilian's head this is not clear. So, the problem for you in your

> thesis is, you do not have clear ideas, right concepts to work in Brazil. We try to copy European and North American concepts that do not apply to the Brazilian reality. And then our universities cannot produce theses that explain our reality. This is a conflict I have that I have been researching and studying for years.

Jorio's answers here position himself as an educator who saw his understanding of Brazilian contemporary and historical political thought as a much-needed remedy. These answers then, speak to the first theme identified in this chapter, 'Loyalty'. In part, Jorio chose to remain in Brazil because he felt that this was where his intellectual contributions were most needed. He saw himself as having a kind of duty to the Brazilian people, to whom he could make a perhaps contribution through re-educating them at the level of political thought and action. As he put it:

> The solution is that we can build a critical mass of thought to be able to perform some tasks that will lead people to a more liberal state and respect the individual initiative of the people. If Brazil has this… more control of people over the state and not the other way around, we can evolve. The state must be transparent, public accounts must be transparent. And public money? Radical transparency, then I believe in radicalism, can radicalize it there. Making everything public on the internet so people can oversee the public machine, because the fact that the public machine is the supervisor of itself is the permanent setback. It will never find fault in order to reformulate itself.

To summarise Jorio's responses then, his understanding of his immobility can be framed via reference to two aspects of the 'typology' around which this chapter is themed. The first was that he viewed international migration as unnecessary for him to experience a lifestyle as a 'world citizen'. Further, his understanding of world citizenship and Brazilian identity were intimately linked. As he put it, 'The Brazilian people are the mix of everything that the world has…the synthesis of everything'. We can see here that Jorio is evoking the concept of Brazil as intercultural as discussed in Chapter Three. He saw the recent polarisation of Brazilian politics including the rise of Bolsonaro, as having interrupted his sense of what Brazil should be. His identity as a scholar and educator meant that he articulated a sense duty to help rectify the situation through his writing out of a sense of loyalty to the 'Brazilian people'. Regarding, Hirschmann's trinary of Exit, Voice and Loyalty, what is worth noting about Jorio is

that for him, Voice and Loyalty were not treated as two separate categories instead his conscious decision to remain in Brazil was partly framed as a kind of Loyalty *through* Voice.

3.2 Luiz

These same themes of a feeling of world citizenship as a citizen of São Paulo and a disturbance of this world view by the recent polarisation of Brazilian politics also arose in my interview with Luiz, 37, a CTO for a software company. He invited me to interview him in a bar named *Let's Beer* (written in English) which specialised in imported beers from around the world. Its menu would not have been out of place in a similar craft beer bar in London. Outside a *food truck* (again, in São Paulo these are referred to in English), run by Taiwanese immigrants was serving various dishes from Taiwan. Luiz saw the recent proliferation of these kinds of leisure and cultural spaces as confirmation that São Paulo was now a world city on a par with New York or London. A self-confessed 'urbanophile' (Félonneau 2004), Luiz felt that his ability to have the kind of multicultural experiences and 'excitement' that world cities are famous for offering did not necessitate a move to London. In fact, he had holidayed in London and found it lacking in terms of the kind of urban 'action' he enjoyed about São Paulo:

> I'm an urban guy, I like the big city, I like to open the window and have a lot of traffic in front of me, horns, stress, confusion. You want to ruin me, take me to a little place where you open the window and there's only nature, I'm going to be sad [laughs], I'm going to be depressed… London I found very quiet. It's not that messy, I only found it a little hectic, the public spaces… I found everything very quiet, very calm, I said, "My goodness, what agony, there is nobody here honking, there is not anything of the kind, some kind of agitation, somebody selling something on the street". This is one of the things that makes me like São Paulo (Interview, in Portuguese, São Paulo, 28.04.18).

Luiz also claimed that the political crisis could act as a potential catalyst for him to leave. A key reference here is Motyl et al.'s study (2014a) which found evidence that people geographically segregate along ideological lines. Luiz allows us to examine how this idea can apply to international migration. A follow up study entitled, 'If He Wins, I'm Moving to Canada: Ideological Migration Threats Following the 2012 U.S. Presidential Election' (2014b) suggested that many could be prompted to desire to migrate based on political events. What is noteworthy about this type of ideological migration is it is not due to any tangible danger

or victimisation which would be migrants could face if they were to stay in their countries of origin. Regardless of one's opinion on Donald Trump or Jair Bolsonaro, it is unlikely that any asylum claims based on their Presidencies would be taken seriously. Instead, the desire to migrate seems to simply stem from a strong ideological disagreement with these political figures. And yet while not 'forced' at the same time it is hard to classify this kind of migration intention as voluntary, again serving to blur the distinction between the two. This kind of ideological migration intention then appeared thus:

> Interviewer: If he won the election, would you stay or--?
>
> Luiz: I would leave
>
> Interviewer: You would leave?
>
> Luiz: I would leave. If Bolsonaro assumes power in Brazil, I would leave (Interview in Portuguese, São Paulo, 28/04/18).

Luiz's vision of São Paulo was of a cosmopolitan world city, but one that was stratified by political differences which reflected race and class divides. As he put it, '[i]f you are white, upper-middle-class, you live in São Paulo, you are right (wing)'. Luiz thus viewed himself as an exception in that he was left leaning but, as a corporate CTO, a self-admitted member of the socio-economic upper tier of society. He positioned his voting left as a form of collectivist commitment to policies that he felt may not benefit him directly but benefit poorer sections of society. He said, 'I will always defend the left because I think we must vote not thinking about us but thinking about the collective'. He thus viewed Bolsonaro's political positioning as a 'champion of the people', a nationalist fighting on behalf of the collective with horror. In his view this clashed with his interpretation of what nationalism is or should be:

> For me it is scary the association of nationalism with Bolsonaro, I had never thought of it that way… Nationalism should be something good for all Brazilians and not for some Brazilians, it must be for all Brazilians. These people who defend nationalism, defend the nationalism of the Brazilian, the portrait of the Brazilian for these guys is the white, the rich, the blonde, and it is not. Brazil is mostly poor, black, mulatto, ethnic diversity, this is the portrait of Brazil.

Luiz had a vision of a kind of left-wing nationalism (Joppke 2017) which he viewed the previous President, Lula as epitomising, that remained at odds with what he saw as an 'outdated' mode:

> Now, Bolsonaro… associating nationalism with his ideas. I think Lula is much more nationalistic than Bolsonaro, the name of Brazil has never been as evident as in the Lula government… You cannot think like Trump does… that does not exist for me. That's a thought 50 years ago when there was no information, there was no flow of information as easy as it is today. I am against any kind of separatism.

To refer to the 'typology' introduced at the start of the chapter, Luiz saw himself as a citizen of a world city, São Paulo that was on a part with, if not superior to traditional centres of cosmopolitanism such as London. Like Jorio, this self-identification sat alongside his identification as someone who was proud of their origins and as such, he felt a certain sense of duty to 'Brazil' which he expressed via his sympathies with left wing politics. It seemed then that Luiz's interpretation of what it meant to be a Brazilian nationalist involved a balancing act between recognising a certain kind of technological determinism (he saw the advent of new 'flows of information' as making separatism anachronistic and impractical), and yet he still felt it was important to have pride in one's place of origin in terms of loyalty or duty to a 'collective'. A Bolsonaro presidency would rupture this ideological vision of Brazil and so for Luiz, he claimed it would result in his emigrating. In Hirschmann's terms then, Luiz's threats of Exit can be viewed in terms of his rejection of what he considered to be an incompatible interpretation of a Brazil, was not accepting of his vision of what Brazil really was. This kind of reaction then again lends nuance to the thoroughly contested nature of ideas of national belonging which Hirschmann sought to analyse via his trinary of choices. Luiz's responses reveal that the trinary is complicated by this kind of contestation.

3.3 Denisa

One interviewee who explicitly framed their migration intentions as a kind of quasi 'forced' migration was Denisa. As her answers reveal, in many ways, she viewed her intention to migrate as 'forced' even though, as previously stated, it would not fit into how this term is commonly understood in terms of politically motivated migration. Perhaps a 'soft forced' migration is an accurate term to employ here. Denisa's interviews could perhaps be said to

be the sincerest in that she was a member of the host family that I stayed with during my fieldwork in Brazil. We therefore got to know each other well and although I only formally interviewed her once, this was the culmination of many unrecorded conversations with her about these themes. Denisa's responses are also relevant to examine how a sense of national belonging can be interrupted by a sense of alienation from the 'national' at the state level. Denisa, thirty-nine, was a marketing manager born in São Paulo. Denisa's relationship to her identity as a Brazilian was complicated. She felt there was little to be proud of about being Brazilian and would often make disparaging remarks and jokes about the country and the wider region, once referring to it as *America Latrina* (a play on *America Latina*).

She had recently returned for personal reasons from living in Argentina, but was keen to re-emigrate, possibly to Australia, a country which her sister was also considering. However, she also felt a certain reluctance to embark on a move to the other side of the world. She was fond of much of Brazil's culture. One weekend I joined her and her family on a trip to a market in a town outside of São Paulo. We spent the afternoon in an outdoor restaurant dancing and singing along to *forro* [a type of Brazilian folk music] band. At one point I noticed she was crying. When I asked her why, she revealed she felt overwhelmed since this was the first time she had eaten in a Brazilian restaurant and listened to and danced to Brazilian music for two years since she had only returned from her time in Argentina the previous week. She was also one of the interviewees who rejected the idea of being a world citizen. This was despite having a job that enabled her to work from home and thus, the potential to live and work anywhere:

> Denisa: I do not see myself as a citizen of the world, I did travel, I visited certain countries and such, but I do not see myself as a citizen of the world.
>
> Interviewer: So, if you moved to Australia, for example. How do you think about it, will you be?
>
> Denisa: Frustrated [laughter]
>
> Interviewer: Frustrated why?
>
> Denisa: Because I do not want to suddenly go to Australia because here it is bad. I want to go as a tourist, to stay at hotels, surf, see koalas, then return here.
>
> Interviewer: You do not want to go for a long time?
>
> Denisa: Only out of necessity. People end up wanting to do this, but this is wrong, not right...

> Interviewer: How is it necessary to move to Australia?
>
> Denisa: Take, my sister, my sister has a good resume. Even though she has studied, is fluent in English, she cannot find a job. It's not her fault No, it's not, it's how it is here. I have other friends in the same situation. I have an architect friend… I could be quoting so many other examples. The people here do not prosper, those who thrive here in Brazil it's usually because they're involved with something dodgy.
>
> Interviewer: Can you imagine staying in Australia for a long time? The rest of your life?
>
> Denisa: I would be sad. In Argentina I was sad, I liked Argentina, I liked their way… [but] I do not know, there's something missing? Lack of suddenly, like, going to the supermarket and finding a terrible piece of meat [*uma bosta de carne*]. And say to the grocery clerk, this is bullshit [*uma bosta*] and the grocery clerk laughs and says, 'yeah you're right' [*É uma bosta o mesmo*] (Interview in Portuguese, São Paulo, 08/05/18).

If Denisa were to emigrate again it seems likely then that she would partake in the economies of *saudade* [homesickness] described by Brightwell (2012) and yet neither would this mean that she felt patriotic or identified strongly with Brazil as state. Denisa had revealing views about Exit and its relation to loyalty belonging. Brazil was where Denisa felt understood and where she felt she could understand others the most. Therefore, for Denisa, her Exit would be compatible with Loyalty in a way that was de-territorialised from the country of origin. Transnational scholars such as Glick-Schiller and Fouron (2001) have explored this theme by examining the concept of 'long distance nationalism'. But once again, we must ask how Denisa's vision of nationalistic loyalty is at odds with how others would interpret the same terminology especially given her rejection of the idea of 'world citizenship'. Where others such as Jorio and Luiz saw this term as compatible or even interwoven with a Brazilian identity, Denisa did not and so her loyalty was to a different imagined social object. It is worth comparing Denisa's responses to another interviewees in order to further explore this theme of the conflicted or contested nature of national belonging and its relation to migration decisions.

Paulina, thirty-three, a full-time activist, originally from Brasília felt a duty to stay in Brazil that stemmed from religious conviction. Her immobility and loyalty to Brazil then also stemmed from her belief that Brazil would be an important part of God's plan for the world as she describes here:

> Paulina: Our movement is not only patriotic, but it is a position of faith. Brazil is going to be… a fundamental piece, and here the greatest justice movement in history is

> rising, just as the greater process of robbery, corruption, slavery was done here, it will also be the greatest justice process, I believe. From here will come prophets and missionaries to the whole world. That is my point of view.
>
> Interviewer: Have you ever thought about leaving?
>
> Paulina: In moments of extreme pressure. I've thought about it, but then I always come back, as a matter of obedience to God (Interview in Portuguese, São Paulo, 12.05.18).

And yet, despite this strong sense of a duty to stay in Brazil and fight for her country, she was less enthusiastic about Brazil either as 'people' or as 'state':

> Interviewer: Are you proud to be Brazilian?
>
> Paulina: I am not…I will not be a hypocrite, I am not, because our people, by choice, they do not deserve this territory. God gave us the best territory on this planet, and the Brazilian, he does not deserve this territory. He does not take care of nature, he does not take care of the fauna, he does not take care of the flora, he does not have solidarity with his neighbour, he is selfish, he is a miser. So, I'm not proud to be Brazilian…in terms of the structure of society, I am not proud, not of being Brazilian.
>
> Interviewer: Are there some things you like about Brazilian culture?
>
> Paulina: Man, we do not have much culture [laughs]. We do not have much culture.

When comparing Denisa and Paulina's responses, we can see that although they likely would agree in their mutual criticism of many aspects of their country, they also differ. Although Paulina was more pessimistic in her assessment of Brazil and its people, she felt a stronger duty to stay because Brazil was where she was most needed. Denisa on the other hand, had decided to leave albeit reluctantly. Both had the 'choice' to leave but only Denisa decided to do so because she did not share Paulina's sense of duty to stay, despite her stronger sense of belonging and identification with Brazil compared to Paulina.

3.4 Justino

Justino, thirty-six, originally from Recife, Pernambuco, had moved to São Paulo ten years ago to work as a film editor which was his current career. His thoughts on world citizenship show a hybridisation between his identity as a Brazilian and as a world citizen.

> Justino: I lived in Italy for a year, I was not Italian. People looked at me and saw that I was not from there, they did not know where I was from. So, this feeling only in Brazil I have, the feeling of belonging. But at the same time, we live in a world today that

> belonging is - the barriers are, the borders are so invisible on the one hand and on the other they are huge, a wall. I think that's basically it. If we are to talk, to have very similar habits because we have been globalized. Let's use cell phone, let's use car, public transport, see almost the same movies, you living in the UK and me living here. So, I identify myself as much with Brazil as I identify myself with several other aspects of other places because I received this influence, but where I feel understood is here in Brazil. Because it's my language. In another place I think I will always be a foreigner. So, I feel patriotic, but at other times I have a lot of difficulty being Brazilian. Politics is already one of them (Interview in Portuguese, São Paulo, 30/04/18).

Justino's response also reveals how the concept of 'insider advantages' need not only revolve around the practical but also on the more subjective idea of 'feeling understood' in a particular place. Jose was also very aware of the classed nature of this access to a global culture when I asked him directly how he identified with the term 'world citizen':

> I think so… I speak English which I think is the global language, one of the global languages, for example. I have access to some cultural assets that various other citizens of the world have. We have tasted delicacies from various parts of the world. We can communicate, if tomorrow when you go back to Scotland you want to send me a Whatsapp, I'll continue to respond. So of course, I feel like a citizen of the world, a privileged citizen. I had access to some elements that gave me that background to do. It's not just anyone, obviously. I know that I am part of a very small part of the world's population.

We can see from Jose's answers then that although he very much felt as if he belonged in Brazil, to the point that he felt he could not belong anywhere else, this fact was not incompatible with his identification with world citizenship. Again, it speaks to the idea of world citizenship becoming de-territorialised from its origins in the traditional world cities of the Global North. For Justino then, he felt that he could belong in São Paulo and feel understood there but at the same belong as a member and consumer of a global society and culture. His linking this identification with the proliferation of communications and media technology also lends weight to Torresan's (2007) assertions that a (perhaps 'soft') technological determinism still holds value.

3.5 David

David was another interviewee whose previous migration history suggests that Motyl et al.'s (2014) findings could apply to international migration. David, forty, a professional political

activist who had previously lived in the United States, described himself as a 'nationalist' in the right-wing sense. Despite coming from a middle-class background in Brazil he had worked 'shining shoes and working in civil construction'. He claimed that his main motivation to emigrate had been ideological:

> Interviewer: Why did you decide to come back?
>
> David: After the Lula government. I left when Lula came into power and came back after Lula got out of power.

David, perhaps surprisingly given his identification with right wing nationalism, was extremely pessimistic about the possibility of Bolsonaro as president. He viewed him with suspicion, as an inauthentic candidate who still stood for the interests of the political elite. Despite having previously emigrated over Lula's election a decade ago, he now positioned his decision to stay in Brazil as a form of duty to his ideological commitments:

> Interviewer: Now, do you want to leave? Do you want to stay here?
>
> David: Even though today we have several friends who are leaving Brazil… [w]e have decided to stay because we lead this movement. We organize this movement and today we are the voice of this movement. It is not fair as a patriot and nationalist that we leave other patriots and leave Brazil, so we had better stay and fight for Brazil (Interview in Portuguese, São Paulo, 12/05/18).

It is briefly worth comparing David's answer here to what could be said in many ways to be his ideological opposite: João, thirty, was a left-wing journalist whose family had migrated from Alagoas to São Paulo. He too articulated his reaction to a possible Bolsonaro presidency as a reason to stay out of a kind of duty to fight for the kind of Brazil he believed in. He described his reaction to the possibility of a Bolsonaro presidency thus:

> I think that at this moment, what I need to do is to be here, and protesting, and complaining, and finally trying to endorse, give voice to the great chorus of people who are against, who are fighting against this situation that is trying to establish itself (Interview in Portuguese, São Paulo, 21.04.18).

Viewing these two responses together reveal how imaginings of a duty to stay for one's 'country' is a highly contested category. The strong differences in interpretation over what that country should or should not look like stand in contrast to how both sides can articulate the same sentiments.

4. Discussion

The empirical data explored in this chapter opens several themes for discussion and future research. These themes emerged from the typology of reasons to stay or perhaps more accurately, 'ways of staying' which arose from the empirical data and formed the basis of this chapter. What follows is a discussion of the three narratives considering the empirical data explored in the previous section.

4.1 Loyalty: staying as duty and 'conscious' over 'voluntary' immobility.

As the empirical data revealed, staying from a sense of loyalty or duty to one's country or 'people' serves to problematise the dichotomy between 'forced' and 'voluntary' non-migration in the study of immobility. Not only can political events prompt a desire to leave but, for some, a duty to stay may also be articulated. Viewing staying as a form of duty serves to blur the line between the ideas of immobility either being voluntary or involuntary and demonstrates the need for a spectrum approach to theorising non-migration decisions. Scholarly attention to transnationalism helped to divorce the idea that 'Exit' necessitated forgoing 'Voice or 'Loyalty', but for many, 'Loyalty' involves staying. So, we can see that this kind of 'methodically nationalist' or perhaps more accurately 'territorialised' approach to theories of immobility (and mobility) is relevant in so far as it describes how some conceive of their immobility. As many have argued in the case of mobility (Fussell 2012; Castles et al. 2014; Erdal & Oeppen 2018), rather than treating voluntary mobility and involuntary mobility as a dichotomy, it is perhaps more accurate to see them as part of a spectrum. Therefore, in the case of immobility, as Coulter et al. (2015) have recently pointed out, there is a need to 'rethink' immobility. Focusing on the residential scale, Coulter et al. highlight how voluntary immobility can be stratified by uneven power dynamics within society. Although it is well established that economic hardship may prompt a desire to emigrate this option may not be available to the most disadvantaged (Van Hear 2014), Coulter et al. (2015) point out that the opposite may also be true in some cases: that certain forms of voluntary immobility may be predicated on social status and access to various forms of capital. Coulter et al. draw attention to the role that wider economic factors may play on immobility as practice.

Cresswell (2012) develops the ideas of 'stillness' and 'stuckness' to try to capture the different nuances that can inform types of immobility. However, the line between 'stillness'

and 'stuckness' is not always clear cut and may depend on more than just economic affluence. Similarly, the assumption that those who do not migrate 'would if they could' obscures the fact that many do not intend to migrate. Further, as Jónsson (2011) notes, 'judging whether a person is… 'involuntarily immobile' and stuck in a social moratorium with no possibilities for social or geographic mobility, is a subjective matter' (p.7). Gaibazzi develops the concept of 'active stayers' (2010): those who stay to manage family affairs. He writes that:

> '[s]taying behind is an active process; it does not follow automatically from non-migrating, as a way of passively filling positions left blank by those who have migrated. To stay put implies to shape and legitimate [sic] the place one assumes at home' (p.11)

Jónsson surmises that this form of staying may not easily be classified as voluntary in that it can be undertaken more due to 'family pressure' (2010, p.9) rather than because people really want to stay. And yet, at the same time, these 'active stayers' may possess the means, in theory at least, to migrate. Therefore, classifying their immobility as involuntary may also be problematic since this would suggest they are literally unable to move. While there are times where immobility can relatively easily be classified as involuntary (Carling 2002), the existence of liminal cases is worthy of further explanation. In particular, the effect of family pressure or family ties on immobility. Writing in the context of Brazilian migration, Marcus (2010) provides evidence that the adherence to collectivist values such as family can affect decisions to return to the place of origin and resettle there. He notes that for some of his interviewees, 'family was more important' (p.77). He also illustrates the high human costs of emigration to sending communities which can lead some to not migrate. He observes that, 'family fragmentation is emblematic' (p. 123) of the migrants' experiences, and that, 'the communities are fragmented emotionally' (p.125). Social capital is exchanged for financial capital via the sending of remittances but at the cost of the breaking apart of families. Malmberg (1997) too acknowledges that one's ties to other people can act as a constraint on migration. Green (2018), writing in the context of internal migration, also cites family ties as a potential constraint. Indeed, there is much quantitative evidence for this, at both the residential (Zorlu 2009) and international scale (Cairns & Smyth 2010) and on both a societal and an individual level. In their comparison between Northern Irish and Portuguese youth in

terms of their desire to emigrate, Cairns and Smyth argue that the 'cultural variable' of 'tighter family bonds' in Portugal (p.69) is a key reason why Portuguese youths may be less inclined to emigrate internationally. At the individual level, Alesina et al. (2015) have recently found that, 'individuals who inherit stronger family ties are less mobile' (p.599). This can help to explain variation within one family between those who leave and those who stay. This also relates to the 'linked lives' literature (Findlay et al. 2015). Findlay et al. argue that, '[t]he linked-lives perspective recognises mobility as relational… between groups of people (e.g. the linked lives of people in a household…)' (p391). So too then can immobility be thought of as a relational practice in that it often occurs within the context of one's ties (or links) to a greater social organism than the individual, in this case the family. Family ties then are emblematic of a collectivist sense of duty that motivates decision making. However, as Brewer & Chen (2007) stress, familial collectivism is only one type. Group collectivism on a national scale and the impact that this can have on (non)migration decision making is under researched and is thus an area that this chapter seeks to explore. I argue that this is worthwhile since not only does it improve our understanding of the multi-scalar nature of how collectivism can be imagined and interpreted but that it also provides fresh insight into the motivations behind certain forms of immobility.

Following Coulter et al. (2015) then, and in light of the empirical findings of this chapter, I understand immobility as a 'relational practice'. It is relational in the sense that we should consider immobility in the context of structural limitations and connections and the interlinking of people's lives but that these structural limitations need not be just economic but may be in a sense, imposed according to one's ideological values. Viewing it as a practice then, emphasises that it is not necessarily a passive event but can be a conscious act. Here 'conscious' can be distinguished from 'voluntary' in that 'voluntary' carries with a certain amount of ideological baggage in terms of positioning it in the context of an individualistic free choice. The extent to which ties, be it to family or a larger imagined social organism such as 'people' or 'nation' influencing immobility can be thought of as 'voluntary' is complicated since the word 'ties' suggests obligation or duty. Therefore, I assert that staying for these reasons can be better framed as a conscious act. The idea of 'conscious' over 'voluntary' is important when one considers the concept of immobility conceived as a form of duty to a social organism be it family, country or city. In what sense are duties voluntary? The meaning

behind duty carries with it the idea that one performs it out of necessity rather than simply as an elective 'free' choice. Schewel (2019) emblematises this problem when she writes that staying out of a, 'commitment to place, especially when staying goes against self-interest, presents another challenge to rational-choice paradigms in which the maximization of personal advantage is taken as the orienting principle of decision-making' (Schewel 2019, p.14). Staying in place against one's 'self interest' does not make sense from an individualist perspective but seen through the lens of collectivism it begins to make more sense. Indeed, the reification of freedom of choice is intimately bound together with a 'methodologically individualist' (Samers 2010) world view that fails to properly understand how a sense of collectivism can motivate decision making. As Žižek (2011) argues, '[a] choice is always a meta-choice, a choice of the modality of choice itself (p. 52).

There is much attention on the importance of the rights of the individual in contemporary discourse. 'Human rights', 'equal rights', 'workers' rights', to take but a small selection, are common parlance in public policy, academia and media. What is lacking is any similar attention paid to the concept of duties. The UN's 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights is well known but how well known is UNESCO's 1998 Declaration of Human Duties and Responsibilities? Rights are synonymous with individual freedom and thus in the context of voluntary migration, international migration is often conceptualised by researchers, activists and the migrants themselves as a kind of right, particularly within the *No Borders* movement (Anderson et al. 2009; Burridge 2010). Duties though, are usually thought of in collectivist terms so far as they speak to a sense of obligation to a social organism greater than the individual. The concept of a perceived duty to stay then may be useful in explaining certain forms of immobility. There is of course a tension here in the idea of voluntary choice being framed as a duty. Therefore, I argue, 'conscious' rather than 'voluntary' immobility is perhaps a more productive term since it helps to overcome some of the problems associated with the reification of 'choice' as an ideological construct of individualism. This theoretical framing of the blurring between 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' and the exploration of the concepts of rights and duties within (non)migration decision making helps us to analyse the typology of narratives of staying expressed by the interviewees who are discussed in the empirical section.

As the responses of Luiz, Denisa and David show, the phenomenon of emigrating due to an ideological disagreement with what the country is as opposed to what it 'should' be serves to problematise a dichotomy between 'forced' and 'voluntary'. Denisa, despite her misgivings about the state of Brazil, rejected the label 'world citizen' and framed her mobility as a reluctance to leave undertaken largely out of 'necessity'. This, I argue, can be read as a kind of soft 'forced' migration'. Similarly, the concept of staying from a sense of duty makes it difficult to say that this form of immobility is purely voluntary and yet at the same time it is not 'involuntary' in the sense that, practically speaking, these interviewees are more than capable of leaving. Instead, I argue, that these examples serve to help to deconstruct the very concept of 'choice' as an ideological category. This demonstrates how an individualist ideological worldview that assumes 'free choice' as an unproblematic category can often make it difficult to appreciate how collectivist belonging is understood and acted upon.

4.2 Belonging: insider advantages and the geographical imagination

A sense of belonging was analysed and interpreted in this chapter via two main theoretical approaches. These are insider advantages (Fischer et al. 2000) and the geographical imagination (Thompson 2016). Other studies of non-migration have identified variations on these ideas as the most salient. For example, in their research on the immobility of the Kazakh ethnic minority in Mongolia, Werner and Barcus (2009) identify , 'local place attachments specific to Mongolia access to information about life in Kazakhstan and the importance of maintaining social networks in Mongolia' (p.49). As Lewicka (2010) shows, most studies that use the term 'place attachment' concentrate on smaller scales such as dwelling or neighbourhood. At larger scales such as the national, the term belonging is more frequently used (Croucher 2004). Since this chapter focuses primarily on the scales of the city and the country, 'belonging' will be used rather than 'place attachment'.

Insider advantages share a certain degree of overlap with the role social capital (Bourdieu 1984) can play in (non)migration decision making (Massey et al. 1993). However, 'insider advantages' is a term that was created within the study of immobility specifically (Fischer et al. 2000; Fischer & Malmberg 2001). It can help to understand what contributes to a feeling of belonging in so far as it covers not only the practical benefits of being a 'local' but

also the more subjective social and cultural benefits. Fischer et al. (2000) were the first to theorise 'insider advantages' to describe motivations to remain in place. They note that, 'a certain part of the abilities and assets of every human being are location specific, in other words they can only be used (or are only in existence) in a specific place' (p.9) They thus frame immobility as part of a strategy of utility maximisation since moving would mean the loss of certain non-transferable, place specific advantages. They divide insider advantages into work and leisure-orientated ones. Leisure is in turn divided into 'place specific' or 'society specific', with society specific defined as, 'acceptance and social integration due to location-specific social relations ('social capital') and political activities' (p.11). Insider advantages then covers not only economic advantages but also the affective socio-cultural and linguistic advantages to remaining in place. This latter aspect thus relates to the second theoretical concept utilised in this chapter to analyse the concept of belonging: the geographical imagination. Thompson (2016) has argued that the geographical imagination can help to explain certain forms of non-migration since:

> A decision to migrate is based on socio-cultural understandings of elsewhere being preferable…Those who wish to stay, conversely, imagine improved… opportunities are not worth forsaking their own cultural and social realities (p.6).

Jónsson (2011) identifies what she believes to be a, 'fundamental flaw' in the idea that emigrating means a loss of insider advantages, a disruption of attachment to place and an interruption of the geographical imaginary of 'home'. She points to the phenomenon of transnationalism arguing that migrants maintain close ties and reciprocal relations with their families and communities in their places of origin and thus in a sense, they 'remain at home' even when they go abroad' (p.4) (although the relationship with that 'home' may change). The problem with this idea is that it takes the transnational 'home' of the migrant diaspora as on a par with the original at the place of origin. While an argument could possibly be made that some diasporas have created sufficiently rich transnational spaces for this to hold, this is not true in the case of Brazilians. The transnational constructions of home at the migration destinations are a surrogate for the (imagined) 'real thing'. The economies of *saudade* [homesickness] described by Brightwell (2012) demonstrate a longing for the original country rather than being treated as on a par with the original. If it were true that living in the 'Brazilian community' of London were identical in terms of the subjective experience of

belonging and had equivalent insider advantages, then Jónsson's argument would be stronger in this context. But, for the present time at least, this is not the case. In terms of the 'belonging' mentioned in the typology then, Brazil is seen as a place which cannot be substituted for a transnational diaspora community.

The interviewees responses reveal that feeling a sense of belonging to 'Brazil' can vary widely depending on the ideological perspective of the actor. Indeed, the issue of belonging at the scale of the national is one fraught with complications and contradictions. Luiz's responses highlighted that Bolsonaro's election victory have forced questions into the spotlight about what constitutes the national 'we'. In some ways, we could see the return of Bolsonaro 's form of nationalism as a kind of re-territorialisation: as an ideological reaction to processes of de-territorialisation. It has brought to the fore the differences in the way terms such as 'nationalist' or 'national pride' are interpreted according to the ideological stance of the interpreter. As we saw from Luiz's responses, he expressed horror at the thought that both he and Bolsonaro considered themselves nationalists. This had disrupted his vision of what Brazil or São Paulo should stand for and led to a tension between his sense of belonging and national pride, and the political reality that his country now faces. It is noteworthy that both those aligned with the right and the left identified themselves as on the side of the 'people'. For those such as David, a cosmopolitan elite represented the left wing and, in his view, the 'people' were on his side. For Luiz, his comment that 'if you are white and rich you are right' displays the opposite imaginary. His identification as left-wing, and therefore on the side of the 'people', stood in contrast to this.

4.3 Lifestyle immobility: the rooted 'world citizen'

There is significant overlap between the term 'world citizen' and 'cosmopolitan'. Cosmopolitan stems from the Greek *cosmopolis* meaning world city. In fact Turner (2002) defines a cosmopolitan as a 'citizen of the world' (p.57). I have chosen to use the term 'world citizen' rather than just cosmopolitan for the simple reason that the term 'world citizen' arose from my interviewee's responses, both in London and São Paulo. My usage of this term was thus a reflection of their usage of it. As an identity, as previously mentioned in Chapter Three it is often described as a certain openness or disposition towards what is, culturally speaking, imagined as 'unfamiliar' or 'different' (Urry 2000). Most often this manifests as a pattern of consumption of cultural goods such as food or music which are outside one's

'original' culture. World citizenship is also imagined as linked with mobility, which is often literal, through space. As Pessoa observes, '[a]lthough it may be possible in theory to be a sedentary cosmopolitan, human movement is regarded both as a potential mechanism to generate a cosmopolitan disposition (in the sense of the medium) and/or as a trace of a cosmopolitan identity (in the sense of the result)' (2010, p.27). There is then often a sense of mobility allowing the cosmopolitan to 'go out into the world' to seek out the unfamiliar through either travel or migration. But if you are born in New York where do you need to move to experience cosmopolitanism or feel like a 'world citizen'?

Similarly, in the case of São Paulo, I showed that some interviewees framed their experience and identity as citizens of São Paulo as a kind of 'world citizenship'. A key argument in this chapter then was that for those who already live in centres of cosmopolitanism, and especially in light of cultural exchange via digital communications and media, immobility (on the international scale) can be framed as entirely compatible with an identity as a world citizen since, rather than one needing to 'go out into the world', the 'world' has already come to you. The role that digital communications and media have played in this process is important since, as Halfacree notes, 'virtual mobility' is 'almost limitless' (2018). Researchers such as Hiller and Franz (2004), Cheng (2005) and in the Brazilian context, Margolis (1995) have theorised the concept of 'virtual attachment' amongst migrants: an attachment to place of origin via digital social media. However, if we are to take the idea of de-territorialisation seriously then a similar virtual attachment to 'global culture' is also possible amongst stayers. Coulter et al. (2015) also note that voluntary immobility may be partly prompted by an increase in 'communications technologies' (p.12). Although Coulter et al. apply this to the residential scale, we saw from the empirical section that this kind of immobility can be applied to on the international scale too. In fact Winkler (2017) has recently found quantitative evidence which, he states, is the first of its kind, that establishes a link between proliferation of the internet in a country and lower rates of migration. Werner and Barcus (2009) too argue that media and communication technology, 'reduces the barrier of geographic distances and broadens interaction… allowing the sharing of ideas and extending… experience without necessitating travel or migration' (p.52). Without wishing to stray into a 'technologically determinist' (Bingham 1996) interpretation, it is clear then that technology has played a major role in the dissemination of ideas such as 'world citizenship'.

However, it is not just through digital communications that this process of de-territorialisation is occurring. Physical space is also undergoing a similar process. The globalisation of ideas and economies means not only the appearance of transnational spaces in the Global North but also in the Global South.

This is not just the homogenised corporate spaces in the Global South exemplified by airports, fast food chains and shopping malls: what Augé (1995) has referred to as non-places and what Žižek refers to pessimistically as, 'miserable copies of Western prosperity' (2016). On smaller scales, transnational spaces are appearing in the Global South that allow for an imaginary of 'world citizenship' to be actualised in space without the need to migrate to the Global North. Researchers such as Freire da Silva (2014) have been documenting the growing sale and consumption of 'trans-local' cultural and commercial goods in São Paulo. His research has recorded that at the micro-scale, numerous transnational businesses and cultural commodity sellers in the centre of São Paulo from immigrant groups as diverse as China, Lebanon and Angola have worked to create a sense of São Paulo as a 'world city' on a par with the 'originals' in the Global North. This chimes with Crang et al.'s argument that transnational flows need not be thought of purely in terms of people but also in terms of 'things': commodities and cultural artefacts (2003). Therefore, there is evidence that a 'global' commodity culture has become de-territorialised from its traditional epicentres in the Global North (or 'the West') and permeated into the Global South and the practice of consumption has been a key channel. This is important since it is often through the consumption of symbolic goods (Bryant & Goodman 2004) that the subject can construct a 'global' identity. As Goodman (2007) notes:

> Buying lunch at McDonald's and clothes at Walmart or dinner at the latest pan-Asian restaurant and clothes at the local boutique are not simply economic decisions, these are also cultural decisions involving a system of meaning' (p.338).

As the empirical research showed then, the spread of 'global culture' into the Global South does not only mean that those who do not migrate must settle for an inferior and unsatisfying recreation. New centres such as São Paulo within the Global South are now becoming loci of forms of global culture which, for stayers, are on a par with that in the traditional centres in the Global North. However, writing about access to communications

technologies and its effect on immobility, Coulter et al. (2015) caution that, 'access these to these new innovations may be 'stratified by factors such as age, gender, class ethnicity and region' p.12). Therefore, the experience of immobility and its relation to structural factors, may be uneven. As Caldeira notes of middle-class young people in São Paulo, 'they connect to a "global youth" but not to the youth of their own periphery' (p.317). The fact that access to these forms of global culture are, as in the Global North, often informed by social educational and economic capital again speaks to the idea of a global class divide, de-territorialised from any one place. In the context of Brazil's recent rightward turn these themes take on especial significance.

What was apparent from the interviewees' responses then, particularly Jorio and Justino, is that the effect of technology and spread of ideas meant that the need to migrate in order to experience the exotic or the 'cosmopolitan' was less salient since São Paulo was imagined as a cosmopolitan world city already. This phenomenon has both positive and negative implications. We saw how Jorio framed this in utopian terms, emphasising the common humanity and understanding between nations which this has the potential to generate. However, there is a more pessimistic reading too. One is reminded of the dystopian picture painted of the future by E.M. Forster in *The Machine Stops* where there was little point in travelling anymore since doing so would only result in identical experiences to those available at the place of origin:

> Few travelled… these days, for, thanks to the advance of science, the earth was exactly alike all over. Rapid intercourse, from which the previous civilization had hoped so much, had ended by defeating itself. What was the good of going to Peking when it was just like Shrewsbury? Why return to Shrewsbury when it would all be like Peking? Men seldom moved their bodies; all unrest was concentrated in the soul (Forster 1947 [1909], p.119).

Some such as Appadurai (1996) have denied that this spread of 'global culture' and 'world citizenship' should be read as a kind of homogenisation. He argues that the surface homogeneity of 'global culture' masks an underlying heterogeneity of manifestations and experiences of the spread of capitalism and the different cultures with which it interacts. In contrast, Žižek (2011) argues that it is the very heterogeneity of these permutations of global culture which masks the underlying homogeneity of the spread of capitalism.

5. Conclusion

Through revisiting Hirschmann's trinary model of understanding migration decisions, Exit, Voice and Loyalty, this chapter has argued for a further reconsideration but not abandonment of Hirschmanns ideas considering both the phenomenon of transnational modes of Loyalty and Voice while, at the same time, acknowledging the social reality of 'methodological nationalism' and its utility in helping understand many people's (non)migration decisions. While the responses of many interviewees seem to conform to a 'methodologically nationalist' outlook, Hirschmann's trinary model has to a large extent been de-territorialised in so far as others seem to have a multi scalar, multi-dimensional and even at times contradictory relationship to these options regarding their (non)migration decision making and imagined national identity. This chimes with Hoffman's (2010) argument that although research into transnational forms of Loyalty and Voice remain valid, Hirschmann's original ideas should not be completely discarded. What both the São Paulo and London interviewees responses show is the role that the geographical imagination can play in affecting migration and non-migration decisions. For those who had migrated to London, their imagining of London as a multicultural world city was a major reason to stay. Further, many rejected a sense of loyalty to or identification with Brazil suggesting that for some migrants at least, 'exit' really does mean 'exit'. Jorio, David and João's responses in this chapter could also be shown to be an example of loyalty through staying. Finally, although Denisa's reluctance to move lends weight to the idea of the compatibility of exit and loyalty a conceptual clarification is needed between loyalty to state and loyalty to 'people' or 'culture'. Perhaps this helps to answer Ahmed's claim that those who stay out of loyalty (rather than his concept of despondence) only do so as beneficiaries of the status quo. As the empirical data in this chapter hope's to have shown, it is possible to frame one's imagined relationship to country in terms of loyalty without necessitating loyalty to country read as state power. What these interviewees' responses suggest is worth exploring further is what the concept of Loyalty entails especially given the ideological differences between, for example João and David. How do stayers imagine the object of their loyalty and how is this contested? This issue is very much intertwined with the problem of how Brazil is framed in terms of its multicultural or intercultural identity. As Jose pointed out, it was one's social status and thus access to the economic, educational and cultural forms of capital that was often an important

factor as to whether one identified with this form of belonging. At the level of 'national myth' Brazil is often imagined as intercultural, but multiculturalism seems to be the reality in most cases. The tension and negotiation between these two modes of framing Brazilian society demands further research. What this points to is a profound tension in the contested understandings of what is good for 'us' read as the collective. Now that Bolsonaro has been elected, there are those who claim that Bolsonaro is bad for the Brazilian people and equally those who argue he will be good for those seemingly same people. The fact that these 'people' voted for him then presents a conundrum. There was a strong desire from many interviewees to frame Bolsonaro's electoral support as stemming largely from the middle, upper middle and elite classes of Brazil. This often coincides, and it always seems to be the norm in the discussions of class in Brazil, with the suggestion that Bolsonaro's support stems from white voters and Haddad's (the opposing PT candidate) from black, indigenous and mixed voters. However, both narratives are harder to maintain upon closer inspection. The middle and upper middle-class of Brazil is simply far too small demographically speaking to explain his popularity. Second, although it is true that Haddad won the North-Eastern states which traditionally have the largest Afro-Brazilian population, he lost in most of the key urban centres of the North-East (Globo 2018).

Further, Bolsonaro won in the Northern and North-Western states which have majority indigenous and *mestiço* populations (ibid.) The question arises then, why would people from the lower middle and even working class of Brazil vote in a way that, from one perspective, may seem to be against their common interest? It is a question that demands serious enquiry. Instead of dismissing these kinds of populist voting outcomes and reactions, geographers and other social scientists need to study these forms of identarian 'protest' more rigorously. Scholars such as Pastor and Veronesi (2018) have argued that the rise of nationalist populism is a reaction to an increasingly borderless and globalised world. This argument is productive for the purposes of this chapter since it allowed to explore how it impacts on these middle-class interviewees' geographical imagination in terms of their ideas about Brazilian identity as globalised and São Paulo as a liberal and cosmopolitan city. As we saw, these kinds of political crises can act as a catalyst for a desire to emigrate as suggested by Motyl et al. (2014) but it also can act as a motivation to stay out of a sense of duty to achieving the version of Brazil that one believes in. This therefore leads to contestation about

the meaning of terms such as patriotism and nationalism which speaks to Antonsich's (2016) work on how ideological differences lead to different interpretations of seemingly bi-partisan terms. There thus seems to be a misunderstanding of the reality of 'the people' as they experience social reality subjectively. Contested meanings of 'the people' both as an imagined nation (or lack of) and a lived experience of social reality demand further enquiry.

The next chapter constitutes the final conclusion and discussion of the empirical content of the previous three chapters. It provides a summary of the thesis so far by revisiting the initial research questions and demonstrating how these questions were tackled in the empirical chapters. It then moves into a discussion of the various issues which arise as a result of the empirical research. The three main contributions are: a call to expand and 'rethink' our understanding of lifestyle migration, a contribution towards a 'theory' of immobility and a critical discussion on the implications of migrants and stayers identification with the ideal of 'world citizenship'. The chapter ends with a discussion of the limitations of the thesis, proposals for further research and a summary of the key contributions of this thesis.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

1. Introduction

This thesis examined the (im)mobility of members of the Brazilian middle-class, using London as the migration destination. It used this empirical phenomenon to explore a variety of themes around individualism and collectivism, lifestyle migration, immobility and world citizenship. The groundwork for these themes was laid in Chapters Two and Three before being applied to the empirical data detailed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. This concluding chapter will thus take the following form. Section One will summarise how the empirical chapters answered the initial research questions. Section Two will then offer a discussion of the most important themes that emerged from the empirical work of this thesis. These are: a call to 're-think' our understanding of lifestyle migration, a contribution towards a 'theory of immobility' (Schewel 2019) by exploring the concept of 'loyalty' as a motivation for (im)mobility and a critical analysis of the concept of world citizenship in both its 'mobile' and 'rooted' forms. Section Three will look at the limitations of this thesis and finally will explore possibilities for further research.

2. Research questions revisited

To recap, the research questions stated in the Introduction were as follows:

- Can the motivations and experiences of some Brazilian migrants be understood using the existing framework of lifestyle migration?
- To what extent do some Brazilian migrants distance themselves from transnational cultural and social practices?
- How can the concepts of the geographical imagination and world citizenship be used to analyse ways of understanding immobility?

2.1 Can the motivations and experiences of some Brazilian migrants be understood using the existing framework of lifestyle migration?

The review asserted that individualism is the dominant ideology of the Global North. Further, individualism can be loosely tied to the concept of a 'world', global or anational identity over

a national one which is closer to a collectivist ideal. This exploration of individualism and collectivism helped to inform the next part of the literature review which focused on 'ideological' or 'lifestyle' migration as a field of study. This section also introduced a key theoretical underpinning of this thesis: the geographical imagination. The geographical imagination can help us understand not only how people imagine 'far away' countries but also their own identity and, more importantly their own identity and sense of belonging in relation to their 'home' country. The result, as argued in Chapter Six is that certain forms of migration from the Global South can be motivated by 'societal' as well as 'material' alienation. Chapter Five set out the argument for lifestyle migration from the Global South to the Global North. In doing so it helped us to understand the phenomenon of social, rhetorical and physical distancing or 'boundary work' (Bygnes, 2017) which the interviewees performed in their attempts to demarcate their situation from their perceived lower class 'others'. Against the imagined 'collective' of the Brazilian community, their status as individuals was emphasised and it was often in reference to and comparison with this collective that this status was made explicit. The emphasis on and identification with an individualist ideology helped us to see the parallels between my empirical data and the existing literature on lifestyle migrants, who Korpela has described as 'ideal subjects' to explore the current 'era of individualism' (2014, p.27). This chapter thus expanded upon what was touched on in the literature review. It argued that middle-class Brazilian migration to London is an example of 'South to North' lifestyle migration, a migration stream category that has been neglected within the lifestyle migration literature. This helped to reveal how individualism has begun to take on an imagined global dimension but one that is still stratified by social status. It therefore suggested that there should be more attention on social class over country of origin and its relation to what should be categorised as lifestyle migration.

2.2 To what extent do some Brazilian migrants distance themselves from transnational cultural and social practices?

Chapter Five and Six explored how many middle-class Brazilian migrants distance themselves from the transnational Brazilian 'community' of London. It positioned this phenomenon as a form of boundary work (Bygnes 2017). It was suggested that, in part, this distancing was reflective of racial, regional and class disparities back in Brazil which were carried over and reinterpreted at the migration destination. Further, the fact that these disparities were

reduced by the act of migration meant that there was an increase in middle-class Brazilians attempts to distinguish their situation from their perceived lower-class compatriots. This reflects Klein et al.'s (2018) observations that as the economic distance between the B and C classes has become smaller in Brazil, this has corresponded with an increase in an emphasis on social and cultural differences by members of the B class. Chapter Six further explored the idea of cultural factors acting as a 'pull', motivating people to migrate. The idea that the prevailing culture of an urban migration destination could itself be a draw for international migrants is an idea that is relatively underdeveloped (Thompson 2016) and, also one that this chapter sought to expand upon. The chapter thus established the idea that the imagined 'global' culture and/or multiculturalism that London is famous for was a draw for some Brazilian migrants. Further, using the concept of societal alienation (Dashefsky & Lazerwitz 1983), it was suggested that some migrants found themselves alienated from the cultural practices at the place of origin. These ideas then help to explain why some Brazilian migrants seem to avoid participating in transnational consumption and other cultural and social practices.

2.3 How can the concepts of the geographical imagination and world citizenship be used to analyse ways of understanding immobility?

The final empirical chapter moved to São Paulo as its research site in order to explore this research question. It took the themes of the previous two chapters, namely lifestyle and the geographical imagination, and applied them to migrants' friends and family who had remained in Brazil. In terms of theoretical underpinnings, an updated and more dynamic understanding of Hirschmann's concepts of Exit, Voice and Loyalty (1970) as a way to describe migration and non-migration decisions was used to inform the analysis of three narratives of immobility. It proposed a reconsideration but not abandonment of Hirschmann's theories regarding anational (or global) and national modes of Loyalty and Voice while, at the same time, acknowledging the social reality of 'methodological nationalism' and its utility in helping understand many people's (non)migration decisions. The narratives were explored against the background of the recent political crises and upheaval which Brazil has been experiencing for the last five years. These narratives were, 'Loyalty', 'Belonging' and, 'The rooted world citizen'. These three research questions thus lead to the

following three contributions to the literature which this thesis makes. These are an attempt to 're-think' lifestyle migration, a contribution to a theory of immobility and a critical examination of the concept of 'world citizenship. These three points are discussed in the next section.

3. Discussion

3.1 Re-thinking lifestyle migration

This thesis has aimed to contribute to the literature on lifestyle migration in two ways. First it argued that lifestyle migration as a 'category of practice' (Kunz 2016) can be applied to certain forms of movement from the Global South to the Global North. Second, in line with Griffiths and Maile (2014) who note that urban lifestyle migration is relatively underexamined, this thesis aimed to focus on this form of lifestyle migration in order to expand how we understand people's motivations to move to cities. We thus saw in Chapter Five how Brazilian middle-class migration to London fits the category of lifestyle migration. As the chapter argued, there are indeed many parallels between the group of migrants under study in this thesis and lifestyle migrants as they are characterised in the literature. A key commonality between my empirical work and the lifestyle migration literature was the use of individualism as an analytical lens through which to view the phenomenon of lifestyle migration (Korpela 2014).

This thesis aimed to go further than the literature by focusing on the fact that within the discourse of the migrants, their positioning as individualist lifestyle migrants often relies on a distancing from collectivist 'transnational' forms of migration. Indeed, the implicit use of collectivism is prevalent (but rarely if ever explicitly described as such) throughout transnationalism studies. The term 'transnationalism' relies on a collectivist concept of 'nationalism' in order to be workable. Thanks to the distinction between different scales of collectivism (Brewer & Chen 2007) it is then possible to interpret transnationalism in a new light then as an example of the effect of group collectivism on forms of mobility and migrant identity; what Glick-Schiller and Fouron (2001) described as 'long distance nationalism'. However, it is also important to examine the 'work' which middle-class Brazilians' identification with lifestyle migration (and thus distancing from transnationalism) performs

within their specific migration context. In what ways does the situation of middle-class Brazilian migrants differ from other kinds of lifestyle migrants? Chapter Five explored these differences in their situation compared to lifestyle migrants from the Global North. It showed how an individualistic longing for 'quasi-anonymity' and 'mobility' not only as freedom of movement but also, as mobility of identity was often interrupted, both positively and negatively by encounters with other inhabitants of the city. The key difference highlighted in Chapter Five then was that they would not necessarily be immediately recognised as lifestyle migrants by other inhabitants of London. This highlights the obvious difference: that of the social and economic context of the country of origin compared to emigration from countries of the Global North.

Particularly in developing countries such as Brazil, the economic, symbolic and cultural capital required to meaningfully participate in this type of lifestyle migration renders it the preserve of a very small section of the wider population. This reflects the observation in Chapter Two that the term 'middle-class' defined by the standards of the Global North represents a relatively small part of the upper echelon of Brazilian society. The ability to identify as a lifestyle migrant then appears to be heavily associated with social status but this social status may not be immediately visible to an outsider. This reflects Margolis' observation in the literature review that 'Brazilians in London— middle class and otherwise— are seen as part of an undifferentiated mass of immigrants from Latin America' (2013 ch.1). Further, as we have seen, unlike the case of British lifestyle migrants in France 'othering' their compatriots who migrate to Spain (Benson 2012b), the discourse of othering 'transnational' Brazilian migrants by more 'cosmopolitan' migrants can be implicitly racialised. Demographically speaking, there is a clear correlation between social class and race in Brazil. In fact, lifestyle researchers such as Lundström have written of the concept of 'white capital' in the context of migration (although it is worth noting that she claims that white South Americans do not necessarily benefit from this) (2017, p.84). However, it is problematic to try to claim lifestyle migration as equivocal to 'white' migration. Although the B class in Brazil are stereotyped as 'white' and the C and lower classes as 'non-white', as Caldeira (2000) points out these stereotypes are often not reflected in reality. Further, as Chapter Three noted, what constitutes 'white' in Brazil would not necessarily be recognised as such elsewhere. We should be careful not to too closely associate lifestyle migration with 'whiteness'. Otherwise

we are faced with the uneasy conclusion that any privileged, middle-class migration from other 'Global South' countries such as India or China would not be 'lifestyle' migration. Therefore, social class, I argue, is the more pertinent criterion when studying lifestyle migration in a global context.

There is one important way in which the positionality of the subjects of this thesis as lifestyle migrants in London distinguishes them from other types of lifestyle migrants as they appear in the literature. To return to Benson and Reilly's (2018) work on lifestyle migrants in Panama and Malaysia, here, the researchers emphasise that it is their interviewees' status as Western beneficiaries of a colonial past who adopt a neoliberal logic to experience their migration identity and trajectory as heavily individualised. This in turn affects how they are perceived by members of the destination countries. This both links Brazilian migration to Benson and O'Reilly's subjects and simultaneously sets it apart. Historical structural inequalities are reproduced through their migration to London, but the difference is that it is the structural inequalities of the migrants' own country of origin. This contrasts with the inequalities explored by Benson and O'Reilly between countries that colonised and those that were colonised.

3.2 Towards a 'theory' of immobility.

As Schewel (2019) has recently noted, it is as important to theorise about motivations for and understandings of immobility as it is about mobility. In response this thesis primarily focused on expanding our understanding of 'loyalty' and its place within immobility studies since again, as Schewel notes, the idea of loyalty is often 'vague' (p.13). Again, employing the framework of individualism and collectivism contributed to our exploration of 'loyalty' as an analytical concept. Loyalty was defined as staying out of a sense of duty to a social organism larger than the self. Although there is a rich literature on how loyalty to the social organism of the family can affect migration and non-migration decisions experiences and practices, the idea of loyalty to a social organism at the scale of the national is less developed within geographies of mobility and immobility. Indeed, within the study of mobility and immobility, the effect of loyalty to family (familial collectivism), described using phrasing such as 'linked lives' or 'family ties' has been well documented (Fischer & Malmberg 2001; Zorlu 2009; Razum et al. 2005; Findlay et al. 2015). However, I have argued in this thesis that there has been less attention to how loyalty to larger social organisms (group collectivism) can help us

to understand and explore immobility. This is a gap that this thesis aimed to fill. A key point here is that there is an unavoidable tension between ideological constructs such as 'choice' and 'freedom' and identification with and allegiance to forms of group collectivism that, by definition, prioritise the well-being of a social organism greater than the self. This is underscored via the framing of staying (or non-migration) conceived as a form of duty or out of loyalty. This is an aspect of immobility that has received insufficient attention by those with an interest in how immobility is rationalised and understood, particularly by those who seemingly possess the means to migrate but do not. As Malmberg drew our attention to via his 'immobility paradox' (1997), a key weakness with many explanations for people's migration decisions is that they fail to account for why those in identical socio-economic conditions in the countries of origin do not migrate. Greater attention to the ideological perspective of those under study both at the point of origin or destination can help to enrich our understanding of some aspects of these motivations to stay and or to migrate. Although it would be overly simplistic to attribute too much causal power to these ideas, especially within the limitations of a qualitative study, I argue that taking into account the ideological outlook of (non)migrants offers a more nuanced and richer exploration of loyalty and its effect on (im)mobility.

This thesis ultimately showed that ideas such as loyalty to 'country' or 'people' are deeply contested along ideological lines. Here the geographical imagination was suggested as a useful lens with which to view how imagined social organisms such as 'nation' and 'people' are conceived and the impact these have on people's sense of a duty to remain in place. Additionally, the attention on staying as a perceived duty also helped to problematise the idea of voluntary and involuntary migration behaviour. This has philosophical and ideological implications beyond the field of migration studies. Further, the contested nature of Loyalty casts Hirschmann' trinary in a new light; Loyalty's ties to Exit and Voice require closer attention. Hirschmann originally conceived of them as mutually exclusive options. However, the empirical data in the final chapter reveals that, just as transnational studies showed that Loyalty and Exit need not be incompatible so too can Loyalty and Voice be intimately linked. What this hinges on is the question, 'Loyalty to what?'. Framing Loyalty as loyalty to the nation-state (Ahmed 1997; Moses 2005) is only part of the picture. Loyalty can also be

conceived as loyalty to 'the people' and even loyalty to a concept of country removed from how the people and state are imagined.

Further, we saw from the empirical data that both sides of the political divide would in various ways claim ownership or identification with the 'people' while at the same time distancing themselves from Bolsonaro. The fact that Bolsonaro was elected by this same 'people' presents problems then and echoes Klein et al. (2018) who call for more research into the political subjectivities of Brazil's new middle-class rather than uncritically treating class categories as homogenous entities in terms of their political identifications and expressions. What this ultimately reflects then is that questions of loyalty and its relationship to immobility apply across the political spectrum and become particularly astute in times of political crisis.

3.3 World citizenship critically examined

The term 'world citizen' in many ways captures the global dimension of individualist ideology. Synonymous with 'cosmopolitan' (Turner 2002) it was a theme that ran throughout the empirical chapters of this thesis. Both movers and stayers referred to it in the context of the way they understood their (im)mobility practices. The findings of this thesis raise some important questions surrounding the meaning of 'world citizenship' and especially its relationship to certain understandings of Brazilian identity. This section will first remark on the implications of identification with world citizenship becoming de-territorialised from its traditional centres in the Global North. It will then problematise the relationship between world citizenship and social class. Finally, it will analyse the relationship between world citizenship and Brazilian identity. In the process it will return to the theme raised in chapter two of Brazil's characterisation as a *vira-lata* or *mestiço* nation.

Regarding the theme of the 'rooted' world citizen that appeared in this chapter, this spoke to Chapter Five's interest in how the concept of lifestyle is often imagined in universalised and globalised terms by middle-class migrants in London. However, in a reversal of the phenomenon of a 'de-territorialisation' of national belonging and national ties, so too can a cosmopolitan identity as a world citizen be de-territorialised from the traditional 'world cities' of the Global North. Through the empirical research presented, this thesis argued for an understanding of deterritorialization that affects both 'sending' and 'receiving' countries.

In the same way that transnational migrants' home-making practices are de-territorialised from their countries of origin, so too can an affinity with 'world citizenship' or global culture be de-territorialised from 'the West' or the Global North. For those who imagine São Paulo as a world city already, the desire to experience the kind of global cosmopolitanism articulated by those interviewees in London, is already satisfied by their experiences and imaginings of São Paulo. Although the spread of 'global culture' into the Global South has been well documented, this is often framed in a negative light. Referring back to Žižek's characterisation of 'miserable copies of Western prosperity' (2016), manifestations of global culture are often portrayed as an inferior and unsatisfying facsimile of the 'authentic' original. The empirical research revealed that, for those who can afford it, manifestations of global culture in São Paulo are not necessarily viewed as inferior but stand in their own right. Further, this shows that Coulter et al.'s (2015) observation that immobility on a national scale has been influenced to some degree by 'transport and communications technologies' can be applied to immobility on an international scale too.

Another, perhaps more concerning issue which this phenomenon raises is the issue of class divisions. To return to Cresswell's (2012) distinction between 'stillness' and 'stuckness', rather than only relate these concepts to sedentarism or rootedness, they can also be thought of in terms of, 'how stillness is thoroughly incorporated into the practices of moving.' (p.648). We can reverse this to also claim that mobility, be it spatial, economic, cultural or educational, is thoroughly incorporated into practices of stillness. Those able to experience an identity as a world citizen' in São Paulo are able to do so because of the freedom of mobility they enjoy in terms of their ability to travel unimpeded around the city, travel abroad on holiday or access digital and material global cultural artefacts via economic capital or language ability and other forms of educational capital. This also reflects Coulter et al.'s (2015) observation that voluntary immobility is often stratified by various inequalities. Therefore, the identification with 'world citizenship' be it rooted or unrooted is almost always the preserve of those who possess the material, symbolic and educational capital necessary to access and engage with it. This idea of a class divide that has a seemingly global element is one that should be taken seriously since it risks overshadowing any progress attempted in narrowing economic distance between nations. Therefore, 'world citizenship' as a lifestyle and identity practice appears to be heavily associated with social status and affluence.

Particularly in developing countries such as Brazil, the economic, symbolic and cultural capital required to meaningfully participate in this lifestyle renders it the preserve of a very small section of the wider population. In terms of its applicability to a wider cultural geography, one of the key threads which I have aimed to highlight in this thesis is that the ideological divide between those who see themselves as 'world citizens' and those who do not is a divide that can be framed as one that cuts across cultures rather than between cultures. To return to Kaldor (1996) , she writes of the divide between 'cosmopolitanism' and 'nationalism' in that, 'all nationalisms are based on a 'we them' distinction in which the 'them' are enemies who generally pose potential military threats and have to be excluded from the claimed territory' (p.48). In contrast, cosmopolitanism positions itself as universalist, rejecting the idea of an other. But the individualist ideology that underpins the idea of a world citizen is thus based on a kind of false universalism. In its rejection of the idea of the other defined by national boundaries, it makes an other out of those within those boundaries who do not accept the rejection of national boundaries. For those who identify with supra-national imaginaries such as 'world citizenship' 'us' and 'them' is no longer framed in terms of the other from without but the other from within. It seems the concept or 'need' for an other is thus inescapable.

Finally, this section looks at the relationship between world citizenship and Brazilian identity. A discussion of this is important in so far as it helps to explain some of the findings of the empirical chapters. The concept of world citizenship also has special relevance to countries like Brazil with its rich history of cultural and racial heterogeneity. Thinkers such as Andrade (1999) framed this as a kind of cultural anthropophagy meaning the ability to absorb and reinterpret outside cultural influences into something new and unique, and universal. As the literature review explored, Brazil's imagined status as an intercultural melting pot is highly contested (Nascimento 2012) but it has stubbornly persisted at the level of folk and state myth since its foundation. The idea of Brazil as 'the synthesis of the world' as one interviewee put it remains a popular one in the minds of many Brazilians. Further, the idea of Brazil as intercultural rather than multicultural has been variously championed and pathologized.

As we saw in Chapter Two, the idea of Brazilian identity as a *vira-lata* complex is intimately linked to interculturalism. The pathological aspect of Brazilian identity as *vira-lata*

was prevalent in the discourse of many of the interviewees, both in London and in São Paulo. Assertions such as 'Brazil doesn't have much culture' or 'I never really felt Brazilian' can be read through the lens of *vira-lata* read as complex. Indeed, a key weakness with the framing of Brazil within an intercultural *vira-lata* -like synthesis is that for those who do not fit the ideal of Brazil as a country of *mestiçagem* (mixing), there is little room for their identity in the popular social and cultural constructions that interculturalism engenders. As many scholars have pointed out this has led to a rejection of a syncretic 'Brazilian' identity and an assertion of a more multiculturally inclined one signified by self-identification with terms, for example, such as 'indigenous', 'black' or 'European' (de Almeida Pereira & White 2001; Nascimento 2012; Schommer 2012). We saw evidence of this rejection of Brazilian identity and an alignment with an imagined European identity then, in some of the interviewees' responses in Chapters Five and Six. The distancing from 'other' Brazilian migrants can also be understood via reference to *vira-lata* as 'complex'. The others are the 'real' Brazilians who participate in the transnational cultural and leisure economies. And yet the traditional reading of the *vira-lata* complex as an inferiority complex in the face of an 'original' culture has its limits. As the empirical data of this thesis demonstrated, if the interviewees viewed their migration experience in terms of assimilation it was often an assimilation into a cosmopolitan multiculturalism rather than into an 'authentic' imagined British culture. Further, this Brazilian ambivalence towards national identity can also take on a positive light in itself. The responses from those who had moved to London revealed how fluidity of identity meant that they were able to 'live anywhere' as one interviewee put it. When faced with living in a centre of cosmopolitanism such as London, a weak tie to a nationally based form of identity can be framed as an advantage.

For those who remain in Brazil we saw that the 'myth' of an intercultural '*vira-lata*' Brazil could also be read positively. First, it creates a sense of belonging. The reason why the Brazilian state has historically been so keen to promote the idea of Brazil as intercultural was to create a sense of group collectivism fearing that the alternative was a balkanisation of Brazil and a fracturing of racial and regional relations. The fact that many Brazilians still believe in this myth regardless of how true it is, demonstrates its ability to unite geographically distant and ethnically and culturally diverse peoples together under a common flag. Further, the idea of 'world citizenship' places Brazil in a unique position in this

global imaginary. As Vieira predicted back in the 16th Century, the myth of Brazil as an intercultural *vira-lata* nation, allows for an imaginary as a kind of 'post-national' country that has superseded ethnically based forms of nationalism which would be impossible in Brazil in its current form.

4. Limitations and further research

In terms of the limitations of the research, this thesis was not intended as a direct comparison between different "classes" of Brazilian migrants in London. Although I did interview a minority of participants in both London and São Paulo who hailed from the 'C' class, I did not aim to try to juxtaposition their responses against those of their more affluent peers in a binary comparative approach. The primary reason for this decision reflects a point made in the methodology chapter that was initially raised by Vertovec (2004) in his commentary on transnational studies. He notes that researchers often find what they are looking for in researching transnationalism often at the cost of ignoring cases which do not fit the research interest. He thus asks 'What about the cases in which transnationalism does not develop?' (p.3). This question formed the basis for my decision to focus predominantly on those migrants whose relationship with transnational identity and practices are less pronounced if they exist at all. However, in terms of limitations what this means is that this thesis does not do the job of comparing the different classes of Brazilian migrants side by side. However, a future research agenda that aims to do this may prove useful in uncovering how terms such as "economic" and "lifestyle" migrant are negotiated amongst a broader spectrum of social classes. Another important limitation is that the interviewees in London were all interviewed after they had migrated. This may have led to post hoc rationalisations for their motivations to do so. The issue was partly the basis for the fieldwork I conducted in Brazil where I focussed on those who consciously intended to remain in Brazil rather than those who expressed a desire to leave. Again, a future research agenda could build upon this gap by comparing the responses and outlook of those who desired to leave but have not yet done so with those who already left.

Regarding further research directly relating to the conceptual contributions of this thesis there are several possible avenues to consider. First, this thesis has demonstrated a

need to widen our understanding of lifestyle migration. Future research could thus look at other privileged migration streams from the Global South using the lens of lifestyle migration in order to explore similarities and differences and thus the conceptual limits of lifestyle migration as a 'category of practice' (Kunz 2016). Regarding theories of immobility, more research needs to be done on the concept of 'loyalty' as a motivator of immobility. Answering questions around the different scales and modes which loyalty can be imagined would provide important contributions to our understanding of 'loyalty' and its role in theorising immobility. Further, using different populations and socio-political contexts outside of Brazil would also be productive. This leads to a wider call for geographers and social scientists to explore how focusing on ideological positioning such as individualism and collectivism can lead to new ways of understanding mobility and immobility decision making, experiences and practices.

Finally, the most significant limitation of this thesis by omission is that of crime as a factor in terms of its effect on motivations to migrate, experiences of migration and of citizenship, both at the destination and place of origin. A key theme that has guided the structure of this thesis has been the intersection of mobility with the ideal of freedom. In Chapter Three we saw how the search for freedom was often identified as a major 'selling point' of the lifestyle available in London. Regarding the issue of freedom as a motivation to migrate, a theme which was not explicitly addressed in this thesis then was that of crime, safety and insecurity. More specifically, how fear of crime and how feelings of security and insecurity were articulated by interviewees when comparing their experiences of living in London and Brazil. This was particularly the case for those who hailed from large metropolitan areas of Brazil such as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

Fear of crime should not be disregarded as a motivator to emigrate and the issue of crime, its symbolic importance and the reality of it in both London and Brazil, versus how it is framed in the geographical imagination is a rich and discursive topic. For this reason, I felt that I could not do the subject justice within the confines of this thesis. Although it is tangentially related to many of the themes explored here, the topic is large enough, that that an entire PhD could be written on crime in Brazil and London as imagined and experienced by migrants. Crime as a motivation to emigrate is complicated by the choice of London as a migration destination. Statistically speaking, São Paulo is less safe than London. Therefore,

when the interviewees imagine London as a safer space than São Paulo, they have just cause to do so in many respects. However, this picture is not as simple as it may appear. First, most crime, especially violent crime, in São Paulo does not affect the upper middle and middle-class. They live in highly securitised areas with private guards, high fences around their apartment buildings and CCTV. Further, if they do move to London, they will often be only able to afford to live in more deprived parts of the city where there is a higher risk of crime and a lower feeling of public safety. Despite this, many reported feeling 'safer' in London. This appears to be regardless of whether they have personally experienced crime in London or have not experienced it in São Paulo. This phenomenon then draws attention to the issue of scale and place when talking about the safety of cities. It also invites the use of the concept of the geographical imagination to analyse how perceptions of cities are created compared to the everyday reality of living in specific areas of those cities.

Migrants are in a unique position in terms of their perceptions of crime since their lived experience in two locations allows for more nuanced comparative approaches towards crime and safety in different cities than 'objective' statistical research may allow for. Further, although there is a sizeable literature on migrants and crime in terms of migrants framed as contributors to crime, when they are framed as victims it is usually in terms of victimhood *vis-à-vis* their status as migrants (victims of xenophobic crime for example). What is needed is more research on their comparative experiences of crime as simply citizens of two cities (or other locations). This could thus help answer questions around the role crime and safety can play in (im)mobility decision making and experiences.

5. Contribution to the literature

This thesis has made a significant contribution to the relevant literature in four ways. First, it has showed that some international migration to the Global North from the Global South should be considered 'lifestyle migration' rather than be categorised as 'economic' or 'forced' migration. Second, it has demonstrated that such lifestyle migrants may largely shun the transnational networks that scholarship has regarded as being central to the 'migrant experience'. Third, rather than treating London and São Paulo as two generic 'urban' destinations, it has highlighted the distinctive characteristics of migration to London and

suggested that São Paulo also has unique features within the context of cosmopolitanism in the Global South. Fourth, it was original in engaging with 'non-migrants' in Brazil, exploring motivations for and experiences of immobility. This is especially significant since understanding immobility on an international scale is under-researched within migration studies (Schewel 2019).

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University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

School of Geography and Sustainable Development

1st March 2017

Daniel Robins

Geography and Geosciences

Ethics Reference No: *Please quote this ref on all correspondence*	**GG12620**
Project Title:	Ideological migration: exploring the experience of Brazilian migration to London
Researchers Name(s):	Daniel Robins
Supervisor(s):	Dr Nissa Finney & Professor Nina Laurie

Thank you for submitting your application which was considered by the Geography and Geosciences School Ethics Committee on the date specified below. The following documents were reviewed:

Ethical Application Form	16th January 2017
Participant Information Sheet	16th January 2017
Consent Form	16th January 2017

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years. Projects, which have not commenced within two years of original approval, must be re-submitted to your School Ethics Committee.

You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed. If you are unable to complete your research within the 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Matt Southern

Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

UTREC School of Geography and Geosciences Convenor, Irvine Building, North Street, St Andrews, KY16 9AL

Approval Code: GG12620

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS
TEACHING AND RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (UTREC)

ETHICAL APPLICATION FORM

Please Tick: (*click on the box then click 'Checked' for a cross to appear in the box)*

Undergraduate ☐ Postgraduate Research ☒ Postgraduate Taught ☐ Staff ☐

Lecturer/Course Controller on behalf of Taught module ☐ Module Code: ☐

Researchers Name(s):	Daniel Robins		
Project Title:	Ideological migration: exploring the experience of Brazilian migration to London		
School/Unit: (Please indicate)	School of Geography & Sustainable Development	Supervisor:	Nissa Finney, Nina Laurie
Emails	Nissa Finney - nf42@st-andrews.ac.uk	Date Submitted	16/01/17

Rationale: Please detail the project in 'lay language' addressing the reason for conduction the research; including details of participants and location. *DO NOT exceed 75 Words (for database reasons).* *This summary will be reviewed by UTREC and may be published as part of its reporting procedures.*

I am studying how migrants' cultural and ideological values affect and are affected by their migration decision making and experience. As part of my research I wish to interview and engage in participant observation with Brazilian immigrants living in London. Next year I will also travel to Brazil and interview and engage in participant observation with return migrants as well as those who have never migrated and do not wish to

Ethical Considerations: Please detail the Ethical issues with full seriousness addressing all issues raised by the research and explain now these issues will be addressed. *DO NOT exceed 75 words (for database reasons).* *This summary will be reviewed by UTREC and may be published as part of its reporting procedures.*

In London and Brazil, participant anonymity will be paramount. All names and identifying criteria will be changed and recorded interview data, field notes and contact information stored on a password protected computer. All participants will be informed that their data will be stored indefinitely and will consent to interviews and participant observation. I am also aware of my own positionality as a researcher, understanding the importance of boundaries, ensuring that my

APPLICATIONS MUST BE SUBMITTED TO THE RELEVANT SCHOOL ETHICS COMMITTEE
https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/SEC/SECMembers/ **PLEASE DO NOT SUBMIT DIRECTLY TO UTREC.**

- Please submit an electronic copy and one hard copy (with signatures) to the Secretary/Administrator. In the absence of a Secretary please submit to the SEC Convener.
- Applicants must be accompanied by the relevant supporting documents without which a full ethical assessment cannot be made.
- Please do not type out with the text boxes provided, note that the Text Boxes are fixed in size and will not allow any viewing beyond the word limit permitted.

If ethical approval has been obtained from the University of St Andrews for research so similar to this project that a new review process may not be required, please give details of the application and the date of its approval.

Approval Code:

If ethical approval has been obtained from the University of St Andrews for research so similar to this project that a new review process may not be required, please give details of the application and the date of its approval.
Date Approved:
Project Title:
Researchers Name(s):

RESEARCH INFORMATION

1. Estimated Start Date: 02/2017

2. Estimated Duration of Project: 12 months

3. Is this research funded by any external sponsor or agency? YES ☐ NO ☒

If YES please give details:

For projects funded by ESRC please be aware of the Ethical and Legal Considerations found at http://www.esds.ac.uk/aandp/create/ethical.asp

4. Does this research entail collaboration with researchers from other institutions and/or across other University Schools/Units? YES ☐ NO ☒

If YES state names and institutions of collaborators:

5. If the research is collaborative has a framework been devised to ensure that all collaborators, including all University Staff, External Researchers, N/A ☒ YES ☐ NO ☐

6. Where projects raise ethical considerations to do with roles in research, intellectual property, publication strategies/authorship, responsibilities to funders, research with policy or other implications etc. have you taken N/A ☒ YES ☐ NO ☐

7. Location of Research Fieldwork to be conducted: London, UK and Brazil

8. Are you using only library, internet sources or unpublished data *(with appropriate licenses and permissions)* and so have no human involvement such as interviewing of people? YES ☐ NO ☒

9. a. Who are the intended Participants (e.g. students aged 18-21) and how

Brazilian immigrants living in London aged 18+

Brazilian citizens living in Brazil aged 18+

RESEARCH INFORMATION	
b. Estimated duration of Participant Involvement.	For semi-structured interviewees – 1 hour For participant observation participants – 1 – 12 months

If you have answered YES to Q8 but the project has other Ethical Considerations please go to Q.28. If there are no other Ethical Considerations please sign and submit.

ETHICAL CHECKLIST

10. Have you obtained permission to access the site of research? N/A ☒ YES ☐ NO ☐

If YES please state agency/authority etc. & provide documentation.

If NO please indicate why in Q.28

11. Will inducement i.e. other than expenses, be offered to participants? YES ☐ NO ☒

12. Has ethical approval been sought and obtained from any external body N/A ☒ YES ☐ NO ☐

e.g., REC(NHS)/LEA and or including other UK Universities? If YES,

13. Will you tell participants that their participation is voluntary? YES ☒ NO ☐

14. Will you describe the main project/experimental procedures to participants in advance so that they can make an informed decision YES ☒ NO ☐

15. Will you tell participants that they may withdraw from the research at YES ☒ NO ☐

16. Please answer either a. or b.

b. *(ONLY: Social Anthropology, Geography/Geoscience,*

Will you obtain written consent from participants, in those cases where it is appropriate? YES ☒ NO ☐

17. Please answer either a. or b.

a. If the research is photographed or videoed or taped or N/A ☐ YES ☒ NO ☐

b. *(Social Anthropology & Biology ONLY)* N/A ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐

Will participants be free to reject the use of intrusive research

18. Please answer either a. or b.

a. Will you tell participants that their data will be treated with full

YES ☒ NO ☐

confidentiality and that if published, it will not be identifiable as

19. Will participants be clearly informed of how the data will be stored YES ☒ NO ☐

YES ☐ NO ☒

20. Will you give participants a brief explanation in writing of the study?

N/A ☐ YES ☒ NO ☐

21. With questionnaires and/or interviews, will you give participants the

If you have answered NO to any question 12- 21, please give a brief explanation in the statement of Ethical Considerations on Page 1 and expand in Q28 if necessary.
If you have answered YES, it must be clearly illustrated in the relevant paperwork which must be attached i.e.

WORKING WITH CHILDREN AND OR VULNERABLE PEOPLE

22. a. Children (under the age of 16 in Scotland or 18 in England/Wales) YES ☐ NO ☒

b. Vulnerable Adult, receiving care or welfare services YES ☐ NO ☒

c. People with learning or communicative difficulties YES ☐ NO ☒

d. Residents/Carers in a specific location, e.g. Care Home YES ☐ NO ☒

NOTE TO SCHOOL ETHICS COMMITTEE. If the researcher has answered YES to Q22 this application, with all supporting documentation, **must** be forwarded to UTREC for review and approval. Exempt: Geography and Geoscience, Medicine and Psychology

NOTES TO RESEARCHER. If you answer YES to Q.22 a.–d., you may be required to obtain Protection of

e. NHS Patients or Staff

YES ☐ NO ☒

f. Institutionalised persons YES ☐ NO ☒

If you answer YES to Q 22.,e. or f., it is likely you will be required to obtain approval from the NHS. This **must** be sought prior to approval from the relevant SEC or UTREC.

g. People in custody YES ☐ NO ☒

h. People engaged in illegal activities, e.g., drug-taking YES ☐ NO ☒

If YES to Q22. g. or h., you should ensure that the relevant Risk Assessment Checklist has been completed.

If you have answered NO to Q22 a–d please skip Q23 and proceed to Q24.

23. Have you lived/worked outside the UK in the last 12 months? YES ☐ NO ☒

If you have **lived outside the United Kingdom (UK) for a period of more than 6 months and answered YES to the Q22** you will be required to provide a police check from that country to cover that period. Further information and helpful links are available on our 'Working with Children and or Vulnerable People' webpage https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/ethicalapplication/children/

ETHICAL RISK

This section is for ethical use only and does not replace the requirement to submit a Fieldwork Risk Assessment Form to

24. Are any of the participants in a dependant relationship with the — YES ☐ NO ☒

25. Will your project involve deliberately misleading participants in any way?

If YES, give details in Q.28 and state why it is necessary and explain how — YES ☐ NO ☒

26. Is there any significant risk to any paid or unpaid participant(s), field assistant(s), helper(s) or student(s), involved in the project, experiencing either physical or psychological distress or discomfort? — YES ☐ NO ☒

27. Do you think the processes, including any results, of your research have the potential to cause any damage, harm or other problems for people in your study area? If YES, please explain in Q.28 and

YES ☐ NO ☒

There is an obligation on the Lead Researcher & Supervisor to bring to the attention of the School Ethics Committee (SEC) any issues with ethical implications not clearly covered by the above

ETHICAL STATEMENT

28. Write a clear but concise statement of the ethical considerations raised by the project and how you intend

The aim of my research is to uncover how people's ideological values affect their motivations to migrate and return and their choice of migration destination. In addition, I will investigate how ideological values affect their experience of migration at the destination and, in turn, how their experiences at the migration destination affect their ideological values. Interviews will be used to uncover the reasons why participants decided to migrate, stay or return and, in the case of Brazilian participants in Brazil, why they may not want to ever emigrate. Examples of interview questions for London are: 'Why did you choose to move to London, how is your life different in London to Brazil? What do you like about living in London?' Brazil examples are: 'What do you enjoy about life in Brazil? Why are you not interested in emigrating to other countries?'. Participant observation will be necessary to uncover migrants' discourse amongst themselves in relation to how they perceive and interact with London and other Brazilian migrants in the London fieldwork, and how they interact with their peers and home location in the case of the fieldwork in Brazil. Participant observation allows data to be collected in a more relaxed and natural setting where participants do not feel under pressure to provide the 'correct' answer that may be the case in a more formal, recorded interview. In London and Brazil the anonymity of participants will be protected. Pseudonyms will be used in all writing and no other identifying information will appear in the writing. In addition, identifying information will not be kept in the same place as the raw data. Data will be kept indefinitely with the consent of participants. All participants will be adults of sound body and mind. All participants will be over 18. Participants will be recruited openly and ethically. There will be no coercion or deception used in obtaining their consent to be interviewed and/or have the interviewer engage in participant observation with them. Interviews will be recorded and will last between 30 mins and 1 hour. Participant observation will take the form of attending respondent's social events with them, for example going to a bar with their social circle or attending a church meeting. Participant observation work is unlikely to be recorded. All fieldwork will take place in London or Brazil. Participants in London and Brazil for interviews and participant observation will be recruited via existing social networks via 'word of mouth'.

In addition, social media networks such as Facebook groups will be used to find potential participants who will be contacted asking for their help. The work will largely be ethnographic, involving 'hanging out'. The researcher has knowledge of London's Brazilian community and has an existing social network in Brazil, has lived in Brazil and speaks Portuguese. In regard to ensuring that the relationship with participants remains professional, the researcher will wear a wedding band (he is not married but is currently engaged) while doing participant observation to ensure there can be no misunderstandings. Regarding personal safety, the researcher will not be conducting research in potentially dangerous locations within Brazilian cities or within London or with people who could pose a risk to his personal safety. The participant observation and debriefing sheets will be provided in Portuguese as well as English. Some participants may wish to give their consent anonymously or verbally.

DOCUMENTATION CHECKLIST

Ethical Application Form	YES	☒	NO	☐
Participant Information Sheet	YES	☒	NO	☐
Consent Form	YES	☒	NO	☐
Debriefing Form	YES	☐	NO	☒
External Permissions	YES	☐	NO	☒
Letters to Parents / Children / Head Teachers etc…..	YES	☐	NO	☒
PVG Approval (Scotland) or Police Check (England/Other)	YES	☐	NO	☒
Advertisement	YES	☐	NO	☒

Other (please list):

DECLARATION

I am familiar with the UTREC Guidelines for Ethical Research http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/guidelines/ and *BPS, *ESRC, *MRC and *ASA (*please delete the guidelines not appropriate to your discipline) Guidelines for Research practices,

STUDENTS ONLY My Supervisor has seen and agreed all relevant paperwork linked to this project YES ☒ NO ☐

Print Name:	Daniel Robins
Signature	Daniel Robins
Date:	24/02/17

SUPERVISOR(S)

The Supervisor must ensure they have read both the application and the guidelines, and also has approved the project and application, before signing below, with clear regard for the balance between risk and the value of the research to the School/Student. (Supervisors should provide this on a separate sheet or supply to the student to insert below) Please, if

Print Name:	Nissa Finney
Signature	Nissa Finney
Date:	24/02

STAFF RESEARCHER ONLY YES ☐ NO ☐

Print Name:	
Signature	
Date:	

STATEMENT OF ETHICAL APPROVAL

This project has been considered using agreed University Procedures and has been:

☐ Approved

☐ Not Approved pending:

☐ More Clarification Required

☐ New Submission Recommended

☐ Discussed with Supervisor

Please use the space below and additional pages to attach any supporting documents i.e. Participant Information Sheets, Consent Forms, Debriefing Forms, Questionnaires, Letter to Parents etc.

Consent Form

Project Title

Brazilian Migration to London

Researcher(s) Name(s)	Supervisors Names
Daniel Robins	Nissa Finney, Nina Laurie

The University of St Andrews attaches high priority to the ethical conduct of research. We therefore ask you to consider the following points before signing this form. Your signature confirms that you are happy to participate in the study.

What is Anonymous Data?

The term 'Anonymous Data' refers to data collected by a researcher that has no identifier markers so that even the researcher cannot identify any participant. Consent is still required by the researcher, however no link between the participant's signed consent and the data collected can be made.

Consent

The purpose of this form is to ensure that you are willing to take part in this study and to let you understand what it entails. Signing this form does not commit you to anything you do not wish to do.

Material gathered during this research will be anonymous, so it is impossible to trace back to you. It will be securely stored on a password protected laptop and on a password protected folder in 'the cloud'. Your

data may be used for future scholarly purposes without further contact or permission if you have given permission on the Consent Form.

Please answer each statement concerning the collection and use of the research data.

I have read and understood the information sheet.	☐ Yes	☐ N
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	☐ Yes	☐ N
I have had my questions answered satisfactorily.	☐ Yes	☐ N
I understand that I can withdraw from the study without having to give an explanation.	☐ Yes	☐ N
I understand that my data once processed will be anonymous and that only the researcher(s) (and supervisors) will have access to the raw data which will be kept confidentially.	☐ Yes	☐ N
I understand that my data will be stored indefinitely	☐ Yes	☐ N
I have been made fully aware of the potential risks associated with this research and am satisfied with the information provided.	☐ Yes	☐ N
I agree to take part in the study	☐ Yes	☐ N
I agree to allow the researcher to conduct participant observation with me (optional)	☐ Yes	☐ N

Part of my research involves making audio recordings. These audio recordings will be kept secure and stored with no identifying factors i.e. consent forms and questionnaires.

Recorded data can be valuable resources for future studies therefore we ask for your additional consent to maintain data and images for this purpose.

I agree to audio being recorded	☐ Yes	☐ No
I agree for my audio recorded material to be published as part of this research	☐ Yes	☐ No
I agree for my audio recorded material to be used in future studies	☐ Yes	☐ No

Participation in this research is completely voluntary and your consent is required before you can participate in this research. If you wish you can consent anonymously using an 'X' mark or verbally. If you decide at a later date that data should be destroyed we will honour your request in writing.

Name in Block Capitals

Signature

Date

Participant Information Sheet

FOR LONDON PARTICIPANTS

Project Title

Brazilian migration to London

What is the study about?

We invite you to participate in a research project about Brazilian migration to London. We are interested in the reasons why people choose to move to London, why they choose to stay, why they may choose to return to Brazil.

This study is being conducted as part of Daniel Robins' PhD Thesis in the School of Geography at University of St Andrews.

Do I have to take Part?

This information sheet has been written to help you decide if you would like to take part. It is up to you and you alone whether to take part. If you do decide to participate you will be free to withdraw at any time without providing a reason.

What would I be required to do?

You will be interviewed about your experiences moving to London, the reasons why you decided to move and what you have experienced while living here. The interviews will take approximately 30 mins to 1 hour. In addition the researcher may want to conduct participant observation with you. For example, attending social events with you that you have been invited to. Interviews can take place at a time and place that is most convenient for you as is the case with participant observation. Interviews will be recorded unless you request that it will not be. You will not be paid for the interview.

This research is important since it will help researchers understand the motivations that people have for migrating and the effect this has on their lives.

Will my participation be Anonymous and Confidential?

Only the researcher and supervisors will have access to the data which will be kept strictly confidential. Your permission may be sought in the Participant Consent form for the data you provide, which will be anonymised, to be used for future scholarly purposes.

Storage and Destruction of Data Collected

The data we collect will be accessible by the researcher and supervisors involved in this study only, unless explicit consent for wider access is given by means of the consent form. Your

data may be used for future scholarly purposes without further contact or permission if you have given permission on the Consent Form.

The data will be stored indefinitely in an anonymised format on a password protected computer.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results will be finalised by 2018 and written up as part of my PhD Thesis.

Are there any potential risks to taking part?

None

Questions

You will have the opportunity to ask any questions in relation to this project before giving completing a Consent Form.

Consent and Approval

This research proposal has been scrutinised and been granted Ethical Approval through the University ethical approval process.

What should I do if I have concerns about this study?

A full outline of the procedures governed by the University Teaching and Research Ethical Committee is available at http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/guidelinespolicies/complaints/

Contact Details

Researcher: *Daniel Robins*

Contact Details:

Supervisor: *Nissa Finney* *Nina Laurie*

Contact Details:

Participant Consent Form

Anonymous Data

Project Title

Brazilian Migration to London

Researcher(s) Name(s)

Daniel Robins

Supervisors Names

Nissa Finney, Nina Laurie

The University of St Andrews attaches high priority to the ethical conduct of research. We therefore ask you to consider the following points before signing this form. Your signature confirms that you are happy to participate in the study.

What is Anonymous Data?

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Consent

The purpose of this form is to ensure that you are willing to take part in this study and to let you understand what it entails. Signing this form does not commit you to anything you do not wish to do.

Material gathered during this research will be anonymous, so it is impossible to trace back to you. It will be securely stored on a password protected laptop and on a password protected folder in 'the cloud'. Your data may be used for future scholarly purposes without further contact or permission if you have given permission on the Consent Form.

Please answer each statement concerning the collection and use of the research data.

I have read and understood the information sheet.	☐ Yes	☐ N
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	☐ Yes	☐ N
I have had my questions answered satisfactorily.	☐ Yes	☐ N
I understand that I can withdraw from the study without having to give an explanation.	☐ Yes	☐ N
I understand that my data once processed will be anonymous and that only the researcher(s) (and supervisors) will have access to the raw data which will be kept confidentially.	☐ Yes	☐ N
I understand that my data will be stored for a period of 3 years before being destroyed	☐ Yes	☐ N
I have been made fully aware of the potential risks associated with this research and am satisfied with the information provided.	☐ Yes	☐ N
I agree to take part in the study	☐ Yes	☐ N

Participation in this research is completely voluntary and your consent is required before you can participate in this research.

Name in Block Capitals

Signature

Date

University of St Andrews

Documento de informação para os participantes

PARA PARTICIPANTES NO BRASIL

Título do projeto

Migração brasileira

Qual é o estudo sobre?

Convidamos você a participar de um projeto de pesquisa sobre migração brasileira. Estamos interessados nas razões pelas quais algumas pessoas optam por deixar o Brasil e por que outras pessoas não querem deixar o Brasil.

Este estudo está sendo realizado como parte de Daniel Robins 'tese de doutoramento na Faculdade de Geografia da Universidade de St Andrews.

Eu tenho que participar?

Esta folha informativa foi escrita para ajudá-lo a decidir se você gostaria de participar. Cabe a você e a você sozinho participar ou não. Se você decidir participar, você será livre para se retirar a qualquer momento sem fornecer uma razão.

O que eu seria obrigado a fazer?

Você será entrevistado sobre suas experiências vivendo no Brasil, o que você gosta sobre a vida no Brasil e o que você não gosta. Você também será questionado sobre se você está

interessado em migrando para viver em outros países. As entrevistas levarão aproximadamente 30 minutos a 1 hora. Além disso, o pesquisador pode querer realizar observação participante com você. Por exemplo, participar de eventos sociais com você que você foi convidado. As entrevistas podem ocorrer em um momento e lugar que seja mais conveniente para você, como é o caso da observação participante. As entrevistas serão gravadas a menos que você solicite que não será. Você não será pago para a entrevista.

Esta pesquisa é importante, uma vez que vai ajudar os pesquisadores a compreender as motivações que as pessoas têm para a migração e o efeito que isso tem sobre suas vidas.

Minha participação será anônima e confidencial?

Somente o pesquisador e os supervisores terão acesso aos dados que serão mantidos estritamente confidenciais. Sua permissão pode ser buscada no formulário de consentimento do participante para os dados fornecidos, que serão anonimizado, para serem usados para futuros propósitos acadêmicos.

Armazenamento e Destruição de Dados Coletados

Os dados que coletamos serão acessíveis apenas pelo pesquisador e supervisores envolvidos neste estudo, a menos que o consentimento explícito para um acesso mais amplo seja dado por meio do formulário de consentimento. Seus dados podem ser usados para propósitos acadêmicos futuros sem mais contato ou permissão se você tiver dado permissão no Formulário de Consentimento.

Os dados serão armazenados indefinidamente em um formato anonimizado em um computador protegido por senha.

O que acontecerá com os resultados do estudo de pesquisa?

Os resultados serão finalizados até 2018 e redigidos como parte de minha tese de doutorado.

Existe algum risco potencial para participar?

Nenhum

Questões

Você terá a oportunidade de fazer qualquer pergunta relacionada a este projeto antes de preencher um Formulário de Consentimento.

Consentimento e aprovação

Esta proposta de pesquisa foi examinada e obtida a aprovação ética através do processo de aprovação ética da Universidade.

O que devo fazer se tiver preocupações com este estudo?

A descrição detalhada dos procedimentos regidos pelo Comitê de Ética da Universidade de Ensino e Pesquisa está disponível em

http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/guidelinespolicies/complaints/

Detalhes dos contatos

Pesquisador: Daniel Robins

Detalhes de Contato:

Supervisor: Nissa Finney Nina Laurie

Detalhes de Contato:

University of St Andrews

Formulário de consentimento do participante. Dados anônimos

Título do projeto

Migração brasileira para Londres

Nomes de Supervisores

Nissa Finney, Nina Laurie

Pesquisador (s) Nome (s)

Daniel Robins

A Universidade de St. Andrews atribui alta prioridade à conduta ética da pesquisa. Portanto, solicitamos que você considere os seguintes pontos antes de assinar este formulário. Sua assinatura confirma que você está feliz em participar do estudo.

O que são dados anônimos?

O termo "dados anônimos" refere-se a dados coletados por um pesquisador que não tem marcadores de identificação de modo que mesmo o pesquisador não pode identificar qualquer participante. O consentimento ainda é exigido pelo pesquisador, no entanto, não pode ser feita nenhuma ligação entre o consentimento assinado do participante e os dados coletados.

Consentimento

O objetivo deste formulário é garantir que você esteja disposto a participar neste estudo e permitir que você entenda o que isso implica. Assinar este formulário não o obriga a fazer nada que não queira fazer. O material recolhido durante esta pesquisa será anônimo, por isso é impossível rastrear de volta para você. Ele será armazenado de forma segura em um laptop protegido por senha e em uma pasta protegida por senha na

'nuvem'. Seus dados podem ser usados para propósitos acadêmicos futuros sem mais contato ou permissão se você tiver dado permissão no Formulário de Consentimento.

Responda a cada declaração relativa à recolha e utilização dos dados da investigação.

Eu li e entendi a folha de informações.	☐ Sim	☐ Não
Foi-me dada a oportunidade de fazer perguntas sobre o estudo.	☐ Sim	☐ Não
Eu tive minhas perguntas respondidas satisfatoriamente.	☐ Sim	☐ Não
Eu entendo que posso me retirar do estudo sem ter que dar uma explicação.	☐ Sim	☐ Não
Eu entendo que meus dados, uma vez processados, serão anônimos e que somente os pesquisadores (e supervisores) terão acesso aos dados brutos que serão mantidos confidencialmente.	☐ Sim	☐ Não
Eu entendo que meus dados serão armazenados indefinidamente	☐ Sim	☐ Não
Eu fui feito inteiramente ciente dos riscos potenciais associados com esta pesquisa e estou satisfeito com a informação fornecida.	☐ Sim	☐ Não
C Concordo em participar no estudo	☐ Sim	☐ Não
C Concordo em permitir que o pesquisador realize observação participante comigo (opcional)	☐ Sim	☐ Não

Parte da minha pesquisa envolve fazer gravações de áudio. Essas gravações de áudio serão mantidas seguras e armazenadas sem fatores de identificação, ou seja, formulários de consentimento e questionários. Os dados gravados podem ser valiosos recursos para estudos futuros, portanto solicitamos seu consentimento adicional para manter dados e imagens para esse fim.

Concordo em gravar áudio	☐ Sim	☐ Não
Concordo que o meu material de áudio gravado seja publicado como parte desta pesquisa	☐ Sim	☐ Não
Concordo com o material gravado para uso em estudos futuros	☐ Sim	☐ Não

A participação nesta pesquisa é completamente voluntária e seu consentimento é necessário antes que você possa participar desta pesquisa. Se desejar, pode consentir anonimamente usando uma marca 'X' ou verbalmente. Se decidir mais tarde que os dados devem ser destruídos, cumpriremos o seu pedido por escrito.

Nome

Assinatura

London Participants

Pseudonym	Age	Origin	Occupation
Ariana	49	Bahia	Yoga teacher
Roberto	31	São Paulo	Accountant
Fernando	35	São Paulo	Chef
Lara	32	Porto Alegre	English teacher
Gloria	46	Rio de Janeiro	Image consultant
Bella	26	São Paulo	Student
Fred	24	Rio de Janeiro	Researcher
Laura	33	São Paulo	Stylist
Carla	36	Minas Gerais	Chef
Tara	29	São Paulo	Unemployed
Catarina	33	São Paulo	Marketing
Alcindo	37	Mato Grosso do Sul	Chemist
Celsio	42	Minas Gerais	Marketing
Isilda	27	Paraná	Receptionist
Ricardo	34	São Paulo	Graphic designer
Gilberto	52	Paraná	Dentist
Caio	59	Paraná	Physiotherapist/ cleaner
Bernardo	38	Minas Gerais	Personal trainer
Tissi	36	São Paulo	Catering
Naida	30	São Paulo	Student
Gerardo	37	São Paulo	Journalist

Nono	40	Bahia	Catering
Adriano	50	Porto Alegre	Catering
Leonidas	40	São Paulo	Bank clerk
Vitor	38	São Paulo	Catering
Gerardo	32	Brasília	Student
Caetano	36	São Paulo	Teaching assistant

São Paulo participants

Pseudonym	Age	Occupation	Origin
Dani	26	Lawyer	Recife
Daniel	27	Marketing	São Paulo
Ricardo	28	Marketing	São Paulo
Julia	28	Marketing	São Paulo state
João	30	Journalist	São Paulo
Claudio	27	Fashion	São Paulo state
Joana	29	Marketing	São Paulo
Jessica	29	Film	England
Natalia	30	Lawyer	São Paulo state
Larissa	65	Retired	São Paulo
Mariana	55	English teacher	Minas Gerais
Luiz	35	CTO	Recife
Justino	31	Video editor	Recife
Gilberto	31	IT	Recife
Walter	32	Videographer	São Paulo
Denisa	33	PR	São Paulo
Roberto	36	Barber	São Paulo
David	40	Activist	Brasília
Paulina	37	Activist	Brasília
Enrico	37	Travel agent	Pará
Guillherme	72	Retired/ Editor	São Paulo
Enzo	40	Engineer	Recife

Jorio	50	Journalist	Rio de Janeiro
Isaac	46	Teacher	São Paulo
Hugo	50	Retired/ Notary	São Paulo state
Ana	32	Credit analyst	São Paulo
Fernanda	60	Retired/ Teacher	São Paulo
Francisca	29	Doctor	Santa Catarina
Lorenzo	30	Doctor	São Paulo