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Luso-London: Identity, citizenship, and belonging in 'post-national' Europe

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Abstract

This paper explores relations between Portuguese-speakers living in London. It takes the experience of Lusophones as a case study in illuminating how intragroup diversity is negotiated and transnational, multi-ethnic identities constructed and performed in everyday life. Through critical ethnography and interviewing, I provide an account of the varied experience of 'belonging' in Europe, for citizens and migrants who connect through similar language and cultural affinities and a shared, albeit contentious, history. By exploring daily rituals in workplaces, bars, cafes, and shops owned, operated, and patronized by Lusophones, I unpack postcolonial reconfigurations of citizens and migrants in their everyday experience of 'open' Europe and provide insight into the discursive processes of emergent and complex diasporic identities. The study found that while Portuguese and Brazilian individuals connect in daily ritual, often to consume similar goods and/or work together in similar roles, language ideology plays a central role in mediating interaction and relations remain superficial and often contentious. For Portuguese, narratives of their own 'rightness' – when it comes to stories of migration, doing business, and conducting everyday life – along with the privilege of European citizenship, are tropes employed to distinguish themselves from other Lusophones, especially Brazilians, with whom they are often compared to by other groups. Luso Africans share less connection in every day life with both Portuguese and Brazilians despite living in close proximity, and express more affinity with migrants from other African points of origin than fellow Lusophones. The study suggests that for Portuguese and Brazilians especially, language, identity politics and the citizen-migrant distinction play a central role in mitigating meaningful interaction around shared concern and social issues impacting both groups as 'non-native' to the UK. Furthermore, important questions of race – which since colonial times have been at the very core of determining social privilege - are sidestepped by the drawing of moral boundaries of 'right versus wrong' and the 'European vs. non-European'.

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From 2006, I spent three years living and working in London as a graduate student. As a Portuguese-American from suburban Massachusetts, life in one of Europe's metropolitan centers was all-at-once exhilarating and terrifying. I settled into a lively and diverse section of Northwest London, just a twenty-minute walk from the city center. The first months of my studies were challenging and the pace was hectic. During that time I found comfort in the shops, restaurants, and cafes in my neighborhood, many of which were owned by Portuguese immigrants and sold familiar foods, beverages, and sundries that I had grown up with at home in America with Portuguese immigrant parents. Initially I was quite surprised with the number of establishments that imported and sold products from Portugal and Brazil especially, but I quickly grew accustomed to the availability of many reminders of home and family. I also remember finding particular comfort in the many dialects of Portuguese I heard as I took city buses around Northwest London to school and work. During my time in the neighborhood I made many friends in those shops and cafes – having grown up in homes with Portuguese immigrant parents like me, or having migrated to London themselves from places like Brazil, Cape Verde, and Portugal, they too enjoyed fresh custard pastries, fig jam, oiled chestnuts and strong Brazilian coffee. I remember feeling particularly at home when with them, recounting familiar stories, fables and songs, and talking about the latest happenings on famous *telenovelas* (Brazilian soap operas widely distributed across the Portuguese-speaking world), the dramatic eliminations of contestants on Portuguese talent shows, *futebol*, and exchanging and critiquing jokes based on extreme cultural stereotypes (such the Portuguese as 'backwards' and 'terrible at soccer' and Brazilians and their 'tiny swimsuits', 'caipirinha' drinks and 'sexy samba dancing'). When I

left London to pursue graduate studies back home in America, I kept in touch with those friends. Each time I visited them during trips back to London on summer break and Christmas holidays I noticed something happening in the neighborhood; there were more and more of those same shops and cafes, especially on the high streets. I was particularly interested in the use of the term “Luso”, a prefix meaning Portuguese in reference to the Roman province of Lusitania which corresponds to modern Portugal, in the storefronts of so many of these shops and in local Portuguese-language newspapers and directories I sometimes read. I was also impressed with what seemed like a unified collective of people that, back home in my hometown which is home to one of the largest Portuguese and Brazilian immigrant communities in America, remains very segregated despite sharing a similar language and living in very close proximity. I was curious about what seemed to be an emergent diaspora forming around language and cultural affinities and when I was given an opportunity to investigate through a European field studies research grant, I headed back to London intent on trying to gain further insight into what was happening.

One of my first ethnographic encounters in the field confirmed that my curiosity about the transformation of Luso relations in my London neighborhood was warranted. Weary about what I might find, I decided to survey the main high street in the borough I once lived and had returned to in order to conduct my research. Camera in hand, I came upon several shops with signs that promoted both traditional Portuguese products and treats from Brazil. Three shops, all under different ownership, used the Portuguese phrase; “Tradição de Portugal, Delicias do Brasil” [English trans.: “Traditions of Portugal, Delights of Brazil”] see Fig. 1. The same signs included images of both the Portuguese and Brazilian flag.



Figure 1. Sign outside of Brazilian-owned cafe on Northwest London high street

This is not to suggest that the commercial merging of themes and images evoking Portuguese-speaking cultures in order to attract consumers is something new. However, the increase in visibility of a Portuguese-speaking collective in this particular part of London is very recent. I knew that having lived there for several years prior to my fieldwork. Interviews with local residents and the shop owners confirmed that the emergence of most all of the Brazilian owned cafes, shops, and restaurants within the two square mile area I conducted most of my research in 2011-2013 had opened after 2009. Based on my personal interest in the lives and histories of my participants and a scholarly endeavor of exploring the relations, tensions, and discursive processes of diasporic identities, I conducted research over thirteen months from December 2011 to January 2013. The following details some of my insights from my time in London, provides some analysis and concludes with potential critical pathways for researchers interested in conducting similar work.

'New' Europe, Lusophonia, and Economic Migration to London

The era of contemporary globalization has seen a remapping of geographic, political, and economic boundaries and made and unmade regional, national, and local identities (Harvey, 2010). The political and economic integration of European states and the convergence of capital and labor in Europe's metropolitan spaces have helped create culturally diverse spaces which necessitate multilayered accounts of identity that include

varying conceptions of self, home, and community which are all under constant transformation (Hall, 1993). London - recognized as a European center of culture, economy, and politics - provides one such space, drawing immigrants and migrants from places near and far. Increased transnational mobility has opened pathways for citizens of Europe's economically marginal member states to seek employment and higher living standards in more prosperous economic spaces, such as France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. One such group is the Portuguese community in the United Kingdom whose settlement in major UK cities like London began after the Socialist revolution in Portugal in the 1970s. Current census estimates place the number of Portuguese nationals living in London at approximately 55,000.

In addition to European economic migrants from marginal EU members states like Portugal, non-European migrants make up a large part of the Lusophone community, from former Portuguese colonies such as Brazil, Angola, Cape Verde and Mozambique, in cities across the United Kingdom. A 2007 survey estimates that the current number of Brazilians living in London exceeds 150,000. Visible communities of Luso-Africans, particularly from Angola and Mozambique, congregate at sites of worship and participate in ethno-cultural consumption and community events in close proximity to other Lusophones in areas of North London. Together Lusophones share complex and contentious histories, which began with the Portuguese exploitation of Africans in the slave trade and later occupation of colonies in South America, Africa, and Asia. As Stuart Hall (1993) argues, cultural identities are the "unstable points of identification . . . which are made, within the discourses of history and culture" (394). To explore how these identities are constructed, maintained, and transformed for Lusophones requires the illumination of contemporary Lusophone social relations which represent what Feldman-Bianco aptly refers to as "colonial reconfigurations in postcolonial times" (2001:481).

The 1996 formation of the *Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLC)*, an intergovernmental organization that represents the seven nations in which Portuguese is the official spoken language provides an example of postcolonial reconfiguration at the supranational level. Alliances around a shared language and history of colonialism extend to the everyday, with many London shops rebranding as 'Luso' rather than singularly Portuguese, Brazilian or African. Furthermore, in recent years, organized community publics, whose agendas were historically framed by national associations and affinities, have cast a wider net to include other Lusophone identities in their representation of 'we'. In response to these shifts, this study was motivated by a fundamental question about emerging transnational diasporic reconfigurations: Do they reflect an effort to converge in meaningful ways, which build on shared histories and move towards potential postcolonial recognition and reconciliation or do they simply reflect a response to the threats neoliberal globalization which increasingly call for the formation of commoditized conglomerate collectivities in order to 'do business'? The necessary question for a curious fieldworker on the ground turns attention toward those cultural members and their everyday experience. As Hall asks us to consider in the analysis of diaspora and identity in contemporary times, I asked, 'What does history say and how are Lusophones responding?'

Portugal as "the first global empire" represents one of the world's most longstanding, expansive, and only recently deterritorialized empires (Abernethy, 2000). Portugal's colonial history provides an example of one that is both uniquely complex and of great breadth that has been largely ignored in social science research (Brettell, 2003). Scholars have unpacked a complicated history beginning with Portuguese navigation and conquest in all corners of the globe, opening and exploiting trade routes between Europe and the Americas, Caribbean, Africa, and Asia (Abernethy, 2000). Despite the successful rebellion and subsequent independence granted to the last of its African territories following the

collapse of Fascism and dictator Antonio Salazar in the 1970s, narratives of empire remain central to Portugal's cultural identity (Abernethy, 2000; Feldman-Bianco, 2001; Brettel, 2003; Fikes, 2009). The transfer of capital, transmigration of people, and exchange of culture is varied across time - with periods of high transmigration, moments of cooperative immigration in which subjects of former colonies (in most cases) secured the full rights of Portuguese citizenship, and during which political alliances reflected the mutual benefits between nations sharing complicated bilateral relations (Feldman-Bianco, 2001).

The postcolonial flow of immigrants and migrants into Europe which relocate (and dislocate) former colonial subjects in most major European cities has, in essence, "brought empire home to roost" as Hall (1999) asserts. As European states negotiate the tensions of supranational and national political, economic, and culture interests, nations in the margins, like Portugal, face increased demands to block immigration from non-Europeans. This has proven particularly challenging for a nation whose identity is embedded in its colonial past and whose present is rooted in a longstanding history of transmigration between the motherland and her former colonies (Feldman Bianco, 2001; Fikes, 2009). As Portugal struggles to legitimize itself as a member of "modern Europe", it must also redefine its relationship with its former colonial subjects. As Feldman-Bianco (2001) and Fikes (2009) argue, Portugal's final integration into the Eurozone in 1996 provides a decisive moment for inter-Luso relations. It marks a period of modernization that facilitated an additional set of identity narratives for the Portuguese nation state as thoroughly "European". European citizenship, which grants the freedom of movement, opens labor opportunities, and provides greater economic freedom to EU citizens, has become a key signifier in contemporary European and Portuguese discourses of identity. This presents material and symbolic challenges for Portugal's imagined empire. While the privilege of Portuguese citizenship has historically been *Jus sanguinis*, 'right of blood', occupation meant that many colonial

subjects attained Portuguese citizenship with relative ease, claiming ancestry via Portuguese settlers (Fikes, 2009). Race was a key category through which citizenship was granted or denied, with most of the Luso-African population, whose origins as African slaves justified for the Portuguese their exclusion to “blood right” citizenship, being denied legal status to freely transmigrate between Africa and Portugal (Noivo, 1997). As Fikes (2009) notes, more racially diverse people, such as that of Brazil and Cape Verde, accessed Portuguese citizenship with greater ease than mainland Luso-Africans until very recently, making relationships between those nations more favorable. However, along with Portugal’s entrée into the Eurozone economy, political and cultural pressures of European ‘modernization’ have sparked new tensions between Portugal and its former colonies. The Foreign Act of 1996 placed new restrictions on acquiring European citizenship, in direct response from pressure by EU leaders attempting to limit the entry of “non-European” economic migrants (Fikes, 2009). Despite difficulties and tensions with former colonies, with which Portugal’s economy is still intimately linked through commerce and supranational political connection, Portuguese officials continue to call for continued economic and cultural integration into the Eurozone (Kowsmann, 2011). Ironically, the narrative of empire remains central to Portuguese national identity, despite the pressures of European integration, which have resulted in policies that mitigate cooperative relations with Portugal’s non-European former colonial subjects. ‘Modern Europeanness’ as an object of identity construction has increasingly become a part of public discourse in Portugal (Sieber, 2002) and, as my study found, for Portuguese living outside of Portugal. The historically strong political, economic, and cultural ties which paint the “imaginative geographies” of Portuguese empire and identity are complicated by the contemporary layer of Portuguese citizen as modern European citizen. Research has provided valuable insights into how multiple affinities construct material boundaries of everyday interaction between

Portuguese and former colonial subjects living in Portugal (Fikes, 2009). For example, in her decade-long study of Cape Verdean migrant workers in Lisbon, Fikes (2009) traced the changing boundaries of interaction between Portuguese and Cape Verdeans in casual fish markets throughout the city. She argues that Portugal's integration into the European Union created opportunities for upward social mobility of the Portuguese underclass who often worked alongside Cape Verdean migrant workers. She theorizes that the citizen-migrant distinction enabled further subjugation along racial, ethnic, and legal status differences by providing a new set of discourses around Portuguese superiority through Europeanness. In addition, Fikes (2009) points to shifts in material conditions, enabled by Europe's capital transfusion into Portugal, which allowed for upward mobility of Portuguese and increased surveillance in of 'illegal activity' in fish trading which had been tolerated and promoted in Lisbon for decades.

Over the last two decades, the citizen-migrant distinction has impacted commercial and political relations at every level (Feldman-Bianco, 2001; Fikes, 2009). State-backed efforts in Brazil subvert celebration of 'pure' forms of Portuguese culture and prefer to promote indigeneity and hybridity as the defining or iconic features of Brazilian culture (Leal, 2002). Cultural revolutions in former African colonies have mobilized Portuguese language as a tool of resistance, incorporating indigenous languages such as over twenty dialects of Bantu, into Portuguese discourses of Mozambiqueness (Stroud, 1999). Despite shifts and tensions, Portuguese remains "a power regime of order and knowledge" in the Portuguese-speaking world (Malkki, 1995) mediating memories of empire and mapping "imaginative geographies" (Said, 1978) through 'common' language and shared histories between Portugal and its former colonies. The famous Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa invokes the centrality of language in the ever-transnational Portuguese identity in his poem, *My Motherland is the Portuguese Language*.

Despite its increased assimilation into European cultural politics, Portugal remains dually committed to bilateral relations with former colonies, at least economically. During a recent visit to Angola, the New York Times (November 2011) reported that Portuguese Prime Minister, Pedro Passos Coelho stated that “Angolan capital is very welcome” in Portugal during hard economic times. Reflecting a willingness to maintain close political and economic ties, Angola's President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, was quoted saying during the same meeting that, "Angola is open and available to help Portugal face this [recent economic] crisis”. Despite tensions, strong ties remain in the sociocultural, political, and economic realms. Considering these tensions, what is at stake for Lusophones navigating an increasingly wide range of cultural meanings undergirding transnational, multiethnic identities under constant transformation? I explore this broad question by illuminating the divergent experience of Lusophones living in London and consider the impact of shared experience – of both conflict and convergence – in shaping patterns of interaction and enabling or disrupting new diasporic communities and identities.

Of diaspora and identity

Braziel and Munnur (2003) forward that theorizing diaspora provides a critical space for interrogating the uneasy and often uneven movements of peoples whom, for various reasons – are displaced from the homeland (p. 4-5). They posit the central importance of framing critical analyses within historical and cultural specificity in the study of diaspora as, it is in diasporic movement that “the very perimeters of specific historical moments are embodied and are scattered and regrouped into new points of becoming” (3). These “new points of becoming” have been theorized by scholars across the social sciences and humanities. Hall (1993) defines diaspora identities “not as essence or purity but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity, by a conception of identity which

lives in and through, not despite, difference, by *hybridity*" (235). Hall interrogates the notion of 'cultural identity', an idea he sees as essentializing as it suggests that one 'true' or 'pure' origin or identity exists or can be reclaimed. In complicating the theorization of cultural identity – he posits that it is necessary to understand identity as 'becoming' – as a *process* of transformation in which diaspora is in constant negotiation and sometimes conflict. For Hall, this does not diminish the importance of historical and cultural memory – the set of experiences, narratives, discourses which unify the collective, which he sees as critically important to diasporic identities and as a potential source of unification and collective resistance. Any exploration of diaspora should consider the relations between members of diasporic movements who share a common cultural memory – despite differing experiences – which, together with the political and economic roots of their displacement and settlement, provide critical sites for the exploration of the hybridity Hall describes.

In exploring Lusophone identities, diaspora has provided a useful analytic for anthropologists. Klimt and Lubkemann (2002) describe a "discursive approach to diaspora" which, rather than contemplate necessary conditions for what constitutes 'genuine diaspora' instead sees diaspora as, "a particular way of imagining, inventing, constructing, and presenting the self" (p. 146). Scholars exploring groups which share significant historical intersections with Portugal have found this method useful in capturing the complexities of the Lusophone case in work based in Portugal (Sieber, 2002; Lubkemann, 2002), in postcolonial spaces (Leal, 2002; Sarkissian, 2002), and in immigrant communities in Canada, Australia, and the United States (Klimt, 2002; Noivo, 2002). Appadurai, recognizing the complex nature of diasporic identity formation, argues that ethnography must determine "the nature of locality, as lived experience, in a globalized, deterritorialized world" (1991: 196). Furthermore, he calls for a rethinking of "landscapes of group identity," due to the fact that "groups are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded,

historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogeneous" (p. 191). Groups who are no longer rooted in a single space "go to great lengths to revitalize, reconstruct, or reinvent not only their traditions but their political claims to territory and histories from which they have been displaced" (Glick Schiller et al., 1995: 50). The Lusophone diaspora in London represents a complex and profoundly heterogeneous collectivity with a wide range of political and social claims and contestations.

As spaces transform so do they transform the people who settle in them (Georgiou, 2006a). In this process, newcomers often seek opportunities to connect with the familiar while, at the same time, navigating the complexities of everyday city life. Newcomers to any place seek basic necessities: labor opportunities, housing, and community affiliation (Brettell, 2003). Seeking such resources is complicated by language, cultural, and often legal barriers. Community members already situated within locales serve as an important source for newcomers in finding work, securing housing, and seeking out sites of religious practice, ethno-cultural consumption, and other social activities such as sports spectatorship and cultural ritual like festivals. These processes have been observed by ethnographers exploring multiple diasporic communities in cities like London. In many of these studies, boundaries are drawn along the lines of national origin, race and, ethnicity limiting the study of more complex articulations which forge collectivities as a result of transnational migration (Werbner, 2011). The coming together of Lusophones in London is one example of what Werbner refers to as "complex diasporas" which warrant inquiry that situates complicated histories and illuminates the making and unmaking of colonial identities. Often these articulations are framed through struggle and tension with rightful attention to subaltern positionalities as fixed in hegemonic oppression by colonizers in transnational studies (Werbner, 2011). However, as scholars recognize, the story is more complex. "Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves

anew, through transformation and difference” (Hall, 1993: 501-502). The question for researchers becomes about how the opening of postcolonial spaces in which shared marginality provides an opportunity for groups, whose historical relations have been marked by conflict, may impact how they connect in meaningful ways. As, “transnational processes are located within the life experience of individuals and families, making up the warp and woof of daily activities, concerns, fears, and achievements” (Glick Schiller et al., 1995: 51). The Portuguese-speaking community in London provides an essential site to illuminate the issue of what is at stake for the identity politics of simultaneous sameness and difference, with Portuguese, Brazilian, and Luso African cultural members occupying economically and culturally marginal positions as ‘outsiders’ but navigating cultural life in radically different ways based on different claims to citizenship and widely varying experiences of ethno/racial privilege.

This study employs a discursive approach to diaspora as a critical analytic for understanding how history and context shape patterns of everyday interaction between Lusophones and impact emergent diasporic identities. It takes the experience of Portuguese speakers living in London as a case study in illuminating how difference among Lusophones from Portugal, Latin America, and Africa negotiate transnational, multi-ethnic identities and construct, contest, and transform them in everyday life. I explore how differing legal status, use of language, and racial ideologies shape patterns of interaction among Lusophones. I question whether opportunities for Lusophones to connect reflect a response to the new terms of belonging in integrated Europe or whether more meaningful alliances are being imagined for complex diasporas living out transnational lives in European spaces.

The following questions guided my inquiry:

- How do Lusophones in London negotiate intragroup racial, ethnic, and legal status diversity and construct boundaries and linkages through everyday interaction?
- How do emerging Lusophone organizations construct, perform, and mobilize Luso identities?
- In the process of forging an imagined 'Luseness' in Europe, which accounts of Luso culture and history are privileged and which subverted or excluded? What are the implications of the construction and mobilization of particular discourses of that which is 'Luso', 'Portuguese', and/or 'European'?

Method and Design

Utilizing a combination of critical ethnography, in-depth interviews, and critical discourse analysis, this study explores Luso identity construction and performance in various sites. All field research took place in the Northwest London borough of Brent whose districts include Kensal Rise, Harlesden, and Willesden, three areas that are home to a large number of Lusophones from both Portugal and its former colonies. Exploring particular sites in which Luso culture is performed in order to organize and mobilize Lusophones in London allows me to illuminate how Luso identities are imagined and negotiated. This ethnography focuses on two particular "points of contact": 1) sites of ethno commerce and daily ritual and 2) organized community publics.

Ethnographic methods provide a particularly potent tool in the exploration of identity, culture, and diasporic relations. As Georghiou found in her study of Greek Cypriots in London, the ethnographic perspective, in its openness allows one to "records and reflects on the diversity and the interconnectedness of the multiple spaces where the diasporic everyday expands" (2006b: 37). The evolution of diasporic communities through everyday consumption practices is central to any understanding of Lusophones as an emerging collectivity. Like Georghiou, this study utilizes participant observation *in situ* in order to explore the diasporic processes of cultural identity construction, organization, and mobilization in a complex, heavily mediated, and diverse cosmopolitan European space.

These processes are both mitigated and facilitated by what Feldman-Bianco (2001) and Capinha (2000) point to as a Luso history of “sameness and difference” which inextricably link Lusophones through their experiences of similar language and shared cultural history and affinities but are now further complicated by the citizen-migrant distinction which also allows individuals to sidestep racial difference therefore mitigating dialogue about issues of race.

Primarily, two “points of connection” in which Lusophones regularly interact are explored. First, participant observation in popular Luso cafes, bars, and markets where everyday ethno-cultural consumption takes place. These sites represent both manifestations of an organized mobilization of Luso cultural identities and spaces in which everyday interactions between Lusophones take place. Second, community organizations which solicit participation of Lusophones living and working in London provide key sites to illuminate how Lusophones construct, perform, and mobilize Luso identities. Four specific organizations were chosen in order to provide a multilayered account of emerging collectivities, as well as some longstanding distinctions. By comparing both formal organized and everyday informal cultural processes, we can better understand both the possibilities and limitations of emerging diasporic communities. In addition to participant observation in multiple sites, I conducted twenty-three interviews with participants I met during my initial field observations.

This work employs critical ethnography to better understand the emerging collectivity of Lusophones in London. In their description of the method, Marshall and Rossman posit, that the critical ethnographer must essentially: “Ask questions about the historical forces shaping societal patterns as well as the fundamental issues and dilemmas of policy, power, and dominance in institutions (2011: 26).” In doing so, the researcher is able to unpack how inequalities are culturally reproduced. In seeking to explore points of

cultural convergence – undergirded by shared, albeit contentious, histories – it is necessary to situate interactions within their specific context, particularly as they relate to Luso identity formation and fracture. Such contextualization might begin with a description of cultural relations from the Portuguese slave trade and colonization of Brazil, through the collapse of the Portuguese empire, to the present-day– all within the context of larger political and social interactions between Brazil, Portugal, and the Eurozone at large. In grounded situations such contextualization is only possible by understanding how participants are positioned by others and see themselves within daily interactions with one another. Language usage, dress, consumption, and the performance of certain daily rituals provide key indicators of these positionalities. Ethnographic interviews provide further depth and several participants read drafts and feedback on earlier versions of this work in an attempt to ensure accuracy of interpretation and in order to triangulate results.

Findings

After conducting my research I noticed three broad patterns of interaction that I use to structure the report of my findings. *Contact*, refers to instances where Lusophones share, and sometimes contest, geographical space – this is where the issue of migration is central and discourses of the right versus wrong way to migrate become a key distinction between citizens and migrants. *Connection* refers to more close and personal interaction, such as sharing work and down time together. *Conflict* refers to instances where in close interaction with one another, social and cultural differences are confronted.

Contact

“[Three decades ago] a visitor from London was about as foreign as it got in Boston [England]. Now they were talking Portuguese in the pubs...If I had fallen into the river and called out ‘Help!’ I couldn’t even have been sure that anyone would have understood.”

Peter Hitchens, The Daily Mail, March, 2013

I entered a popular Portuguese café in a trendy market area of Northwest London. Everyone in the area knows this café for its fresh Portuguese ‘custard cups’ or *pasteis de nata*. For those who do not know it, the smell of vanilla bean and cream that lingers above the line of people waiting that circles the block within one of London’s most busy and trendy street markets calls attention and curiosity. It is impossible to find a seat in the small, dimly lit single room which seats about twenty but is packed with more than 40 people standing at the long counter drinking espresso coffee and pastry and sitting tightly shoulder-to-shoulder into the corner seating as they talk and laugh loudly in a mix of Portuguese dialects. It is just before eight o’clock in the morning and many people in the café seem ready to go to work, whether dressed in construction boots and paint stained work pants or clutching leather briefcases in neatly pressed suits. Men and women fill the café, many talking with one another, some with small children dressed in school uniforms. I spot a seat as it becomes available at a table with two men seated at it and immediately make my way to the small round table that is covered in powder from pastries that have been eaten in haste. I ask the two men, both wearing suits with ties and jackets if I can join them at their table. One man, who I later got to know as Manuel, motions me with his hand towards the table as he pulled out the seat “*Estas bemvinda*” [English trans.: “You are welcome here”]. I thank him and sit down and tuck into my pastry as the men continue to converse with one another. They are discussing Portuguese politics and watching something on the small television switched on to *RTP* (Portugal’s state television). “*Isso é uma vergonha!*” [“This is a shame!”], Manuel says excitedly, throwing up his hands as the two men watch a news report about the Portuguese Prime Minister’s visit to Angola in which he asked for bail-out money and increased exclusivity in certain trade relations. The other man, who I later learned was one of Manuel’s employees at his limo driving company adds, “*Não seria assim se era nos tempos do Salazar...aquela merda da Lisboa ficava muito*

limpinho." ["It would not be this way in the time of Salazar...that shit in Lisbon would become very clean."]. The men exchange a few more words as the program moves to another story but remain mostly quiet as they continue drinking their coffee. Their exchange reflects a common nostalgia for the order of Portugal's Fascist era that I would encounter several times again in both ethnographic encounters and interviews with Portuguese participants. References to Salazar as someone who would "fix things economically", "maintain order in the country", and "return Portugal to the Portuguese" were claimed by three Portuguese participants, all over the age of 40. In addition, all of these participants spoke of their migration stories as that which reflect "the right way" to migrate. This 'right' way was starkly contrasted with what was described by Maria, 56, in an interview as, "the Brazilian way of 'whatever it takes' even when it's wrong and illegal to do things their way." The citizen-migrant distinction that Fikes (2002) described in her work with Portuguese and Luso Africans in Lisbon was very present in my discussion with Lusophones in London. The manner in which Portuguese readily construct their own identities in contrast with Brazilians especially, was present in conversations with many older Portuguese participants who either migrated themselves or arrived in the United Kingdom at a young age via migrating parents.

The twenty-three interview participants were all asked about their journey to London. Of the six participants who were born in the United Kingdom, all were of Portuguese descent and within the ages of 19-37, and all maintained dual citizenship with British and Portuguese passports. All six spoke English and Portuguese fluently. During an interview, one of my youngest participants, Filipe, a 19-year-old man born and raised in London to Portuguese parents who migrated to the UK in 1987, gave me his view on the current migration situation in the UK:

I would stop it. Just stop it all. London is too crowded. It isn't about where they come from...I really don't care where. Just no more people here is all I am saying...we don't have the space or the jobs because they work for so little and then take benefits too. It's just bad for everyone that did it right and came here legally and need work. You didn't see my parents come here and be on all benefits and that...they actually worked and they worked really hard.

During another interview with Eduarda, a Portuguese domestic worker who has lived in London for 41 years, she echoed Filipe's sentiments in response to the same question about the current immigration situation in the UK:

I don't really notice it, if I'm being honest. I don't think much about whether people come from other places because there are people from all over the place here in London. I know some come without the right papers and they live five or six to one room in a flat...that, I think, is wrong to be illegal and do things the wrong way. I do think it's too much with all the shops though. We don't need ten Brazilian shops on one high street. Who knows whether they are all paying taxes like other businesses. One day you see one café, then a few months later it's something else. It just makes you wonder about whether things are legal with those certain places you're asking about.

When Eduarda was asked a follow-up question about whether she had come to London 'the right way' she responded, "There is only one right way...the legal way and yes, I did."

Migration stories offer interesting insights into the citizen-migrant distinction that, for Lusophones in London, seems central to the way they differentiate. This is particularly true for the Portuguese and Brazilian participants whom I interviewed. Claudio, a 32 year-old Brazilian who lives, studies law, and works in construction in London told me about his experience of strategically navigating the legal system to acquire EU citizenship. With Italian neighbors in his small suburban Brazilian hometown, Claudio's parents asked their Italian neighbors to adopt Claudio's father at the age of forty-five, giving Claudio and his brother claim to descendent citizenship under Italian law. With his Italian passport, Claudio is able to, in his own words, "simply live freely and work and study as I please in a more open place when it comes to opportunities [in London]". In a later interview with Bella, a 31-year old born and raised in London to Portuguese immigrant parents, I asked her about

the ethics of using strategies similar to Claudio's to enter the UK legally. "It's one hundred percent wrong of people to do that kind of thing," she told me emphatically. "And actually, if anyone does that, it shows that they are just going to probably do the wrong thing most of the time, probably with other things...like stealing our benefits."

I asked Nelson, a forty-four year old Angolan about his migration experience during an interview and he told me about how when he arrived with his mother thirty years prior, he hated London. "I missed home and felt totally out of it here," he explained "but we had some serious reasons to leave there". Nelson went on to describe how he and his mother escaped an abusive situation in Angola. During the height of the anti-colonial Angolan independence revolution, his white Portuguese father had been killed shortly after his birth, apparently for having a relationship with his black Angola-born mother. Nelson was bullied at school by other black children for being biracial, and his mother wanted to leave her family home where she had been castigated for her relationship with Nelson's father. She also hoped life in London would provide more opportunities for herself and Nelson. Upon arriving in London, Nelson's mother enrolled him in "Portuguese school", which refers to after-school programs, whose curriculum is regulated by the Portuguese government, which teach standard continental Portuguese, history and culture. Nelson did not enjoy Portuguese school as he never felt fully accepted by the other children, who were mostly white and first or second generation British-Portuguese. "I basically felt for a long time like I didn't fit in in either place...it was like, in Angola it was wrong to be half white and in London it was wrong to be half black...I would cry to my mom and say I wanted to be fully something, anything...just fully white, or fully black."

Connection

The headline of the October 2012 issue of *Monocle* reads, “Generation Lusophonia: why Portuguese is the new language of power and trade”. The issue, dedicated to exploring the Portuguese-speaking “people, policies brands, and opportunities” discusses the “Portuguese push” towards global economic, political, and cultural legitimacy. One subheading for an article about the CPCL reads, “Lusophone nations don’t have much more in common than language” (p. 011). In fact, the Portuguese language is anything but common. Struggles over language and traditional continental Portuguese as a dominant institutional form are ongoing. The CPCL promotes programs that provide standards for the curriculum of teaching the Portuguese language that privilege continental Portuguese but acknowledge Brazilian variations on certain words and phrases. The 2006 opening of the Museu da Língua Portuguesa (Museum of the Portuguese Language) in São Paulo, the city with the largest number of Portuguese speakers in the world, reflects the importance of the language for Lusophones. With nearly 194 million Portuguese speakers in Brazil, Brazilian dialects of Portuguese have, in popular forms of culture, become dominant in global representations of Portuguese. As Geraldo Alckmin, Governor of São Paulo stated at the museum’s opening ceremony:

This shows again the important role of Brazil in the picture of the development of the Portuguese language. It is an extraordinary initiative for the reinforcement of the solidarity between the peoples who speak Portuguese.

Like other languages in which there are various dialects, speaking becomes a key signifier of origin, and class background. Portuguese is no exception. In fact, despite a common alphabet and dictionary of terms and usage, Lusophones often express difficulty understanding one another due to extreme difference in pronunciation of common words and different, region-specific terms often due to local influence. Marta, a 27 year-old unemployed woman born and raised in London by Portuguese parents who maintains both British and Portuguese citizenship stated during our interview:

You notice more people speaking Portuguese on the bus, but it's not Portuguese always...it's Brazilian or very strange African versions. It's interesting in one way because you can see that there's more Portuguese here but it's also sad because it's not *our* Portuguese, the *real* Portuguese. (Marta's emphasis italicized)

This sentiment was reflected by other participants of Portuguese descent and was particularly strong amongst younger participants, many of whom were born in the United Kingdom but expressed a belief in the importance of "keeping the 'original' Portuguese language alive" and most of which attended Portuguese school as children. Miguel, a 36-year-old London-born DJ with Portuguese immigrant parents told me during an interview:

I think it's bad [Portuguese language courses taught in standard Brazilian Portuguese] because it's not Portuguese, we are the originals and you took our language and, for lack of a better term, basically cocked it up.

Brazilian participants confirmed the importance of language variation in everyday interactions with other Lusophones. As Nina, a 24 year old Brazilian born and raised student and domestic worker living in London for three years told me during an interview, "They [Portuguese people] are so protective of that language...you speak to a Portuguese with my accent and say certain things and you cannot imagine the looks you get from them!" "My Brazilian friends and I just laugh though, it is really funny."

Language variation is not only a means to distinguish or categorize it is also a resource for play and connection between Lusophones in everyday interactions. During my fieldwork I was given the opportunity to shadow Marlina, a 56 year-old domestic worker who was also my landlord. Marlina works in the homes of several high income Londoners in addition to collecting rent on two London properties from tenants who occupy the homes she owns. She rents rooms to Brazilian occupants who find out about her properties through local informal networks, particularly Portuguese shop owners who know Marlina. Despite solid revenue from a steady number of reliable tenants she does cleaning work because, as she says, "It keeps you busy and helps pay for extra things". Her work is also deeply tied to

her identity, as it is what she has done since first arriving to London in the early 1970s with her now-deceased husband. In one of the homes Marlana spends most of her workweek in cleaning, cooking, and doing other work around the property for its wealthy homeowner, she also works with two Brazilian women who also do domestic work in the house. Elena and Joana are both younger than Marlana and have been working in the home for six and two years respectively. Marlana, having worked in the same home for over 25 years, supervises the work of the other women as they provide near around-the-clock service to the homeowner and her children. On one particular Sunday, I joined Marlana in the home for an afternoon of work, which gave me an opportunity to get to know Elena and Joana firsthand. I had heard from Marlana that they were “nice girls but a bit ‘tricky’” and was surprised to find that these “girls” were in their late twenties and early forties respectively. Throughout the afternoon in the multi-level West London home, just a ten minute walk from Ladbroke Grove an area with many Lusophones occupying rows of brick tenement houses, Marlana provided direction to Elena and Joana, often directing them in ironing, cleaning, and cooking certain items in very particular ways that she described as “the right way”. The women seemed to listen attentively and take direction from Marlana, as their superior, and often asked for her advice and approval when taking on and completing tasks. During a break I heard Elena and Joana talking and noticed a distinct shift in both their accents and language formality. As might be expected, colleagues may shift to informal ways of communicating when addressing one another outside of the presence of superiors. However, it is interesting that both Elena and Joana seemed to accommodate Marlana in shifting their Portuguese pronunciation to continental Portuguese when addressing her. In addition, when conversing with each other they referred to Marlana as “tugla”, a term I was unfamiliar with. Later, in a group interview in which both Elena and Joana were present I asked them about their use of continental Portuguese and this term. Elena confirmed that

she often shifted to a more “acceptable” accent when speaking with Marlana and other continental Portuguese as “um sinal de respeito” [“a sign of respect”]. Joana later told me in informal conversation that the term “tugla” in reference to Marlana was an inside joke between her and Elena. She explained that the term combined “tuga”, a reference to Marlana being Portuguese and “tola”, the Portuguese term for “dumb woman”. Joana expressed that while she liked Marlana personally and thought she was a good woman she found her to be condescending, out of touch, and lacking common sense. This example provides just one instance of several that I encountered in my work in which the language not only signifies difference but shapes and regulates interaction. In addition, Marlana’s insistence on Elena and Joana adjusting to “the right way” was apparent not only linguistically but also in the very material work they were collectively responsible for. Elena and Joana’s communication accommodation demonstrates, what (Giles, Coupland & Coupland, 1991) explain as convergence and divergence in language adaptation. On the one hand, they converge with Marlana by accommodating their accents and language usage to a decidedly more continental version of Portuguese, however, they diverge by using language strategically in their workplace relations and on their own terms to connect over a common experience of subordination.

Didi, a thirty-four year old originally from Mozambique told me about similar instances at work in a busy London concert venue where she works in the main kitchen. Francisco, her boss, is an older man originally from Portugal who often calls her “menina” (“little girl”). “I think he finds it playful...but it is frustrating to be called that by your boss.” “He says things too about being in Maputo [the capital of Mozambique] during the war...like making references to food or music or whatever...that makes me so angry.” “He thinks it is him sharing something in common but I want to say, ‘you know what was not at all a good time for people there, don’t you?’”

Conflict

I frequented a shop on a main street only two blocks from a busy train station. A Portuguese couple that has lived in London for over thirty years owns the shop. I spoke with the owner, Maria, who insisted with a wink that while her husband owned the shop, she ran it. The shop is a combined small supermarket with neatly stocked shelves facing along the walls and a small café area in the back with seating for about 12 around three small round tables. I knew Maria from encounters I had as a graduate student when on my way to school I often stopped there for a 'galão', Portugal's version of a latte, which is made by mixing strong espresso with frothy milk. When I returned to London to conduct my study I went back to the shop and noticed that a Brazilian butcher had opened where there was a vacant shop-front a couple years earlier. In the butcher shop, which I later discovered was owned and run by two Brazilian brothers, similar sundries were sold – Portuguese and Brazilian biscuits and drinks, baking goods imported from Portugal and Brazil, and a similar café area in the back of the shop. This time I went to Maria's shop with an agenda to engage in participant observation, interview her and her husband and hopefully gain access to some of the patrons that frequented the shop for goods, coffee and some banter. Both Maria and her husband Alfredo were very kind and receptive, although slightly skeptical about both me and my research as a valid endeavor, they seemed to accept me warmly with a hint of joking condescension about how spending so much of my time in their shop would help me achieve an advanced degree someday.

One morning a few weeks into my fieldwork I sat with my tablet and coffee in the back of Alfredo and Maria's shop. I had become accustomed to the morning routine of customers nipping in to grab still-warm Portuguese pastries and standing at the counter to gulp down single, double and triple shots of espresso before catching the bus or tube into

central London for work. Many of the people in the neighborhood performed domestic, service, or construction work in hotels and private homes, retailers and beauty service, or on the many construction sites that provide Londoners with reason to complain about 'the nightmare of constant road works'. During my time at the café, Maria was keen to speak to me between customers and reflected the caring concern over me not dissimilar to that of my mother also named Maria, as so common a name in the era they were both born. Maria made sure my coffee cup remained full and that I had a warm pastry as I worked. She would express interest in the work itself intermittently but seemed, like most people, to want to talk about life experiences, work, home, family, and cultural and social issues. The day I am highlighting was no different, Maria made the coffee and provided the pastry and friendly conversation and was in very good spirits until I asked her about the new Brazilian butcher a few doors down. Her face lost its warmth as she inverted her shoulders and lent into me and began in whisper in Portuguese, "Did you know that they are illegal?" She went on to explain how she had heard that they used "trickery" to obtain the paperwork necessary to open the shop and that many of the goods were not authentic. She also claimed that the meat was particularly poorly cut, "Which is strange for a Brazilian but they are, at least, because of Argentina being close, good at cutting meat." At face value, it could be argued that Maria was protecting her business from very real competition but in her choice of language and the assumptions she made about the other business (she admitted to never having spoken to either of the owners of the butcher shop directly) she contrasted the "good, authentic and ethical" business that she and Alfredo conducted with the "bad, inauthentic, and unethical" Brazilian shop a few doors down. I asked her about the Brazilian flag that was up, along with a Portuguese one, in her shop window. She told that it was "to attract people that want to buy those kinds of things, we sell those things too", referring to Brazilian products such as Guarana Antartica, a popular carbonated drink and Moça, a

chocolate-flavored powdered drink mix from Brazil. For Maria, the use of the products have very real connection to identity. It meant that you were “those kind of people” that buy “those kinds of things”. On another day in Maria and Alfredo’s shop, a young woman entered the shop door, and looked around the shelves before glancing over to the counter and addressing Maria in Brazilian-accented Portuguese asked, “Do you have Yoki (a Brazilian brand of flour)?” Maria nodded and went to the back of the café behind the counter and retrieved the small bag of flour. The woman paid and left and Maria joined me at the table to chat shortly after. She asked me if I noticed how crowded things had become around the neighborhood lately. When I said I hadn’t, she described how things just felt much more “suffocating” in the neighborhood. When I asked her to explain she said that she believed it had to do with increased immigration and recent changes in laws that let more people in. She also said that she thought immigration from South America had become a big problem because “they send money back there or they never go back and use the hospitals for free while the rest of us wait”. She continued, “And then they expect us to have their flour, it’s not even good flour actually...it makes everything dry”. Maria was drawing clear distinctions between her experience as a “law abiding and moral” immigrant to that of “law breaking and immoral”. She used consumption as way to talk through those distinctions as well, whether it was to differentiate her and Alfredo’s business from the Brazilian butchers and their poor meat cutting skills or to position her Portuguese flour as superior to that of the similar product with a Brazilian brand. In both cases though, Maria recognized that doing business with Brazilians on their terms meant capital gains and despite never once witnessing any of the negative behaviors she described in her assumptions of Brazilians in the many interactions that took place between her and those that frequented her shop, she continued to draw boundaries and often used both language difference and consumer goods as a means to make distinctions between what is always ‘good’ and what is always ‘bad’.

Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) discuss the increasing trend of commodifying ethnicity. In their work they point to many examples of creative work being self-produced by cultural members and sold to consumers in the market for culturally specific goods, often tourists. In London, marketers have responded to the recent emergence of a strong Brazilian target population, and products and services which feature Brazil, Brazilians and Brazilian products have become commonplace on everything from London buses and taxi cabs to shop fronts and brochures advertising beauty treatments. I met, a thirty-two year old self-described activist and freelance graphic designer from Brazil, in a Portuguese café and after reconnecting several weeks later, we spoke about his creative work for a top London advertising agency whose focus is on cross-cultural marketing during which he told me:

I like this trend of people seeing Brazilian culture and Brazilian products, I think it's good for us because it makes the 'scary monster' of brown migrants from South America more nice to touch and feel. People need that, British people need that...so they can accept us. Living in London for 21 years, I've noticed that people have become more friendly to us being here in recent years since this boom of Brazilian things. I like that.

Asked about the growing popularity of Brazilian products and services in London, Ana, a twenty-nine year old woman born in England to Portuguese parents, told me between laughs:

It's all very 'chi chi chi', you know...that Brazilian thing. I have nothing against them but they are so fake! The women especially with the fake bums, the fake hair, the fake teeth, the fake boobs, even the way they talk in a way acting very overly excited all the time...they are all just...fake.

I met a twenty-two year old Brazilian woman named Lina that works as a hairdresser in a high street beauty salon owned by a white British-Portuguese woman. During my talks with Lina, she described how she realized her appeal as an 'expert' in a desirable form of

feminine beauty now valorized by white culture. She told me that she had been trained to provide women with a popular 'Brazilian blow out' treatment, one that chemically straightens the hair. She told me, "We are selling white women a treatment that straightens their hair, which is pretty much already straight." "It's funny if you think about it because we are selling them a version of beauty that they sold us... it's like they are trying to look like us, when we were trying to look like them by not looking like us, and now they want to look exactly like us when we look like them...it's crazy!" Lina recognized the contradiction and tied it to very specific historical moments, linking consumption and colonialism. Lina actively constructed a reality for white women through the Brazilian blow out but understood the cultural paradox. For her, she justified it in two ways: first as flattery in the appropriation of a Brazilian remix on white culture and second, as a means to support herself and her family by sending much of the money she earned back to Brazil. Describing how her boss provides her with a station to work and cash payment, as she does not have documentation to work legally in the UK, Lina recognizes their strategic and reciprocal relationship. Referring to her boss, Lina told me, "We don't really like each other that much, to be honest...but it is more like it works for us to work together and be nice...but I know we would never be good friends, so to speak...we just aren't very similar".

Nelson, the Angolan man who first arrived in London at the age of fourteen, told me about the experience of looking for his first job at the age of sixteen.

I wanted to work somewhere with a really fast and fun pace...like a kitchen or chip shop...something like that where things move quickly. I went to one place, in the market area; it's a bakery that, at that time was owned by a Portuguese woman and her sons. I went and asked about work and the woman said to me...right to my face, 'Do you think I would sell much white bread with a brown boy?' I was so upset in that situation but it was not a new thing for me to hear. You have to remember that this is almost thirty years ago and I think it has changed now. They won't say it so forcefully, so plainly...but they will probably still think it in exactly the same way.

Discussion

The stories and experiences that my participants have shared provide a few important insights for researchers interested in work on identity, diaspora and the varied experience of 'belonging' in Europe more broadly, and for those looking to explore postcolonial reconfiguration and the complex relations between cultural members more closely. First, on the issue of identity and the citizen-migrant distinction as central to narratives of 'right versus wrong' for Portuguese individuals who distinguish themselves from other Lusophones. The privilege of EU citizenship affords the Portuguese with a material claim to 'right', through the legitimization of their legal status. This is reflected in their insistence on there being a right and wrong way to migrate – theirs being morally right when tied to being from within the EU and now having citizenship (even for those who migrated before EU integration and did so on work or student visas only to apply for permanent status after several years). Even when this is done legally, as in the case of Claudio, the Brazilian man who acquired Italian citizenship to immigrate to the UK as a legal citizen, it is seen as typically 'tricky' way of working the system, as pointed out by Bella who is a British-Portuguese. The characterization of Brazilians as "tricky", "fake", "inauthentic" was repeated by many of the Portuguese people I spoke with and the assumption that Brazilians go about things the "wrong" way was present in several conversations on a range of topics. For example, Elena and Joana, the Brazilian domestic workers supervised by Marlina, their Portuguese manager were not only encouraged to speak the 'right' way but were also instructed to work in ways that Marlina considered to be 'right' as opposed to their "tricky" shortcuts, as Marlina described, around domestic work. In business, Brazilians were also characterized by Portuguese as doing things the wrong way, as when Maria told me about the Brazilian butchers a few shops down, assuming they opened and operated their business illegally and provided inferior service to

local patrons, without ever having visited the shop or personally spoken to the brothers that run it. In her work with French and American working-class men, Lamont (2000) describes how working-class white men use “boundary work” to distinguish themselves morally from black coworkers of the same socioeconomic class, describing them as backwards, lazy, and “moral offenders” of law and social rules and norms. I saw this sort of boundary work occurring between Portuguese and Brazilian participants, in both instances of superficial and close contact. Moral boundaries around migrating the “right” way and doing things the “proper” way were abundant in my discussions with Portuguese participants. These became especially apparent in close working situations, when Brazilians were portrayed by Portuguese participants as “tricky” individuals that often “work the system” and use, as Maria described as “the Brazilian way”. Similar to the black men in Lamont’s study, many of the Brazilians I spoke to that are living in London are negotiating more constraints than Portuguese people of similar economic means who work in similar occupations, as Brazilians often have decidedly less access to benefits and resources reserved for European citizens and residents with legal status. The experience of belonging for them is one that limits access to resources and requires strategies to navigate the system, these strategies are met with skepticism by the Portuguese and work to reinforce stereotypes about Brazilians that reach back to colonialism.

The role of language in Luso identity politics can be seen in everyday relations between Portuguese speakers and Portuguese resentment towards the popular use of Brazilian Portuguese and its deployment in stereotypical representations of Brazilianess was apparent in much of the feedback I received from participants. Such representations work in similar ways to reinforce stereotypical beliefs Portuguese have about Brazilians in particular. Despite the increasing popularity of Brazilian dialects as the dominant form of Portuguese in popular culture, the consistent pressure on Brazilians to accommodate

language in certain contexts, particularly when someone Portuguese was in a higher position of relative power, was reported by several Brazilian and Luso Africans I spoke to. This accommodation is exemplified in Elena and Joana's adjustment of accent and word usage while working under Marlina and Lina's use of language in the salon, where she describes switching modes – exaggerating her own self-described Brazilianess or softening her accent and using different language - depending upon what she believes certain customers are likely to want to hear in order to, as she told me, “get the best tips!” Nelson also discussed how his teacher at Portuguese school would correct him constantly when he spoke and insist that he needed to learn how to speak “real Portuguese”.

When it comes to the key question of my study – that is, whether the emergence of a collective Luso identity meant that there were meaningful connections being made between Lusophones in order to progress a multi-racial, diverse and unified politics between individuals from the Portuguese speaking world living in London, it would seem that this is not yet occurring, at least not in a highly visible way. While attempts have been made to bring Lusans together for a unified cause, as in the example of the BrasiLusans, a large conglomeration of over 600 members consisting of young members of the Anglo-Brazilian and Anglo-Portuguese organizations which according to their website, “formed over 25 years ago to organise and promote Portuguese and Brazilian social and cultural events in the UK, whilst at the same time raising funds for children in need in both Portugal and Brazil”. After attending one event, during which a caipirinha cocktail making class and samba dancing lessons were offered, I observed that very little conversation between individuals at the event was focused on social issues or the group's charitable endeavors. The focus, instead, was very much on consuming a very particularly Western appropriation of Brazilianess. This version of Brazilian culture is one that was not actively questioned or rejected by Brazilians I engaged with who were at the event, nor with João or Lina, who

mobilize them strategically when they deem necessary. Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) describe the important link between cultural performance and ethnocultural consumption and the politics of representation. In her study of emerging Latino markets in America and the commercial and political targeting of Latinos, Dávila (2001 & 2008) posits that cultural consumption often impacts the potential to imagine a common politics for Latinos who, despite internal diversity, often share similar political concerns due to common experiences of exclusion. Similarly for Lusophones in London, the sharing of political concerns – which could be identified and mobilized through similar language and concerns around the experience of exclusion – are instead avoided and the collective consumption of culture in the name of charity occurs. Maria and Alfredo's Brazilian flag in their shop window and offering of Brazilian products on their shelves is more about courting customers than embracing cultural diversity in ethnocultural products. In fact, on the contrary, Brazilian commodities became another mode to draw boundaries around their distinctly inferior quality in comparison with comparable Portuguese products.

The issue of race and how it is sidestepped, and therefore not confronted in meaningful ways, in several contexts. First, the boundary work of moral distinction allows a way for Portuguese to distinguish themselves from Brazilians and Luso Africans outside of racial difference. My research suggests that age is important when understanding how race is approached by Portuguese participants in particular, as the limo driver in the café who plainly stated Salazar would “clean up” “shit” that is the “migrant flooded” streets of Lisbon, it seems that Nelson's intuition about race as centrally important but approached less directly in contemporary relations, is a valid one. Furthermore, Portuguese and Brazilians I spoke to expressed little knowledge of Luso African geography, history, or culture. When asked about Mozambique and Angola, most Portuguese participants used negative words to describe them as “scary” and “dangerous” places. Associations with post-revolution stories

of colonists being killed by locals were often brought up in conversations with Portuguese participants. Several Brazilian participants offered more favorable descriptions of Luso African culture, but linked entirely to ethnocultural consumption. When asked about the country and culture of Mozambique for example, Brazilian Claudio described the food as “delicious and very spicy” and Brazilian Lina responded that Cape Verde is “really cool for a beach vacation”. The issue of race is one that researchers taking up similar work should consider closely.

Through my work I have provided a starting point for researchers interested in exploring Lusophone identity construction specifically. More broadly, I have aimed to provide insights into the processes of postcolonial diasporic identity construction by highlighting how everyday relations reflect and reinforce the tensions of the past but also create spaces for increased interaction and cooperation, albeit many of these opportunities are organized around cultural consumption rather than political or cultural solidarity. In addition, further work in this area must address with more detail and care the Luso African community at the periphery of mainstream constructions of Luseness in London and fretfully simplified, neutralized, negatively associated or completely absent from the imagination of so many of the Portuguese and Brazilian participants that I spoke with. So many of them describe similar aspirations and struggles and yet, so much of their interaction is mitigated by a history of racism and the oppressive discursive regime of colonialism. As João declared:

London becoming crowded? That’s funny. I wonder if the Portuguese kings ever talked of crowding when they were invading cities and claiming them for their own, making free people slaves and perverting native cultures. People have to accept that people go where the resources are, this is in history. There is nothing scary about that. Is there difference? Yes. People are always different. But the goal is always the same...to live a better life.

"A better life." The cogwheel at the center of the migrant story. At its most fundamental level, a story that connects people from all Portuguese-speaking countries, some of the most fluid in the world, in terms of transmigration. For all their common experience and affinities, strategies of distinction and opposition inhibit the coming together of a more equitable and meaningful collective identity. The position of some will always be privileged in the construction of a cohesive identity, however, the distance between what is the same and what is different seems one that is too far to negotiate for Lusophones who do not see each others' contributions as necessarily equitable in that construction. Because so much of their identities are wrapped up creating oppositions between each other, a coming together of the collective is a coming undone of any one group. But where change is possible, hope remains.

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