Brazilian migration into London:

Mobility and Contemporary Borders

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.
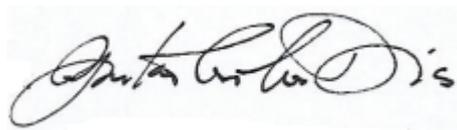
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Gustavo Tentoni Dias

"No matter how hard you try,
you can't stop us now"

(RATM, Renegades Of Funk)

Abstract

My research addresses the relations between migrants, mobility, tactics, negotiation, and the definition of borders after 9/11. The empirical focus of the thesis analyses how Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba perform mobility through airports located in the Schengen area including British territory in moving to London; and how, after becoming undocumented, they deal with the UK's inner borders. I use the notion of journey and routes to explore how migration is a negotiation, where actions and skills remain an important link between the migrant and the social spaces through which s/he moves. Thus I contribute to migration and border studies by moving beyond a perspective focused exclusively on migration policies. I question to what degree the fact that borders have proliferated and discriminately filtered migrants can be understood without empirical data focused on the daily actions of these mobile people. Indeed migrants deal with and struggle against border regimes, but they are not powerless social actors. My study argues that migrants are important social actors and a key to understanding how migration takes place through border regimes. Migrants employ cunning tactics to reinvent their journey in negotiation with institutions and structures of power, which manage and delimit their movement with targets and threats. In this process, I explore migration as a process of skilled manoeuvres developed through practical knowledge and exchanges of life experiences by Brazilians in order to journey through the external and internal porosities of EU border regimes.

Acknowledgements

I dedicate this study to my beloved father, Luis Curto Dias, who always filled my imagination with his stories from Portugal and Mozambique, but sadly left us just a few months after I returned to Brazil.

Contents

Chapter 1

Introducing Brazilian tactical mobility into London

> *"[f]or some people – all kinds of migrants and people who live along borders – crossing borders is an inescapable feature of life; it is a mode of being in the world"* *(Sharam Khosravi 2010: 4).*

Introduction

Migration and border controls are two concepts that constantly appear in the international news headlines. They show the tense border crossing negotiation between overseas travellers and the EU border regime. Vessels, filled with migrants, being tackled by EU coastguards in the Mediterranean; UK Border Agency immigration officers searching for undocumented citizens; migrants hiding themselves under lorries crossing the Port of Calais are constantly reported in the press. Nonetheless, the scenario has worsened with the number of overseas migrants coming from different regions around EU sharply increasing in the last year, and with deaths becoming a recurrent part of the daily news.

Alongside the reportage of death due to hazardous migration journeys, the EU continues to invest in border security[1]. The surveillance industry is a growing sector. Mark Maguire et al. call attention to the fact that the "diverse security landscape is filled with state, non-state and international agencies, universities, think tanks, arms manufacturers, various private contractors, 'user-experiences' and the experiences of victims (2014:03)." EU airports, for instance, have become transformed into filters for mobile people in the technology war employed at passport controls. Known as *Smart Borders*, new border management systems are seen as efficient tools to restrain overseas migrants. Smart Borders are able to control the entry and exit of any non-European citizens, as well as storing their biometric data to be monitored in the inner territory (Curry 2004, Côté-Boucher 2008, Kubal 2014). Not surprisingly, we have witnessed the emergence of terms such as *Fortress Europe* and *Machine of Governmentality* to express how strictly the EU has been managing its external and internal borders to stop the so-called *migration invasion of Europe* (Amnesty International 2014, Mezzadra and Neilson 2013).

Although the European Union has spent billions of euros on high-tech systems to block the entry of unwanted travellers, migration at Europe's door has not abated. Thousands of migrants continue to challenge the *Smart Borders* and find their porosities to get into the EU. Acting as a *Leviathan* whose eyes are a long way from the ground, the EU still struggles to comprehend and capture the non-linear movements of overseas migrants through its borders. This gives these travellers a slight advantage in negotiating their mobility with the border

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[1] According to the project 'The Migrants' Files (2016), the cost of deportations in Europe is close to 1 billion euro per year. By following the money trail made by this project, the EU spent 11,300 million euro on deportation (buses, flights and voluntary return programmes), 955 million euro on European coordination efforts, 670 million euro on Frontex, 230 million euro on research and development programmes, 226 million euro on European border guards, 77 million on fortification (walls and fences), 75 million euro on technical assistance to neighbouring countries, 46 million euro on detention centres, 16 million euro on research on an 'artificial nose' that sniffs out refugees and migrants hiding at border crossing points, 8 million euro in Eurodock (a system that stores the fingerprints of all asylum seekers), and 4.7 million euro on the Melilla Wall.

controls. In fact, the ability to succeed in such border negotiations varies considerably (Papadopolous et al. 2008, Khosravi 2010). Brazilians, in particular, are one of these migrant groups who have developed particular tactics of border crossing to negotiate their mobility with the EU border regime.

Through the narratives of Brazilians in London and returned migrants in Brazil, travel agents, and migrants' family members, this thesis explores how migrants negotiate their mobility with the EU border regime (represented in this study by the Schengen Area and the UK Border Agency) at multiple levels, including the global, the national, the local, the individual and the corporeal. It focuses on the negotiation by Brazilians with these two border controls, and its impact on their mobility. I, particularly, unpack the knowledge, skills and tactical behaviour of these migrants in moving through external and internal border controls to live in London.

My study contributes to migration and border studies in revealing the mobility features and particular negotiation established between migrants and border controls. Migration and border-related research has advanced in recent decades to consider the EU surveillance patterns of the entry of overseas migrants (Verstraete 2010, Adey 2004, Tazzioli 2014). Despite the fact that the studies argue that borders are an important factor influencing migration in the European Union, there remains a relative lack of research examining how migrants tactically overcome border controls, especially with regard to the Schengen Area and UK inner borders. The scholars' main emphasis is on critical analyses of how migration governmentality produces strict politics of mobility and attempts to define a *citizenship of the borders* (Balibar 2004, 2010, Garelli 2012, Khosravi 2010). Yet the way in which migrants

have negotiated their own mobility with border controls has been largely under researched in these studies. This is what I propose to reveal by exploring Brazilian migration into London.

Framing contemporary Brazilian migration

In the last three decades, Brazil has become a country with more than 2.5 million Brazilians living abroad (Ministério das Relações Exteriores 2012). The United States (1,200,000) and European countries such as Portugal (140,426), Spain (128,238) and, recently, the United Kingdom (118,000) have been the main destinations. As Brazilians are allowed to enter the UK holding a visitor visa, this country has become one of the main destinations in the last decade (Vertovec 2007). The numbers sharply increased, particularly, after 9/11 when the US reinforced its external borders, and the 2008 global financial crisis strongly impacted the economies of the two Iberian countries (Dias 2015, Schrooten et al. 2015).

As a result, Brazilians currently "represent a significant new migrant community in London (McIlwaine et al. 2011) whose presence contributes to the extensive diversification of migration flows to the city that has led to Vertovec's (2007) coining of the term 'superdiversity'" (Sheringham 2011:06). Although researchers still consider economic factors such as unemployment, low salaries and inflation as the main reasons why Brazilians have migrated to countries in the Global North, recent studies suggest that London cannot be understood through this dated argument[2]. There is, rather, a need to move beyond this

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[2] The first scholars on Brazilian migration considered the "Lost Decade" in the 1980s (a period characterized by economic turmoil caused by two oil crises – 1973 and 1979 – and the Mexican financial crisis in 1982, which spread rapidly throughout Latin America) as the economic and social factors explaining the movement abroad (Kawamura 1994, Sales 1995; see also Sasaki 1995, Linger 1997). According to Sales (1995) and Margolis (1994), during the 1980s migration became a temporary solution for a middle class that was struggling to keep their lifestyle. In addition, the economic power of the dollar compared with the Brazilian national currency, which was daily devalued by inflation, was an opportunity to improve their lives in Brazil in a short period of time. Despite the fact that this is a very dated historical period that contributed to an understanding of the massive migration of a white middle class, contemporary studies still explore this as a starting point to explain current Brazilian migration (Tsuda 2003, Albuquerque 2012; see also Siqueira 2009, Carvalho and Campos 2006).

explanation which does not cover the recent transformations experienced by Brazilians since the late 1990s, and how this has affected the mobility of their population abroad (Martins Jr. 2012, Martins Jr. and Dias 2013, Evans et al. 2007).

According to these scholars, the economic crisis experienced by Brazilian society in the late 1980s is no longer a reasonable explanation of ongoing migration movements to the British capital, which started in the late 1990s. This is especially because the majority of Brazilian migrants currently comprise a young lower middle class who were not cast out of Brazil by poverty or unemployment, but by the desire to enjoy a Western way of life very much promoted by London's superdiversity, the Brazilian media and also returned migrants (Torresan 1994, Martins Jr and Dias 2013, Evans et al. 2011). Martins Jr and Dias state that "The ease of consumption of material goods, travel and cultural goods (theater, museums, bars and restaurants) found in the receiving society, becomes central in the lives of this young population […]" (2013: 828). Nonetheless, as this study reveals, these Brazilians also know that to take part in this idealized vibrant London lifestyle it is fundamental to overcome both Schengen and UK border controls.

Borders and migration

In the last two decades, the literature on borders has questioned the dominance of the metaphorical concept of 'flow' and the notion of a borderless world that permeates most of the studies focused on global mobilities (Balibar 2002, Wilson and Weber 2008; see also Kirby 2011). Border studies suggest that the globalized world is currently experiencing a proliferation of borders (Khosravi 2010, Mezzadra and Neilson 2008). This seems even more the case after the events of 11th September 2001, when borders became crucial sites of technological military investment within a strong political rhetoric particularly defending

anti-immigration policies. Scholars on border studies, Perera (2009), Salazar and Smart (2011), Riosmena and Massey (2012) and Mezzadra and Neilson (2013) equally share the point of view that although mobility constitutes globalization, governments have increased control and restricted free movement through their external and internal borders.

In the European Union, border reinforcement "is closely related to the development of European citizenship and the management of migration flows, and the border regime itself 'produces' the foreigner" (Bojadžijev and Saint-Saëns 2006:01). Studies demonstrate that the EU border regime obstructs and produces a sense of exclusion, putting migration under constant regulation (Kubal 2013, Dias 2014; see also Pai 2008). The implementation of high technology along with the use of agencies specializing in the security of EU external borders has focused on filtering overseas migrants. However, border controls are no longer restricted to the geographical European Union boundaries; they are rather elastic and also cover the inner territory. Borders are now recognized as part of the everyday life of undocumented migrants who have managed to enter the EU (Balibar 2002; Mezzadra 2011, 2012a).

Classic accounts of migration, in this context, have increasingly been found inadequate for understanding the complex interrelationships between migration and border processes (Fitzgerald 2009, Hunter et al. 2010). Although research on migration, which addresses more permanent forms of relocation, is a closely associated body of research exploring human movement, it does not fully grasp the knowledge, improvisation and negotiation found in the more varied forms of mobility performed by my respondents through border controls. Traditional migration-related studies have strongly concentrated on the beginning and end points of the migration journey, putting aside the particular negotiations that migrants have to undertake with border controls to succeed in relocating. Therefore, mobility itself and the

negotiation established between border crossers and border crossing reinforcement that compose migration as an analytical object have long remained understudied (Vila 2000, Mezzadra and Neilson 2013; see also Khosravi 2010, Dias 2013).

Positioning the research and its objectives

By analysing the migration process of Brazilians living in London, I examine how migrants negotiate specific mobilities under contemporary border regimes. I argue that young Brazilians from the lower middle class, in particular, exercise forms of tactical migration mobility as a way of participating in globalization. Global cities in Western Europe and North America, their material prosperity and cultural environment, are accessed by these migrants through particular forms of migration which have not been closely examined. This thesis shows what they are and how they are negotiated.

My case study focuses on migrants from Alto Paranaiba, a Brazilian region with an established history of international migration to London, but very little examined by migration studies[3]. The local young adult population (between 20 and 35 years old) from the lower middle class, especially, understand international migration as a chance to leave behind the quiet social life of their towns and access a dynamic and vibrant lifestyle that London can offer them. Nonetheless, they are aware of the fact that travelling to the United Kingdom demands a constant negotiation with external and internal border controls. They have to find a way to move through it; and at this point, the migration mobility of these young Brazilians assumes a particular form. My findings suggest that, along with skilled travel agents and long-term migrants, these migrants produce, incorporate and play tactical characters that can

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[3] The way I met these Brazilians and learned about their massive international movement will be further discussed in the methodological chapter.

smooth their mobility through border controls. Thus, by shedding light precisely on the tactics of these migrants, I unpack the types of negotiation these Brazilians engage with in order to access and live in London.

My research shows that migration is a movement characterized by negotiation, and migrants are powerful social actors. Indeed they produce creative resistance to reinvent their mobility through the surveillance apparatus, which manages and delimits places with targets and threats. Considering this, I argue that to understand how these Brazilians negotiate their mobility with different EU border controls – Schengen and British passport controls and the UK inner borders – it is necessary to unpack their tactical behaviour in these interactions. Among several possible starting points, and inspired by the works of Michel de Certeau (1997) and Erving Goffman (1969), I recognize respectively *tactics* and *performance* as powerful theoretical and conceptual tools working for sociological imagination and able to capture such interactions from below, specifically from the point of view of migrants. My study considers that migrants do play a crucial role in this negotiation with border controls through what I call the *tactics of border crossing*. They are skilled manoeuvres composed of practical knowledge and an exchange of life experiences about the globalized world that these Brazilians have lived through. Moreover, these tactics are adapted/produced and performed according to the borders journeyed through by the migrants.

I consider that these border crossing tactics define the mobility from Alto Paranaiba as particular forms of negotiation with contemporary border regimes. The migration, as this study will show, is a movement that searches for alternative paths and porosities through the border controls positioned on the EU frontiers. Therefore, analysing the migration journeys of these Brazilians will contribute to migration scholarship, as it provides new information about

how migrants are skilled travellers who negotiate their mobility with external as well as inner borders. Besides, it also reveals how borders work in the everyday lives of migrants. In order to unfold this particular form of migration, the research considers the following three main empirical questions:

1- What motivates young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba to design particular forms of migration mobility?

2- How do they negotiate with the external borders of the EU and UK border regimes?

3- How do they negotiate the UK's inner borders while living in London?

In answering these three empirical questions, the thesis builds my argument that these young Brazilians from the lower middle class negotiate their mobility with border controls through particular *tactics of border crossing*, in order to participate in globalization. They are produced through *technical* and *tactical skills* which come from knowledge about how borders operate in practice through different social spaces of migrant mobility.

Outline of the thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. This opening chapter presents an overview of the study. I frame contemporary Brazilian migration and to what extent migration to London presents particular features. I then introduce the current academic debates on migration and borders that will guide this study. Finally, this chapter presents the empirical and theoretical contributions that the present study will provide to the migration field.

Chapter 2 outlines the main theoretical debates on migration mobility. This chapter reviews the literature on mobility and borders that constitutes migration studies. It begins by exploring studies focusing on borders and then moves to an analysis of how mobility has been theorized and the way migration is contextualized in these discussions. It ends by positioning this study and its main contribution to migration research: unpacking the tactics of border crossing created by migrants to negotiate their mobility with contemporary border regimes and challenge Smart Borders. By bringing together studies on mobility and migration, borders and more grounded research on the everyday lives of migrants, this chapter reveals some fruitful insights in examining the tactics of border crossing utilized by young Brazilian migrants from Alto Paranaiba in order to journey to the UK and live in London.

Chapter 3 turns to the methodological tools which were utilized to address the research questions and objectives. It starts by showing how my study took an ethnographic approach that comprises multi-sited fieldwork and in-depth semi-structured interviews in several research sites in London, Alto Paranaiba and greater Lisbon. Behind this lies my own experience as a Brazilian migrant and researcher. I emphasize how the fieldwork conducted with this particular migrant group along the routes passing through these three places is interwoven with my own migration trajectory. Finally, the chapter outlines the specific methodological framework chosen to address my research questions, the rationale behind the approach, research ethics, and a description of the final sample of research participants and their recruitment.

Chapter 4 is the opening empirical chapter, and it answers the first empirical question that explores what motivates young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba to design particular forms of migration. This chapter, then, initially unfolds the reasons why young Brazilians from the

lower middle class, in Alto Paranaiba, are stimulated to choose international migration as a way to fulfil their expectations of a global lifestyle. It reveals that these Brazilians see migration as a social practice not exclusively restricted to searching for better work opportunities in Western Europe or the United States. The desire to live in 'big cities', share public spaces with people from other nationalities, travel and consume the latest electronic goods are, I discovered, important in the mobility performed by the research respondents. The chapter further examines how these young Brazilians are aware that contemporary *globalization* has also generated a proliferation of borders, which forces them to search for skilled travel agents specialized in designing the package tours that can make them look like tourists.

Chapter 5 answers part of the second empirical question that guides this study, which is how these migrants deal with external borders. It explores the role played by travel agents in the international migration of young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba to the Global North. I argue that travel agents in Alto Paranaiba are people skilled in producing tactical package tours, which enable migrants to get past airport border controls. To support this argument, the chapter shows how this particular *tactic of border crossing* comes from two embodied skills identified in the fieldwork conducted in Alto Paranaiba: the *technical skills* in preparing the documents and other procedures involved in international travel, and the *tactical skills* to 'domesticate' the passport controls of international airports.

Based on the fieldwork conducted in London and Alto Paranaiba, **Chapter 6** also answers the second empirical question. It shows how these Brazilians put the travel agents' tactics of *travelling as a tourist* into practice to overcome the Schengen and UK airport passport controls, and get into London. According to the research respondents, the success of their

mobility through the airports depends on their ability to play the role of convincing tourist characters. This chapter, therefore, unpacks how such tactics of border crossing are theatrically performed by the young migrants from Alto Paranaiba to access the porosities in passport controls at airports located in the Schengen area and in the British territory.

Chapter 7 answers the last empirical question which examines how the young Brazilians negotiate their mobility with the UK's inner borders while living in London. More precisely, it explores how these Brazilians have to struggle with this border control, once their visitor visa expires. Living in a city where identity controls are a social practice that permeates various daily activities, undocumented migrants from Alto Paranaiba have to tactically negotiate their mobility through the inner borders of London without being denounced by their undocumented status. Thus this last analytical chapter brings together the findings from the fieldwork conducted in London. It unpacks three tactics of border crossing movement developed by these Brazilians to take advantage of the porosities of the inner borders: 1) *navigating the city*, 2) *dwelling on the move*, and 3) *becoming a Southern European*. As the chapter argues, the purpose behind these three tactics is to make these Brazilians invisible in the London urban fabric, to escape the risk of deportation.

Chapter 8 returns to the empirical questions and considers the main findings. It looks at some of the conceptual and empirical contributions of the study, in particular the notion of negotiation with the border regimes as an integral part of the migration of the young Brazilian migrants from Alto Paranaiba, in multiple everyday layers. My study argues that migrants are skilled global travellers who know how to interact with and overcome border regimes and their surveillance apparatus, including restrictive migration policies. This main finding is explained through the different *tactical movements* explored in the empirical chapters of the

thesis. I specifically take the concept of the *tactics of border crossing* as a tool to examine how migrants conduct such negotiation through a more grounded perspective, where practical knowledge, skills and also improvisation produce particular forms of mobility. Finally, the chapter briefly outlines how some of the main findings of the study can fruitfully be taken forward in future research.

Chapter 2

Migration as a constant process of negotiation:

framing contemporary borders, mobility and tactical performance.

> *"The migrant has been given the additional burden of signifying a modern condition"* *(Tim Cresswell 2006: 19).*

Introduction

While there is a vast amount of literature on migration recognizing that human movement across the globe is one of the practices through which globalization is constituted, and relating it to the increase of border control in the Global North (Ribeiro 2014), there is a dearth of research examining how migrants negotiate their mobility under the constraints of contemporary border regimes, in everyday migrant life. The movement made by migrants and the tactics involved in it through all the stages of their journey – before, during and after they have migrated – has been clearly neglected in migration and borders research. Aiming to fill this research gap, I contribute to this scholarship by focusing on how Brazilians negotiate with the Schengen and UK border controls while migrating into London. My study examines the tactics performed by young Brazilians to overcome airport border controls and the UK's inner borders in order to fulfil their dream of living in the Global North. This research approach will provide migration and border studies with a better understanding of how these

mobile people grasp the so-called globalized world and its border regimes, and how borders operate in their everyday lives.

Migration research focuses predominantly on the departure and arrival points of the migration journey, while the features of mobility between the two is misrepresented and simplified by general concepts of informal networks and flows (Assis 2008, Siqueira 2009, Sheringham 2011). Moreover, studies on undocumented migrants in the inner nation state territory have dedicated particular attention to migrants' relationship with the law. For example, the studies have focused on the European context which explores rights-citizenship within the legal framework of the European Union (Balibar 2010; Kubal 2013, 2014).

There has also been a marked lack of engagement with the work of scholars who have called for a focus on migrants as empowered actors in the process of border crossing (Mezzadra 2012b, Papadopolous et al. 2008), or what Sharam Khosravi (2010) has called 'border transgressors'. This thesis therefore moves beyond the analysis of migration mobility limited to abstract and fluid metaphors or a macro perspective, and proposes to contribute to migration studies by unfolding the *tactics of border crossing* of Brazilians in the process of negotiation with contemporary external and internal border controls. So it will explore Brazilian migration as a grounded movement whereby migrants have to constantly negotiate their journey *through* and not *on* or *by* the passport controls of EU and UK airports and the British inner borders monitored by the UK Border Agency.

In the light of this, the conceptual framework for this study embraces theoretical studies of mobility, and contemporary borders, along with social theorists who reflect on *tactics*, *negotiation* (de Certeau 1997), and *performance* (Goffman 1969). The approach adopted here

aims to capture some of the elements which show how migration and its tactics of border crossing is a subtle process of negotiation involving people, places and skills. This perspective will allow this study to provide new insights into processes that have often been documented by migration and even border studies, as I will demonstrate, but have been under-theorized or misrepresented.

This theoretical chapter is divided into three main parts. I begin the first part by placing contemporary theories of borders in relation to broader theories on migration and surveillance. I reference studies that reflect on borders beyond their material and geographical limitations, as social relationships that extend into territories. Section two situates my research within wider debates on migration, how mobility studies can bring new insights to this field, and sets out the arguments to be developed in the next section. This section also presents how my study focuses on the self-experience of migrants to reflect on the way migratory mobility and borders not only characterize the contemporary world, but are also shaped by individuals. I conclude by highlighting some of the main contributions this thesis brings to existing migration and border research, by showing how migrants create and carry out tactics in their negotiation with borders.

Framing contemporary borders

Border scholars consider that, far from geographical barriers serving merely to block or obstruct the global passage of people, contemporary borders have become flexible and are in constant formation (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013, Balibar 2010; see also Perera 2009, Papadopolous and Tsianos 2007). In that sense, current studies argue that today borders cannot be understood as things. They are rather relationships produced by border reinforcement and border crossing movements (Vila 2000, Mezzadra 2012a, 2012b). While

the state is trying to protect its territory as well as the national economy from unwanted arrivals (Curry 2004)[4], the border crossings by migrants result in struggles and in some cases deportation.

Thus, borders work equally as "devices of inclusion that select and filter people and different forms of circulation in ways no less violent than those deployed in exclusionary measures" (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013:7). Taking this into account, the border encompasses a "variegated spectrum of spaces, and inevitably also includes the airports (or seaports) where migrants undergo inspection by immigration authorities commonly as documented migrants or travellers first, with visas that later may be overstayed or violated" (De Genova 2013: 04). The more the circulation of people happens across the globe, the more borders become intertwined at frontiers and in the inner territory.

Not surprisingly, air travel and airports have gained considerable relevance in research on contemporary borders (Wilson and Weber 2008, Adey 2006). Studies have particularly focused on examining the use of high technology at airports and the reinforcement of restrictive migration law in these spaces. Although their findings contribute to thinking on migratory mobility, the ordinary interaction between migrants as air travellers and passport controls remains unexplored. There is a clear lack of empirical data in border studies. Likewise, migration theory has failed to explore airports as migration management centres controlled by governments and their agencies. I therefore explore the benefits of examining airports in a more detailed way. Rather than just seeing them as spaces of circulation,

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[4] Although states and certain economic interests also benefit from migrants, particularly undocumented ones that can be exploited (De Genova 2004, Mezzadra and Neilson 2013).

impenetrable machines of governmentality or simply ignoring them, it is necessary to unpack the negotiations between the border controls and the migrants who arrive there. We must capture the porosities migrants searched for to overcome the strict *border crossing reinforcement* at these spaces. These porosities enable us to glimpse the particular negotiations involved in the migratory mobility and give us the chance to understand how migrants overcome these heavily monitored spaces (Vila 2000, Mezzadra and Neilson 2013). And that demands empirical data.

The transformation in the control of passenger mobility at airports after September 11th was a turning point in Brazilian migration. I argue that the massive migration of Brazilians to Europe and especially to London at the beginning of the 2000s resulted from the strict border controls imposed by the American government after 9/11 (Ceyhan 2008, Verstraete 2010, Riosmena and Massey 2012). Brazilian migrants' main option in order to reach the European continent is through airports. According to Frontex, the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union, established in 2004, today the main entry route of "[...] migrants into the EU is via international airports: most of those who currently reside in the EU illegally originally entered in possession of valid travel documents and a visa whose validity period they have since overstayed" (Frontex 2012). Thus the restriction on Brazilians has also gained force among the European Union state members of the border-free Schengen Area, who have transformed their borders as a mechanism to control the influx of people since September 11th (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013.

Airports as borders: queuing to be filtered

> At the beginning of the twenty-first century there are well over 700 million movements across international borders each year (compared with twenty-five million in 1950); [...]. It involves people travelling for work-related reasons, legal and increasingly illegal, those travelling for leisure and pleasure, again legally and illegally, those travelling as refugees or asylum-seekers, and those being smuggled voluntarily as migrants and involuntarily as short-term and disposable slaves (Urry 2003:61).

In the last two decades air travel has been established as the main form of transportation across the world. As a result, scholars such as John Urry (2003, 2007) and Marc Auge (1995) have noted that airports are spaces of high circulation of people. Nonetheless, both theorists present subtle differences in their perspectives. While Auge defines airports as non-places, places of high transience that do not hold enough significance to be regarded as "places" (1995); Urry, on the other hand, alerts us to the importance of examining airports through his concept of the 'mobility/moorings dialectic' (2003).

For Urry, one of the main characteristics of this world is the relationship between mobilities and immobilities. "There is no linear increase in fluidity without extensive systems of immobilities" (2007:54). In that sense, mobile life has become constituted through "material worlds that involve new and distinct moorings that enable, produce and presuppose extensive new mobilities" (Urry, 2003:138). Using this definition to reflect on airports, Urry argues that airports are immobile moorings that allow the circulation of people. There is no mobility without context, without something to push off from. Peter Adey (2006) explains that Urry's

concept of the 'mobility/mooring dialectic' is an answer to the fluidic definition of liquid modernity developed by Zygmunt Bauman (2000).

> According to Urry there has to be some kind of holding, some friction for things to happen. Rather than over-romanticise the fluidic 'Liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000) of the incredibly complex and mobile world in which we live, there has to be some form of stability to generate such complexity (Adey 2006:86).

From Urry's point of view, airports can be seen as stable places that generate mobility. However, Adey pushes this concept further. He demonstrates that airports are not merely static and fixed spaces promoting circulation. They are actually "made up of thousands, millions, billions of movements that interact with one another in many different ways. […] space is never still, it can never just be – because mobilities compose material processes and becoming" (2006:90). In this context, borders are social spaces which produce and are produced through the interaction between border agencies and the travellers moving through them. According to governments, airports and their border controls are responsible for regulating and enabling people to move safely across the world. Airports, therefore, are spaces where there are policies of mobility. In this context, workers, passport controls, and bylaws make up some of the internal composition of this immobile mooring which differentiates movement according to different people in different social circumstances. In one sense, Adey (2006) criticizes the flat perspective given to airports as mere spaces of circulation. By bringing in the mobile/mooring concept of Urry and exploring airports as immobile moorings he affirms that mobility is not the same for all passengers. While the principle of the system works by speeding up the mobility of regular flyers who frequent VIP areas in the airports and fly in reserved areas, it slows down the higher-risk passengers in

order to examine in more detail the reason why they are landing or passing through that mooring. At this point airports start playing different roles for different types of mobile people.

Following Adey's argument, this study contributes to migration and border studies by revealing airports as places of transition or plugging, where the negotiation between migrants and passport controls reaches its peak as the contact between both is inevitable. Rather than seeing it as a space without *anthropological meaning* or merely as a space of circulation – as Auge (1995) and Urry (2000, 2007) respectively suggest – I argue that airports, for migrants in particular, gain shape and name and are filled with feelings. Following Maguire argument, airports are "machines for producing certain types of 'normal' behaviours and reactions (2014:125)". For me, airports like other forms of monitored social spaces are marked by the co-presence of strategies of power control and tactics of overcoming them. Thus, migration through them is a movement characterized less by "freedom" and flows, as by loss, fear and deprivation through borders, which play different symbolic roles among mobile people.

> [f]or a rich person from a rich country, a person who tends towards the cosmopolitan [...], the border has become an embarkation formality, a point of symbolic acknowledgement of his social status, to be passed at a jog-trot. For a poor person from a poor country, however, the border tends to be something quite different: not only is it an obstacle which is very difficult to surmount, but it is a place he runs up against repeatedly, passing and repassing through it as and when he is expelled or allowed to rejoin his family, so that it becomes, in the end, a place where he resides (Balibar 2002:83).

Grounded in this argument, airports must be understood as places that gain prominence according to who moves through them. However, as I will argue below, such interaction

demands from us a careful re-examination of how border scholars have theoretically framed these spaces.

The literature on borders, after the attacks committed in the United States, shows how airports across the world massively increased their systems of security in order to distinguish between mobile people and remove risks and threats from the inner borders of the state (Curry 2004, Côté-Boucher 2008, Codourey 2008). Likewise, the European Union's security and policies "also extended to entail a clear migration policy component" (Papadopoulos et al. 2008:169). The implementation of high technology along with the use of agencies specialized in the security of external borders such as Frontex at the airports located in the Schengen Area, and in the British and Irish territories, has transformed airports into spaces monitored by technological borders. They are truly security zones focused on filtering overseas people including potential migrants. Migration controls are "designed to arrest and control movement, processing people according to their past and potential future mobilities, and often confining them for lengthy periods of time" (Cresswell and Merriman 2011:08). Airports are, thus, analysed as a powerful Sovereign Machine of Governmentality.

Because of this, for critical studies of borders, these places cannot be summarized as *spaces of circulation*, but as *borderscapes* – systems composed of people and infrastructure, that work as corridors leading people somewhere – (Perera 2009, Papadopolous et al. 2008, Mezzadra and Neilson 2013). In other words, they are zones or *scapes* where governance, sovereignty, power and security are spatialized.

The abstract definition of borderscapes

The concept of the 'scape' explored by border studies is inextricably linked to the work of Arjun Appadurai (1990). Attempting to capture the shifting connection between the local and the global in the contemporary globalized world, Appadurai, in his article *Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy* (1990), defines the global cultural economy as an unpredictable flow of capital, people, and information that occurs in and through five different dimensions defined by him as scapes – ethnoscapes, technoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes. Although Appadurai still defines different types of mobility as a *flow*, he coins the term *scape* to capture the sheer speed of these movements. The suffix *scape*, by analogy to landscapes – scene and view – gives material shape and meaning by human action (Salazar 2013). They are spaces where flows are understood from the perspective of socio-historically situated groups and individuals. It means that scapes are not relations "which look the same from every angle of vision, but rather that these are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected very much by the historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different sort of actions: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities […]" (Appadurai 1990:296). In other words, scapes are the result of global processes, while the processes are specifiable "flows".

It is through this topographical metaphor developed in the 1990s, that border scholars such as Mezzadra and Neilson (2013), Perera (2009) and Papadopolous et al. (2008) have explored the term borderscapes to understand how borders – including airports – are historically constructed by nation states to control the comings and goings of people in national territories. Despite the fact that this concept offers a social-historical perspective to understand how borders are constructed and transformed through time, I argue that it is still focused on a macro-state point of view, the governmental one. Migrants as border crossers

become mistakenly overshadowed in these studies. The abstract concept of borderscapes is not able to capture the layers that reveal the interaction between migrants and governments via passport control.

In the following section, I explain how my study aims to offer a new contribution to situated borders as a lived space, where the interaction between migration mobility and border controllers actually takes place. The concept of social space worked on by Henri Lefebvre and carefully adjusted to the environment researched in my thesis will be explored along with the social theorists' focus on mobility that will be discussed shortly in this chapter (Ingold 2011b, Knowles 2011, de Certeau 1997, Cresswell 2006). In fact, such theoretical dialogue is perfectly suitable, as the Lefebvrian theory of social space is very much present in the basis of their concepts of journey, skills, knowledge and tactics.

Borders as *social spaces*: shifting the definition of borderscapes.

Mobility is a social practice interwoven with borders where the subject navigates his or her itinerary. Embedded in the definition of lived space coined by Henri Lefebvre I argue that studies on migration can considerably progress through a better understanding of how borders and migrants interact. Like borderscapes, the concept of *social space* gives special attention to social-historical transformation. Furthermore, combined with *lived space* it also enables an understanding of how migrants deal with the border controls. And this is what I try to bring to the surface in my study, the possibility of reading borders from a more grounded perspective.

Borders are spaces that are not fixed or static, but interactive for a given subject who negotiates her/his movement through them. Thus, I use the definition of *social spaces* theorized by Lefebvre (1991) to explore the power relations that are embedded in these

spaces. The central point for Lefebvre (1991) is that space is a product of capitalism and that we have to understand the active role of space in people lives. For him, social space absorbs social actions, the actions of subjects. "From the point of view of these subjects, the behaviour of their space is at once vital and mortal: within it they develop, give expression to themselves, and encounter prohibitions; then they perish, and that same space contains their graves" (Lefebvre 1991:33-34). Social space, from a knowledge perspective, is an apparatus to examine social relations as well as social actors.

Therefore, my theoretical approach refuses to see space either as a container or as a generator for everyday life, but rather under constant production. It proposes to understand space as a 'concrete' social space produced by everyday practices. Like the production of knowledge, ideologies, meanings and discourses, Lefebvre says that space is a human product, or a complex social construction (based on values and the social production of meanings) which affects spatial practices and perceptions. According to Lukasz Stanek (2011), Lefebvre's argument implies shifting the research perspective from space to the processes of its own production. Such a new perspective embraces the multiplicity of spaces that are socially produced and made productive in social practices. (Social) space is therefore alive and under a constant dynamic logic of self-production where people's interactions – including mobility – play a crucial role. As Lefebvre argues,

> (Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object. At the same time there is nothing imagined, unreal or 'ideal' about it as compared, for example, with science, representations, ideas or dreams. Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others. Among these actions, some serve production, others consumption (i.e. the enjoyment of the fruits

of production). Social space implies a great diversity of knowledge (1991:73).

What is significant in Lefebvre's approach is that social space is achieved not given. So Lefebvre coined the term *lived space*. Lived space emerges from two elements which interact and intersect with one another to produce space. They are spaces of representation and spatial practices (or perceived space). Spaces of representation are socially produced with symbolism and meaning, while spatial practices are the spaces where daily routine happens in the contemporary world (defined by him as neocapitalism). "It embodies a close association, within perceived space, between daily reality (daily routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up places set aside work, 'private' life and leisure)" (1991:38). So, by considering spaces of representation and spatial practices, this approach intends to reflect on borders beyond passive and fixed geographic milieu. They are lived spaces made up of local forms of knowledge and experience, which result in *skills*. They are social spaces which receive and also produce social transformations.

In this type of approach and in relation to my study, what has to be taken into account is the interplay between border controls and the experiences of the migrants in these spaces where negotiations take place. Instead of seeing borders strictly from the point of view of how they control and filter mobile people as the concept of *borderscapes* proposes, I stress that borders are not just an obstruction element of migration mobility, rather they are a product of interrelations and multiplicity. The border is a dimensional part of mobility which reveals journeys as well as human actions. As a result, it gives meaning to the itineraries that connect mobility to the body, a meaning derived from a particular spatial perspective of living in that space.

Consequently, in order to understand and contextualize the migration of Brazilians into London, it is worth paying attention to how they interact with border controls, and thus experience obligations, entitlements, prohibitions, affection, insults, allies, contracts, enemies, infatuations, compromises, and legitimate expectations. These are some of the feelings and social conditions of my respondents. Thus, by bringing the conceptual definition of social space coined by Lefebvre to reflect on borders along with mobility studies, I take into consideration the intimate interplay between the subject and social space.

Embedded in the Lefebvrian concept, this study argues that the mobility of Brazilian migrants from Alto Paranaiba to London is a process of negotiation of border crossing which starts in the very first airport where they set foot. Rather than seeing airports as non-places, or places of circulation where people make connections, or through an abstract definition of borderscapes where migrants are filtered (Auge 1995, Urry 1995, Perera 2009, Papadopolous et al. 2008), I demonstrate that airports work more as *social border spaces*. Depending on the way that a traveller presents himself/herself at the passport control, they receive particular treatment. In that sense, while borders and their technological apparatus are planned by national governments, they are experienced and activated on an everyday basis by common travellers who have to negotiate with them in order to complete their mobility.

In addition, the Lefebvrian definitions of social space and lived space are very dynamic. Both concepts can be utilized to support my argument that the EU and UK borders are 'elastic' devices that actually follow my respondents from the Brazilian airports to the UK streets. In that sense, I propose to use these two concepts – social space and lived space – to continue to explore the negotiation between border reinforcement and border crossing beyond the airport. My intention is to examine how such negotiation happens when migrants, after passing

through the airport, become undocumented in the United Kingdom. To do that, I will also utilize the powerful concept of inner borders.

The inner borders

Étienne Balibar's (2002, 2004, 2010) concept of *inner borders* is useful for this study. This tool offers the chance to examine how migrants tackle borders continuously even after locating their external porosities, for instance, the passport controls of any airport, and reaching the inner territory of the nation state. The airport's function is not only that of controlling arrivals but also inclusive filtering of them. The airport's transformation is closely linked to the development of European citizenship and the management of migration flows, and the border regime itself 'produces' the foreigner" (Balibar, in Bojadžijev and Saint-Saëns 2006:01). From the airport to the inner borders "security zones are policed by means of layers of security (Maguire 2014:127)."

Thus exploring the assumption that borders are elastic and cannot be reduced to geographical locations, my study highlights the importance of further investigating the negotiation of border crossing reinforcements, and border crossing beyond the airport limits, or external borders. The proliferation of borders invades and permeates localities, which calls for identification. In fact, they are wherever selective controls are to be found. This theoretical perspective therefore suggests that we should approach the borders of Europe in a comprehensive sense.

> The borders of new sociopolitical entities, in which an attempt is being made to preserve all the functions of the sovereignty of the state, are no longer entirely situated at the outer limit of territories; they are dispersed a little everywhere, wherever the movement of information, people, and things is

happening and is controlled – for example, in cosmopolitan cities (Balibar 2004:1).

Balibar (2002) argues that the external borders become blurred inner borders shaping communal identity through citizenship. Therefore, from his point of view, the researcher who attempts to define a border is in danger of going round in circles, as the very representation of the border is the precondition for any definition. Balibar's polysemic notion of a border offers us the opportunity to understand their multiplicities.

Taking Balibar's (2002) concept of the *inner border*, also explored by Sandro Mezzadra (2011, 2012a), which asserts that the proliferation of borders in the contemporary world has made unclear the limits of what can be considered as the interior and exterior in border concepts, I argue that contemporary borders are malleable. They move along with migrants in the internal territory permeating everyday sites of their lives. However, my intention is not to be limited to the scope of the definition of inner borders. I rather attempt to go beyond the *blurred* perspective of these scholars. In my study I will show how the British migration policies and the UK border agencies, who monitor the everyday spaces of London, are actually responsible for producing these unclear borders that undocumented migrants have to live with. Once again, uncovering empirical data – the everyday actions of the research respondents – appears to be the simplest and most effective way to capture the realm of such compelling negotiation present in the migration mobility through the UK's internal borders.

Migration studies explore the everyday experiences of undocumented migrants in Europe in a dramatic way (see King 2001 and also Bloch et al. 2009). Deportability is a real fact of life of these mobile people who lack migration status in the cities inside nation states defended by border regimes (de Genova 2013, Amaya-Castro 2011, Kubal 2014). The enlargement of the

EU in 2004 with the inclusion of countries that could provide a reservoir of cheap labour, and the ongoing financial crisis, required immediate action by the British government in order to remove undocumented workers from the labour market. Following the current UK visa and UK Immigration Enforcement policies, in the last decade internal borders have built upon law enforcement in a very precise way by reducing the chances of undocumented workers being hired in the UK. Through internal exclusion, workers without EEA citizenship have no rights or access to the British welfare system, even if they have been working in the UK for years. However, the British state benefits economically from the tax revenue paid by undocumented migrants situated in different work post not occupied by the local population. Like Mark Johnson and Christoph Wilcke state, it "is not only the case that migrant workers are denied permanent residency and citizenship rights, but also that the system of migrant visa sponsorship makes the employer a proxy for the state" (2015:136).

Undocumented migrants participate, but they are not incorporated by the British welfare system (Balibar 2010). They live on the borders of legality while contributing economically for a *system of structural violence* (Johnson and Wilcke 2015). In a sense, they are accused of taking up "positions which have not been 'reserved' for them, for which, they are not, in short, the somatic norm" (Puwar 2004:01). Brazilians, therefore, become exposed through their 'burden' citizenship. The non-EEA passport denounces their origin as well as their bodies. Consequently, it restricts their mobility through the British borders. According to UK and EU laws, they are out of place; hence, they are invaders (Puwar 2004). With this in mind, this thesis will consider the frontiers of being "legal" and "undocumented" and thus "the allowed" and the "not allowed" in the UK to be the diffused *inner borders* that permeate the everyday sites frequented by undocumented Brazilians as well as their personal identification (Balibar 2002, Bojadžijev and Saint-Saëns 2006, Amaya-Castro 2011).

In order to journey through both types of border control – airports situated in the Schengen Area and the UK's inner borders – examined in this thesis, the Brazilian migrants have to negotiate. There is no free mobility for these travellers who want to move to London and enjoy its multicultural lifestyle. Using the Lefebvrian concept of social space as a theoretical framework to hold the perception of borders as spaces of negotiation, rather than merely coercion, it is necessary to examine how migrants interact/behave while moving in such localities.

Framing mobility

Mobility may have different purposes, and consequently can present different features. Therefore, it is essential to define migration based on its own peculiarities. "By limiting the scope to transnational human mobilities, we can identify many different types of border crossers: tourists and pilgrims; migrants and refugees; diplomats, business people, and those working for international organizations" (Salazar and Smart 2011:02). However, it is also clear to me that defining different types of mobile people is not a simple task. It is rather characterized by a plurality of border crossers which results in a range of distinct social interactions according to each journey.

Tackling the plurality of mobile people

> "The movements of people (and things) all over the world and at all scales are, after all, full of meaning. They are also products and producers of power." (Cresswell 2006:2).

This study, therefore, considers that mobility "means different things, to different people, in differing social circumstances" (Adey 2006:83). Politics, power and ideology take part of the

lexicon of mobile studies. Scholars, for instance, demonstrate how government departments of immigration and border protection struggle to distinguish between mobile people who venture across their borders (King 2001, Balibar 2004, Ribeiro 2014). Highly skilled migrants are encouraged to move across borders (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013), whereas lesser-skilled migrants and refugees spur a host of technologies for monitoring and controlling border crossings (Côté-Boucher 2008, Adey 2004, Biao 2005).

For the latter, borders have even gained in strength and significance in the last few decades (Andreas and Biersteker 2003; see also Andreas and Snyder 2000, Ibrahim 2005, Verstraete 2010). In that context, Noel Salazar and Alan Smart (2011) state that in current times human mobility has been framed in relation to "the global political system of nation-states", who shape and establish parameters of international and national movement. They argue that governments prefer relatively immobilized populations. Mobilities and enclosures, therefore, are two themes which "move" together and governments play a key role in determining eligibility (Cunningham and Heyman 2004). Examining both themes as part of the same process allows us to contrast specific instances of mobility (e.g., the flux of prosperous tourists) with moments of enclosure (e.g., barriers to poor cross-border shoppers). Governments have assumed the responsibility of controlling the movement of these threatening mobile people through the borders to ensure a discourse of preserving the integrity of the territory (Papadopoulos et al. 2008, Perera 2009, Salazar and Smart 2011).

Thus we are brought to the question of why and how some people are allowed to move and others cannot, "or do so only in the face of considerable distrust and persecution" (Cunningham and Heyman 2004:293). Looking for a theoretical clue, despite the fact that mobile studies argue that mobile people cannot be seen as a unique group, scholars do not

offer an alternative theoretical approach to tackle the plurality of mobile people. Their empirical analyses are rather framed in two main categories: treacherous traveller and trusted traveller (Curry 2004). In fact, these two categories have appeared in different studies as: low risk and high risk (Wilson and Weber 2008), legitimate and illegitimate mobility (Côté-Boucher 2008) good bodies and risky bodies (Ceyhan 2008), premium travellers and unwanted travellers (Codourey 2008), and kinetic elites and kinetic underclasses (Adey 2004). Migration of young people from peripheral countries to the Global North, for example, is seen as a movement essentially characterized by economic issues, while tourism is linked to certain social classes (Appadurai 1996, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2014; see also Mezzadra and Neilson 2013).

Tourists, as mobile people, have been widely discussed in the literature focusing on mobility (Urry 1995, 2000; Salazar 2011). These mobile people have been described as a group which has sharply increased worldwide. This is mainly due to the revolution in the system of transport and its popularization to the middle class (Castells 1996, 1997; see also Urry 2007). According to this literature, tourists are treated as rentable mobile people who travel as consumers and therefore bring economic benefits to the destination place. Karine Côté-Boucher (2008) and Michael Curry (2004) state that these features define them as desirable mobile people. They are legitimate travellers who present a mobility of low risk as their stay is temporary and they are considered well off (Talavera and Pinto 2008, Franco 2012, Borges 2013).

A similar classification is granted to business people and international students who are treated as individuals whose mobility is most of the time an unquestionable part of their everyday life in the global world (Creswell 2006). Like tourists, they are also considered

trusted travellers. Although these studies make contributions to mobile and border studies, there is a lack of understanding about who they define as tourists, students or business people. As this study argues, they are very much focused on the reality lived by the Global North and their cosmopolitan Western way of life (Appadurai 1996, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2014). This limited approach does not fit, for instance, overseas travellers coming out of this European context.

Migration and its own peculiarities

As an opposite category, migrants – the type of mobile people that this study examines – are defined by border controls as 'risky travellers' (Codourey 2008). Unlike the trusted travellers presented above who are seen as unremittingly positive, the mobility of migrants is portrayed by governments as a transgressive movement. According to them, the reasons behind such human displacement still lie with economic purposes (Papadopoulos et al. 2008, Khosravi 2010, Kubal 2011)[5].

Through this stereotyped labelling, migrants are accused of putting national economies and welfare states at risk[6]. However, in this study I move beyond this limited economic

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[5] It is clear that this way of labelling migrants by authorities is not recent. Tim Cresswell (2006) and Dimitris Papadopoulos et al. (2008) note that the definition of migration goes back to the term vagabondage started in the late Middle Ages and since then has become increasingly broad. Creswell, for instance, argues that these sorts of mobile people have always existed on the margins of the state. This is tied to the idea of nomadic people, historically associated with images of the homeless, wanderers, nomads, gypsies and the unassimilated, who could endanger the security of a place and its rooted culture through their "intransigence and obdurate rebelliousness" (2006:45). As a result, it "created the need for a new societal-level state ordering system. The vagabond was scary because of his apparent freedom to move and escape the status of *adscritpus glebae*, as well as the mutual gaze that ensured premodern orders. This new movement was seen as unpredictable" (Cresswell 2006:12). In the same vein, Dimitris Papadopolous et al. state that "in vagabondage we see a paradigmatic image of the constant drift out of biological discipline, a drift which simultaneously forced the development of some of the core strategies for the control of migration which we encounter today" (2008: 41). Unrooted travellers were viewed as an uncontrolled destitute mobile people. So it was the role of the state to impose control on them. According to these scholars, this stigma historically associated with vagabonds and other sorts of marginalized mobile people has also included current migrants from the so-called 'Third World', who aim to cross the borders of rich cities located in the Global North.

[6] In early 2009, demonstrators at the Lindsey Oil Refinery protested against the growing presence of foreign workers in the UK by demanding "British jobs for British workers" – a slogan used by the ex-prime minister

perspective. My thesis argues that migrants do not travel long distances just for economic gain. There is much more than this behind the mobility performed by migrants. Like Europeans or Americans, people from all corners of the world, such as the Brazilian migrants explored in this thesis also want to be part of that cosmopolitan everyday life (Martins Jr and Dias 2013).

If we consider that distant worlds are increasingly being integrated through mass media, popularization of transport systems and ICTs, migration and mobile studies have to draw attention to other motives that are spurring migrants, beyond the economic ones. Television, the internet, and films all tell stories about cosmopolitan places in countries of the Global North. They, for example, intimately enter the houses of young Latin American people and present vibrant cultural lives in multicultural societies such as London, New York and Berlin (Appadurai 1990. They deliver fictional narratives, myths of the Western ways of life. So people outside of this fantastic world want to buy into these promises. In this sense, migration cannot be solely determined by immediate economic classification (Siqueira 2009). Through my empirical data, I show that what we perhaps associate with touristic travellers can also be present in the reasons why someone decides to migrate from a remote village in the 'Third World' to London (Appadurai 1996). High expectations, desires and enchantment with a dynamic life in a global city also compose the mobility of my respondents. Hence, this thesis critically demonstrates how border and migration studies are trapped in narrow binominal definitions of mobile people. They tend to be explanations categorized in stereotypes very similar to the ones presented by those border regimes protecting the Global North. Nothing

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Gordon Brown to ensure that British workers could have access to job vacancies (The Guardian 2009). Since 2010, due to the strong presence of the Conservative Party in Parliament, the British government has adopted a radical posture regarding the "historical presence" of migrants in the UK and "multiculturalism in London". Alongside that, TV programmes such as UK Border Forcer, daily presented on Sky1, help to create the panic picture of the UK as being invaded by a wave of migrants who flock together at the borders to invade the country and live at the expense of the state.

else is evaluated. However, my research shows how there is a blurred boundary between both definitions of tourist and migrant. And that is what I want to unpack through my empirical study.

Migration as a movement characterized by border negotiation

A considerable number of migration studies have uncovered details of the mobility performed by migrants and its relationship with borders. Transnational studies, for instance, recognize the circulation of people and information through borders, but do not present how it is negotiated by migrants (Sheringham 2009, Cavalcanti and Parella 2012, Brightwell 2012, Siqueira 2009). The mobility is misrepresented by a wide definition of informal networks. For these analysts, such networks provide vital resources for individuals and groups, and may be viewed as *social capital* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), which includes personal relationships, family and household patterns, friendship and community ties, and mutual help in economic and social matters (Castles and Miller 2009). Informal networks, according to these studies, have the capacity to bind "migrants and non-migrants together in a complex web of social roles and interpersonal relationships" (Boyd, 1989:639). As a result, such networks would enable migrants to abstractedly flow between territories. However, the tense relationship established between the migrant and the borders they pass through in order to achieve such transnational movement is not sufficiently explored.

As I argue above, it is important to understand how migrants plan their routes through specific places that can enable a safe connectedness from the departure place to the arrival destination; how they improvise and use particular tactics to overcome border controls. In this sense, my study carefully unpacks the entire journey of the Brazilian migrants from Alto Paranaiba. It shows migration as a movement characterized by tactical negotiations with

external as well as internal borders. I draw attention to this relationship between the migrant as a border crosser and the border controls designed to obstruct the passage of unwanted travellers. The study of Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson (2013) based on the concepts of *border crossing movement* and *border reinforcing* coined by Pablo Vila (2000) offers a rich contribution to this debate.

Conducting fieldwork with Mexicans who live in El Paso and Ciudad Juarez, Vila (2000) demonstrates how both places have developed distinct identities from Mexican migrants whose practice of crossing the Mexican-US borders is a daily occurrence in their lives. Residents on both sides of the Mexican-US border construct a sense of identity, a regionalism that excludes the Mexican border crossers. They are considered foreign on both sides as they are mobile and so live *on* the border. According to Vila it is not only the US border control agencies that strive to reinforce the border against these economic migrants; many residents on both sides of this notorious border – including inhabitants from El Paso and Ciudad Juarez – also seek to impose borders on the "others". Thus, their border reinforcement is not merely geographical. In line with the literature on borders explored in this section, Vila argues that borders cannot be viewed as a mere territorial matter. They are also promoted by inhabitants living in both the Mexican and US territories. Therefore border crossing demands from migrants a constant negotiation of their identity and their reasons for moving, with the border authorities and people on both sides of the Mexican-US border.

Reflecting on the two concepts of border crossing and border reinforcing, Mezzadra and Neilson (2013) observe that the practices of border reinforcement and of border crossing define not only the lines of tension that mark the border zones, but also lead us to an understanding of borders as spaces of reinvention. In other words, they allow us to see how

"border crossing is possible and actually practiced and experienced" (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013:175). The struggles and negotiations at the border zones shape and restrict the social life of migrants after their arrival. But, on the other hand, these practices also induce them to reinvent spaces and social practices to overcome the difficulties imposed on them.

In this study, then, the concepts of *border crossing* and *border reinforcing* are powerful ideas which will be further developed in order to explore how migrants negotiate their particular mobility through porosities of contemporary border regimes. Considering that migration studies do not fully contemplate mobility as a negotiation between the migrant and the border controls, I propose to unpack the negotiations made between Brazilian migrants and the border controls where their mobility towards London occurs. To do this, I complement the dialogue of border crossing and border crossing reinforcing (Vila 2000, Mezzadra and Neilson 2013) with contemporary scholars focusing on the relationship between mobile people and social space (Ingold 2000, 2011a; de Certeau 1997; Knowles 2011, and Cresswell 2006). The conceptual framework developed within these mobility studies has the potential to enrich our understanding of the dynamics that constitute contemporary mobile people's experiences, including migration.

Unpacking the negotiation between migrants and border controls

Movement has crucially been debated under the discourse of globalization. Embedded in David Harvey's theoretical concept of 'Time-Space compression' (1990), which suggests that spatial and temporal distances have been condensed by the technologies of communication, travel, and economics, studies on mobility have accepted the idea that the structural changes to the global economy have in fact produced a new mobile dynamic in the world. The new systems of communication including systems of mobility have in a sense increased social

relations on a global scale "in which the distances between places and peoples again seem to be dramatically reducing" (Urry 2003:2) and, thus, overcome spatial barriers.

Urry, for example, defines a *Golden Age of Globalization* in the late 1990s, which was not simply a new phenomenon, but marked a high density of global interactions through technological and social innovations that "dramatically reorganized and compressed the very dimensions of time and space between people and places" (Urry 2003:01). According to him, it has promoted the circulation of diverse types of mobile people, including migrants, resulting in, what he calls, a 'global village' (Urry 2000). Globalization was promoted as the normality, to the extent that the hydraulic metaphors of 'flows' and 'fluidity' almost came to monopolize the discussion of the new forms of global mobility (Rockefeller 2011, Salazar 2013). These discourses led to a celebration of mobility as a characteristic of the modern globalized world (Appadurai 1996, Ong 1999).

However, over the last decade a number of researchers have begun to question the dominance of the concept of 'flow' by foregrounding cases that seem better described by other concept-metaphors. They argue that, in the globalization perspective, mobility is mistakenly summarized as generic movement and that the meaning and experiences lived and produced by travellers in space as they move are discarded (Cresswell 2006, Knowles 2011, Lindquist 2008). According to them, the abstract concept of 'flows' is insufficient to cover the particularities of different mobilities.

> Rivers really do flow. [...] A river goes from point A to point B only by traversing, watering, and connecting the territory that lies between the two points. But [...] the "global" does not "flow", thereby connecting and watering contiguous spaces; it hops instead, efficiently connecting the

enclaved points in the network while excluding (with equal efficiency) the spaces that lie between the points (Ferguson 2006:47).

In an attempt to overcome the use of hydraulic metaphors to define contemporary mobility, a range of scholars have paid attention to the practices of mobility as experienced by subjects (Ingold 2000, 2011a, 2011b; de Certeau 1997; Knowles 2011, 2016 *forthcoming*; and Cresswell 2006). Within this scholarship, movement is rarely just movement; it carries with it the burden of meaning and experience lived and produced in space. "Here, movement becomes mobility" (Cresswell 2006:06). So, they argue that mobility is a subjective practice which involves space and negotiation. "To move is to do something. Moving involves making a choice within, or despite, the constraints of society and geography" (Cresswell and Merriman 2011:5). As a result, terms such as *walker* (Michel de Certeau 1997), *travel-and-dwell* (Knowles 2016), and *traveller* (Ingold 2011b) have appeared in the recent studies of mobility. They all share in common the idea that mobility is an embodied practice of how we experience the world. My study proposes to explore further Ingold's work, particularly his concepts of *journey* and *meshwork* (2000, 2011a, 2011b). They are valuable theoretical tools which will be utilized in the empirical chapters. In fact, Ingold provides insightful reflections on movement, yet his contributions are seldom discussed among academics focusing on the migration debate.

Based on perceptual systems, Ingold's study on environmental perception has contributed to a reflection on how movements are grounded in a distinctive relationship with their surroundings. It has the critical ability to observe that our traditional conception of place is the result of what he calls the logic of inversion, where space along with movement and knowledge have become "modular conceptions of being that is such a striking feature of

modernity, and of which the concept of space is the logical corollary" (Ingold 2011a:29). In this perspective, instead of inhabiting the world, life has been reduced to things that occupy the world such as enclosure places, systems of transport and communication. This is contradictory, as place cannot be interpreted as enclosure; it is under constant construction caused by different unpredictable social relations. This logic of inversion, therefore, has transformed the world into an occupied territory rather than one that is inhabited. Therefore, the world has to be understood not as a place-bond, but as a place-binding, where the idea of the path becomes crucial and there is no difference between place and space. There are only spaces where inhabitants take paths that lead from place to place. "Places, then, are delineated by movement, not by the outer limits to movement" (Ingold 2011a:34). In that sense, in space lives are led *through*, *from*, *to* and *around* and not a*cross*, and place is not just about location but also histories.

Ingold's notion of *journey* produces a useful framework enabling researchers to overcome the term "flow" which insufficiently describes mobilities with their own trajectories, geographies and connections composing the social world. Mobility produces tension and contact. "In short, the idea of flow obscures both the mechanics by which things move and social forms they co-author in their impact, and this makes it a limited tool for exploring urban social forms" (Knowles 2011:138). On the other hand, the concept of *journey* provides an effective way of thinking about how travellers engage with places on itineraries throughout the entire migration process. It is a movement based not just on spatial architecture and street signs but also on a mental map able to guide the wayfarer in spaces through an itinerary that makes sense for her or him.

In fact, Ingold suggests conceptualizing spaces through the mobility of people in tangled and complex trails that compose their lives at many different levels of social connection. The idea of *meshwork* (2011a, 2011b) becomes an effective tool to analyse this relationship between people and space through migration journeys. In his argument, Ingold (2000) says that the traveller is his or her own existential movement. Migration as a whole is a journey through a set of social relationships in an environment where distinct layers interplay in different levels of connections. Migrants, therefore, are connected to the *social meshwork* registering their biography along the trails which link spaces. His approach affirms that this mobility of inhabitants connects places by bringing them into a mesh of trails where people carry on their everyday lives. "Bound together by the itineraries of their inhabitants, places exist not in space but as nodes in a matrix of movement" (Ingold 2000:220). Borrowing Lefebvre's definition of meshwork, Ingold (2011a) defines mobility

> [not as] a network of point-to-point connections but a tangled mesh of interwoven and complex knotted strands. Every strand is a way of life, and every knot a place. Indeed the mesh is something like a net in its original sense of an openwork fabric of interlaced or knotted cords (2011a:37).

Through the mesh the wayfarer is *empowered* to journey according to their own itinerary. In other words, the subject, along with places, rises to prominence in the mobility. The thinking on migration mobility is thus no longer blurred by hydraulic metaphors.

In this study, migrants negotiate their movement through borders with different purposes and logic. Rather than seeing it as a flow of people, I argue that Brazilian migrants "bump awkwardly along creating pathways as they go; they grate against each other; they dodge, stop and go, negotiate obstacles, back-track and move off in new directions propelled by

different intersecting logics" (Knowles 2011: 174). Journeys, their repetition and improvisation produce migration routes.

Besides, the term *route* is another powerful notion that this study aims to bring to migration studies. I want to suggest that the routes established by Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba are complex itineraries that happen by involving a considerable number of people and diverse places. They result from constant journeys that successfully find a way of overcoming the porosities in the external and internal border controls.

Routes through the internal and external border porosities

The routes designed by migrants to move through the porosities of border controls must be considered in the debates on migratory mobility. So, for this thesis, Papadopoulos et al.'s (2008) work presents insightful ideas into how migrants design escape routes to literally escape from regimes of control imposed by states. According to them, migrants continually develop temporary mobility routes to find the weaknesses of border security. Despite the fact that, since the events of 11th September 2001 there has been a broader security discourse explicitly linking questions of migration control to the military complex in order to tidy the external borders, *escape routes* have attempted to enable migrants to move through minor porosities of the borders and reach the destination place (Papadopoulos et al. 2008, Riosmena and Massey 2012). As a result, migration is not always a direct path from the home society to the host society. In many empirical cases analysed by Papadopoulos et al. (2008) on the Aegean sea, migrants have had to move through routes connecting several places to circumvent border controls and arrive at the final destination.

These migration routes produce "geographies of actions" (Perera 2009). Unlike the modern map which "slowly disengaged itself from the itineraries that were the conditions of its possibility", understanding the itineraries of migrants is an exercise which gives forms of "a memorandum prescribing actions". Migrants establish their own routes. Such routes are temporary itineraries that do not follow official lines. The traveller has the power to decide how to build the particularities of the course. Thus it can be produced and rapidly wiped out, and that confounds the rationality behind the map and its official monitored paths. These non-linear motions, therefore, shape routes which counterclaim new border practices, contest sovereignties and "rise new geographies" (Perera 2009:73).

Aware that Brazilians, like other migrants, aim to avoid a journey to London under constant surveillance, my study aims to examine how migrants from Alto Paranaiba move through less known routes, which are supposedly ignored by border authorities. In that context, the approach as well as the idea of *escape routes* as discussed by Papadopoulos et al. (2008) can complement the idea of the migratory journey that I will be exploring in the empirical chapters. Moreover, this also gives the opportunity to shed light on the itineraries and living histories of border practices of these ordinary migrants wiped from the map (Perera 2009).

Borders, thus, are important social spaces which aim to establish well-directed paths with diffused points of control covered by surveillance smart borders, in order to follow and monitor migrants through their frontiers. These transnational surveillance types of apparatus "are not singular and unitary, but are designed to encourage various kinds of mobility (business travelers, tourists, migrant workers, students) and discourage others (illegal migrants, refugees)" (Salazar and Smart 2011:04). Following the same argument, Khosravi accurately observes that migrants as border transgressors "break the link between 'nativity'

and nationality and bring the nation-state system into crisis" (2010:2). Violation of the border regime, in this political context, is a violation of normality. So, if in the nation-state system undocumented immigrants represent such a disquieting element, it is above all because they break up the ethical and aesthetic norms. They throw into crisis the original fiction of sovereignty.

Through this body of literature, I argue that migration needs to be understood through the negotiations connecting people and places, rather than seeing it as "[...] just about getting from A to B. The line that connects them, despite its apparent immateriality, is both meaningful and laden with power" (Creswell 2006: 09). Therefore, places are connected in the routes not as arenas of fixed rootedness, but as flexible spaces which have also been transformed and shaped through what Cresswell (2006) calls the intricate, repeated, and habitual movements of people performing *place-ballets*. Through a Lefebvrian perspective of social space (1991) combined with the concept of *nomad* coined by Deleuze and Guattari (1987), Cresswell defines such performance as a tactical interaction between mobile people and places – an interaction which reveals a set of social relationships in people's lives through places which, rather than being inert and passive, are constantly transformed by social actions and are thus able to connect and disconnect in self-selected rhythms with distinct localities in a non-linear spatial logic.

Framing tactical performance

Michael de Certeau's concept of *the walker* (1997) provides this thesis with an approach which reveals how this relationship between migrant and places actually takes place in practice. Taking into account that de Certeau (1997) has been praised for offering new perspectives to deal with the spatiality of urban life, it is no surprise that it has also worked as

a major theoretical framework for studies on mobility. De Certeau focuses on the realm of *the art of doing* or *routine practices* such as walking and dwelling in the city to elucidate that, despite the repressive aspects of modern society, the act of walking defines the individual as a *consumer* acting in environments defined by *strategies* using *tactics*. In general, these two concepts constitute the walker as far as s/he moves through the urban social fabric and negotiates with its rational power, and so will be important theoretical tools to reflect on migrants, in this study.

By *strategy* de Certeau means the calculation of power relationships that a given subject with will and power can manage and delimit places with targets and threats. But there exists an element of creative resistance – defined as *tactics* – to these structures enacted by ordinary people. Tactics, therefore, are the cunning art of the weak. An individual as a walker acting in the environment has to creatively design an alternative power to circumvent the established power that monitors the geographical space. In de Certeau's words, "a tactic is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then, provides it with conditions necessary for autonomy" (de Certeau: 1997:37). Moreover, he argues that tactics are calculations and calculated actions taken by those who use cunning power to navigate through the spaces of others. A tactic thus "must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power" (1997:37). Hence, it becomes important to dedicate attention to the tactics of mobility through space. For de Certeau,

> First, if it is true that a spatial order organizes an ensemble of possibilities (e.g., by a place in which one can move) and interdictions (e.g., by a wall that prevents one from going further), then the walker actualizes some of these possibilities. In that way, he makes them exist as well as emerge. But he also moves them about and invents others, since crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of walking privilege, transform or abandon spatial elements (1997: 98).

In this context and following the debate on migration, I want to shed light on *migrant tactics*. My purpose, therefore, is to overcome the vague discourse of informal networks as the main theme to explain how the movement between places happens. I want to bring the person who migrates back to the stage by empowering her/him as a social actor in the journey.

In my research, migration mobility is a negotiation that involves *tactics*, a way of operating *metis*, while a given subject travels from one place to another. So, I examine how Brazilian migrants have to have the *skills* and *knowledge* found in *practical action*s to trick the established powers monitoring a given space, conceived as passport controls and checkpoints, to maintain their mobility. They have to carefully weave alternative paths and risk shortcuts through improvised routes that are not yet mapped (Perera 2009, Garelli 2012, Tazzioli 2014). In that sense, the *art of being* requires those outside of the established power to become crafty enough to reinvent their existence in spaces where they are not considered a part.

> [W]ithout leaving the place where he has no choice but to live and which lays down its law for him, he establishes within it a degree of plurality and creativity. By an art of being in between, he draws unexpected results from his situation (de Certeau 1997: xx).

For me, mobility requires a practical engagement with the world. A migrant is a skilled practitioner participating in the spaces they travel through. Migration is, therefore, interpreted in this thesis as a negotiation very much embedded in actions – mainly represented by *knowledge* and *skills* – to navigate and sometimes trick border controls and the forces socially produced therein through everyday routines.

Migration tactics embedded in skills

As de Certeau observes in his study of *the walker*, I argue that in learning how to move and negotiate in such a matrix of people and places, migrants have to have a high cognitive *skill*. Based on Ingold's perspective, this study considers that Brazilian migrants produce exploratory movements which involve improvisation and planning of routes. Movement is about how a journey is tackled (Knowles 2011:139). It demands skills, defined as practical knowledge of the world. Therefore, places, people and movements compose this intertwined migration meshwork which subsequently produces experience – or *skills* – a necessary element in understanding mobility.

The presentation of self as a tactic to negotiate with border controls

The Brazilians in this study live in constant interaction with borders and, therefore, have to perform roles to hide their migratory status from the British migratory authorities. Here the sociological definition of *performance* can help our understanding (Goffman 1969). Performance is understood as "all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers" (Goffman 1969:19). Framing the theatrical performance that applies to face-to-face interactions, Goffman argues that when a given participant comes in contact with other people, that participant aims to present himself/herself before others; their performance will aim to give the impression that they have incorporated the values of the social group of which they are a part. In other words, the participant has to demonstrate that they know how to behave on the determined stage, and interact correctly face-to-face with other given participants. Along with the setting – the local area where the performance is played out – the 'personal front' is considered as the expressive equipment of the performer.

By personal front Goffman includes clothing, age, racial characteristics, posture, speech, facial expressions and bodily gestures among other elements.

So, it is not just the stage where the interaction occurs that is important in a given performance, but also the appearance and body language. A character who performs to an audience must have full control of her/his body and the tone of her/his voice to effectively convince others and should not demonstrate any hesitation. As the audience watching the performer acting on the stage, the others participating in the social interaction have to be convinced that the main character has absolute control on the stage and therefore he or she should be well-involved in the play. The impression depends not just on the setting, but also on the *appearance* and *manner*.

> 'Appearance' may be taken to refer to those stimuli which function at the time to tell us of the performer's social statuses. These stimuli also tell us of the individual's temporary ritual state: that is, whether he is engaging in formal social activity, work or informal recreation; whether or not he is celebrating a new phase in the season cycle or in his life-cycle. 'Manner' may be taken to refer to those stimuli which function at the time to warn us of the interaction role performer will expect to play in the oncoming situation (Goffman 1969: 21)

Appearance and *manner* are part of the *performance*, as delineated by Brazilian migrants from Alto Paranaiba throughout my thesis, and represent the tactics of border-crossing movement. These tactics are not just performed individually, but are rather shared and enacted by returning migrants and current migrants. Thus, it will be essential to discuss how performance on *the stage* can be interpreted as a collective experience back in the Brazilian cities these migrants come from. As Gary Alan Fine and Philip Manning reflect on the study of Erving Goffman,

> In a social interaction, as in a theatrical performance, there is an onstage area where actors (individuals) appear before the audience; this is where positive self-concepts and desired impressions are offered. But there is, as well, a backstage – a hidden, private area where individuals can be themselves and drop their societal roles and identities (Fine and Manning 2003:45).

To journey from Alto Paranaiba to London, I argue that the role played by border people and travel agencies is crucial as they map the migratory routes and prepare the terrain for the arrival (Khosravi 2010). In his book *'Illegal' traveller: An auto-ethnography of borders* (2010), Khosravi unveils the informal migration industry that lies along the Iranian, Pakistani and Indian territories and reaches Dutch and Swedish societies. According to him, the journey taken by a migrant is never a lonely itinerary. Along the route various people, including smugglers and locals, play a significant role in the migratory mobility. They are the *border people*. They are considered border transgressors who provide the links along the journey. These are local people living "in border regions for whom border crossing has become crucial to their economic and social life. They might facilitate an 'illegal' border crossing for a low price" (2010: 22). Migration and border crossings are profitable businesses not just for those who migrate but for people who can sell their knowledge and contacts to facilitate the mobility. Border people reveal the "no-go limited access areas and curfews and borders" which are blurred and invisible to citizens, but not to undocumented foreigners (Bloch et al. 2009a: 75).

So, in this study, the definition of border people is an important concept. It helps to understand how migration in Alto Paranaiba and its particular tactics of border crossing are created by travel agents and performed by migrants. My aim is to contribute to migration studies not only by bringing to the surface the migrant as a social actor, but also showing how skills are shared with other people who are intermingled in the journey. It thus provides

evidence of more elements of how migration networks are constructed and information is circulated around their members.

I examine data in my empirical chapters which shows how local travel agents carefully prepare the traveller to perform as a tourist. Current migrants living in Europe who are specialized in border crossing movements are also involved in the migratory mobility of these Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba. In addition, I also show how family members and friends who have never migrated contribute to build an image of countries such as the United Kingdom, Portugal and the United States. My intention is to demonstrate that migration is an ongoing process involving the continuous circulation of people, social interaction and stories which build the imagination of not just current and returned migrants, but also inhabitants who are "less mobile" but have also experienced migration journeys from a different perspective.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has explored three important areas of research – border studies, mobility and migration studies – that provide an important contribution to an understanding of how migration is a constant process of negotiation between migrants and blurred borders. It shows how borders have become an important subject of inquiry, especially notable in recent work that explores the increasingly blurred boundaries between the external and the internal territories (Balibar 2004). Studies on mobility and migration have, in turn, begun to acknowledge the pertinence of understanding the intertwined interaction between social space and travellers with regard to their movement, and there exists an emerging body of work that examines the different types of mobile people being produced by contemporary border regimes, and how this process of differentiation impacts upon migration.

Yet while scholars of borders have acknowledged the recent border proliferation across the globalized world, and mobility and migration scholars have advocated that it determines the circulation of people, there remains a lack of research into how border mobility is created and experienced by migrants in their everyday lives and, in turn, how this impacts on the wider context of globalization. Thus, through an examination of both large-scale approaches to the relationship between borders and migration, and social theories that consider the forms of behaviour, actions and navigation tactics used by subjects to negotiate with institutions and structures of power in the everyday life, this review of the literature points to the possibilities for research examining the interplay between these phenomena.

My thesis thus proposes a conceptual framework that will combine some of the key theoretical and empirical insights of these varying approaches to borders, mobility and social theory to consider how Brazilian migrants negotiate with EU border regimes along their journey into London. As such, it explores how external and internal borders force migrants to find tactics for border crossing: knowledge about the social spaces, skills and improvisation that can facilitate their movement into London, while at the same time revealing how passport controls in the Schengen Area and the UK inner borders work in everyday life. This framework is concerned with the ways in which borders are an important feature of migration, and how they are intertwined with the everyday lives of a great majority of the world's population, affecting not just those who migrate.

The next chapter presents the methodological framework I used in the research.

Chapter 3

Unfolding migration mobility:

towards a methodological framework

> *"Every place, in such a world, would come into being as a particular enfoldment of the lives of persons, a nexus in the perpetual current of comings and goings in which their life activity consists. And conversely, every person would come into being as an enfoldment of the experience of the places they have inhabited, and of the journeys between them." (Ingold 2000:168)*

Introduction

The overall aim of my research is to explore how Brazilian migrants organize their mobility to London and to consider how external and internal borders play a role in all stages of the migration process. This chapter discusses the methodological framework that was adopted to address the research objectives. My research took a broadly qualitative, ethnographic approach, which comprised multi-sited fieldwork in London, greater Lisbon[7] and a few towns of Alto Paranaiba, semi-structured interviews and participant observation in several research sites in these three places.

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[7] Considering that I designed multi-sited fieldwork research to follow these migrants, but did not have the financial and time resources to explore the different countries situated in the Schengen area that these migrants access before landing in London, I opted for Portugal. The reasons behind this choice were: 1) Portugal was the country that Brazilian migrants used to mention in the exploratory fieldwork; 2) I am familiar with the country as well as its idiom; 3) I wanted to dialogue with studies on Brazilian migration that insist on portraying Portugal as a 'port-of-entry' to the EU, but had not developed further research to sustain such an argument (Luk 2009).

The first section of this chapter considers how migration scholarship and the emergence of new theoretical paradigms, such as border studies, require new research methods to understand the negotiation between migrants and border controls behind the mobility. It also underpins the methods chosen – multi-sited fieldwork and in-depth semi-structured interviews – in my study to contribute to unfolding migration and thus enlarging the academic debate. The second section starts by showing how my fieldwork is interwoven with my own migration trajectory to London which provided important baseline information for my study, some reflections on my own positionality in relation to the research process, and a review of some of the ethical considerations. It then outlines the specific methodological framework chosen to address my research questions, the rationale behind the approach, and a description of the final sample of research participants in London, Brazil and greater Lisbon.

Researching migration and borders

Studies on migration have produced an incomplete methodological approach as they do not cover the relationship between migrants and borders as a whole. The multi-disciplinary field of transnational studies that emerged in the 1990s, for instance, strongly concentrates on the beginning and (alleged) end points of the mobility, paying specific attention to the decision-making process before the departure or after the arrival in the destination countries (King 2001, Siqueira 2009; see also Cavalcanti 2014). The "lived condition of straddling borders, whether by choice or by necessity" (Hunter et al. 2010:223) that typifies the lives of border crossers while moving is, however, not captured by the concepts currently employed in the area of migration research. As a result, the notion of migration as a process of movement from one socially bounded entity to another is no longer adequate to analyse and describe the

negotiation, social places and borders, and people involved with the whole mobility process (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007, Schrooten et al. 2015).

Aiming to fill this gap, studies focusing on migration crossings – the Mediterranean sea and Sonora desert – have explored in depth the subjects and border controls involved in the border crossing movement (Papadopolous et al. 2009, Vila 2000; see also Riosmena and Massey 2012, Squire 2014). This perspective has strongly contributed to new methodological approaches as these studies are engaged in mapping the geographies of actions produced by the travellers through the places where the migration journey occurs (Perera 2009, Garelli 2012, Tazzioli 2013). Nonetheless, little has been discussed in these studies about the way particular tactics of mobility are produced or performed. This has happened because scholars have neglected accurate fieldwork in the departure places, which is essential in order to understand not just the motivations behind such mobility, but also who are the border people involved in the preparation of the journey, and why they create particular tactics of border crossing to negotiate with the border regimes.

In view of these research gaps in border and migration studies, to unpack the negotiation between migrants and border control that lies behind migration, my study covered the departure and arrival places as well as the mobility produced by the migrants of Alto Paranaiba through both external and internal borders. In addition, it focused on the different people involved in the negotiation of these travellers with the European border control regimes throughout the entire migration journey. I argue that to understand how migration happens, it is fundamental to bring these elements altogether and it was considered that multi-sited fieldwork along with in-depth semi-structured interviews would be the best option to explore the whole mobility process.

Multi-sited ethnography and participant observation

The emergence of 'multi-sited ethnography' (Marcus 1995) reflects empirical responses to the challenge of researching movements that bring different "places into being as nodes within a wider network of coming and going" (Ingold 2000: 227). Although this methodological approach is associated with anthropological studies (Kirby 2011), it has become widely used across different fields of the social sciences, bringing new contributions to more qualitative research methods.

Multi-sited ethnography brings a considerable contribution in describing the ways in which the researcher can gain insights by following "people, connections, associations and relationships across space (because they are substantially continuous but spatially non-contiguous)" (Falzon 2012:02). Arguing that multi-sited ethnography comes from an eclectic choice of research techniques within the discipline of sociology, Falzon affirms that this methodological approach can help break with the traditional convention that only "the fine grained daily interactions constitute the lifeblood of the data produced" by the researcher (2012: 01). Multi-sited ethnography implicates a spatially dispersed field through which the researcher moves – via actual sojourns in two or more places, or conceptually, by means of techniques of combining data.

Thus multi-sited ethnography also infers a research design focused on a series of juxtapositions in which the global is collapsed into and made an integral part of parallel, related local situations, rather than something monolithic or external to them. According to Paolo Boccagni, the recent debate on multi-sited ethnography converges "two significantly distinct questions: 'the search for some larger [than a local] scale of analysis, and the study of connections between places' (Falzon, 2009: 5)" (2010: 14). Boccagni takes this further by

suggesting that the unit of multi-sited research may need to be "less migrants themselves than the interpersonal social ties between the latter and their significant others left behind" (2010: 04). In order to make empirical sense of these interconnections, he recommends the researcher should move not only beyond methodological nationalism, but even beyond a methodological focus on societal spaces only. Thus, multi-sited studies have to take into account the different social layers that compose the object explored. It suggests research in multiple locations that enables the ethnographer to explore the connections and movement between different locations.

As far as my research was concerned, a deeper multi-sited ethnographic involvement with the different spatial and social layers involved in the grassroots negotiation between migrants and border regimes would be less banal than making general assumptions on broader transnational social formations. It shows not only the tactics behind the negotiation by migrants to move through borders, but also reveals how borders work on an everyday basis. The choice of an approach that combined qualitative data and ethnographic techniques in London, Alto Paranaiba and greater Lisbon was an attempt to incorporate the broader context, while at the same time not lose sight of the need for a grounded methodology that could capture some aspects of the everyday lives of migrants, thus allowing me an understanding of migration as a "*fait social total*" (Sayad 1991).

A key component of ethnographic studies is 'participant observation', which involves the ethnographer spending a significant period of time engaging with the social group that is the focus of the research (Herbert 2000: 551; see also Wacquant 2002). Yet 'participant observation' can itself imply different approaches, depending on the emphasis given to 'participating' and 'observing' (Hoggart et al. 2002). Thus, a researcher may choose to work

and spend most of her/his time in the same place as the respondents are employed, move into a residential area where the participants live or even establish a close relationship on an everyday basis (Wacquant 2002). On the other hand, a researcher can adopt a more observational role, maintaining a discrete relationship from those they are studying (Falzon 2012). I, however, agree with Steve Herbert who argues that successful ethnography implies a balance of both. And that is what I managed to do while conducting my fieldwork. I developed a deep empathy with my respondents and their perspectives, while on the other hand maintaining the stance of a "theoretically informed and logically rigorous social scientist" (Herbert 2000: 552).

In-depth semi-structured interviews

Qualitative interviews have been a widely used tool in migration scholarship, enabling researchers to engage with the perspectives of migrants to gain more in-depth knowledge of migration processes. Victoria Lawson (2000: 174) argues that qualitative interviews with migrants – "migrants' stories" - can also be "informative theoretically", and can be used to challenge well-established discourses. In the same vein, Sue Jones summarizes the purpose of such an approach:

> In order to understand other persons' constructions of reality, we would do well to ask them…and to ask them in such a way that they can tell us in their terms (rather than those imposed rigidly and a priori by ourselves) and in a depth which addresses the rich context that is the substance of the meanings (Jones 1985, quotation from Punch 2001).

In my study, a face-to-face semi-structured interview technique was used. I considered that face-to-face interviewing was appropriate where depth of meaning was decisive and the research was primarily focused "in gaining insight and understanding" (Gillham 2000:11;

Ritchie and Lewis 2003: 138). It could also be argued the researcher choosing to interview face-to face recognizes the potential significance of context" (Newton 2010:01). Therefore, I tried to create a very informal and chatty atmosphere that allowed participants to take what Gill Valentine (1997: 111) describes as "a conversational, fluid form". Most of the time, I did not look at the semi-structured guide as I did not want to break the flow of the interview into a question-answer format. Keeping eye contact during the whole interview was the main strategy I adopted. I was able to break the ice and establish rapport through phatic talk during the interview. In addition, it also gave my respondents confidence when they were telling me about their migration journey. "The interview soon felt like a natural exploratory conversation" (Newton 2010:04).

In addition, my respondents also demonstrated an interest in my own migration journey. Robert Atkinson (1998) mentions that sometimes it is necessary to share our own experiences so that the interviewee knows you have a similar awareness on some topic or experience. He argues that it helps to create a feeling of solidarity between the interviewee and the researcher. Thus I tried to share my experiences with them. I talked about my arrival in London and all the challenges that I faced at the beginning. Nevertheless, it is a practice that should be viewed with caution since the interviewer's point of view can influence the interviewee's response or even constrain the interviewee. In acknowledging this fact I also tried to be reflexive in my comments.

Thus, while the approach was flexible and responsive to the diverse experiences conveyed to me by the participants, an interview schedule was drawn up with the key themes and concepts to be covered in the interviews to address the research aims. I inserted questions in my interview that could open up their narratives and provide me with more details. A basic

script/schedule provided guidance for the interview and, as a reminder to myself, included some of the initial information garnered on the migration history of the person being interviewed, their negotiation and mobility through the borders, their experience as undocumented migrants in London and various other information about the borders. The aim was to establish some common themes for each interview to enable a degree of comparability (Arksey and Knight 1999).

Interview space

The location for the interview was another important key consideration in my interview guide as I wanted to keep my respondents from any sort of exposure in public spaces. Chih Hoong Sin (2003) discusses the ways in which the spatial context of qualitative interviews plays a crucial role in the interviewer-interviewee dynamics and points to the notable lack of reflection on this dimension in much existing research. She argues that:

> Despite the plethora of spatial metaphors, the theorization of space in the setting of an interview has been curiously abstracted and removed from the concrete 'place' in which an interview takes place. The spatial contexts under which interviews are carried out remain largely excluded from any theorization of the social construction of knowledge (2003: 306).

Sin thus stresses that "the space in which the interview takes place can yield important information regarding the way respondents construct their identities" (2003: 307). In a similar vein, Anderson et al. (2010) argue that the methodological dialogue between the researcher and participants should be conceived as a *polylogic*. This term includes the researcher, the researched and the geographical place where the research is conducted. They argue that "from a *polylogic* approach the material placing of methodological techniques should be deliberated over as systematically and reflexively as the choice of technique and the social positioning of

the researcher" (2010: 590). Therefore, the location of the interview was carefully taken into consideration in the interview guide.

Methodological framework

The methodological framework adopted for my study was drawn up to address its main questions (see Chapter 1), through responding to more specific empirical research questions. These related to: first, the particular forms of migration from Alto Paranaiba; second, the different ways in which migrants negotiate with the external borders of the EU border regime, and how migrants deal and struggle with the UK's inner borders while living in London.

To address these questions adequately, the research approach covered three different places – Alto Paranaiba, London and greater Lisbon (which will be further explained below), and was designed to engage with important insights gained from individual narratives and memories while at the same time not overlooking the broader issues related to the EU border regime. The methodological framework consisted of different stages of varying intensity. The main empirical research was carried out over 15 months (October 2011 – March 2013), divided between long periods in London, a month in Brazil, and two travels to Lisbon that lasted three weeks in total. In the meantime, various steps were taken to prepare for this period of in-depth fieldwork including: qualitative training courses at Goldsmiths College, University of Sussex and London School of Economics and Political Science.

Since the key element of my research explored the mobility of Brazilians into London and how they negotiate the external and internal borders, my position as a Brazilian who also arrived as a migrant in London, and worked with some of my respondents before starting the PhD, was inevitably a factor that affected my position as a participating observer.

A Brazilian migrant: from the workmate to the researcher role

In migration studies, personal stories and choices may have particular relevance for the research and researcher. Khosravi (2010), for instance, discusses how his research locations were chosen on the basis of personal feelings of attachment, thereby allowing the maintenance of a life lived in many different places; Graça Brightwell (2012) explored her own identity and personal journey from Brazil to the United Kingdom to engage with research participants and the research; and Carolina Ramírez (2015), as a Chilean living abroad, engaged with research participants and the research to explore the Chilean migratory diaspora in London.

I arrived in London to study English in 2007. As happens with many English students in the UK, my first goal was to look for any type of job to support myself financially. After three weeks, Thiago, my housemate, found a good job opportunity for me in a restaurant in South Kensington. According to him, four Brazilian workers had been caught by the Home Office the previous night. Those who managed to escape were frightened and did not want to work evening shifts. They said that was the time when the *immigration blitz* normally happened.

Along with me, two other Brazilians, Claudio and Adriano, were hired. These childhood friends had left their home in Carmo do Paranaiba, a small town in Brazil, where they were living with their families and journeyed to London in search of, what they called, a 'more vibrant life'. After months working together we expanded our friendship beyond the restaurant duties. During our days off, we managed to meet in Central London for a few beers while chatting about our personal lives, workmates in the restaurant, experiences in London and reasons why we left Brazil. On one of these numerous occasions, they explained to me

that they were not allowed to work in the United Kingdom. Both young men had been granted tourist visas at the airport that only lasted 6 months. After that they had become undocumented. According to Claudio, sooner or later they would be caught by Home Office agents, and then sent back to Brazil, so the best thing to do was enjoy this temporary experience as much as possible.

Soon, I started being invited to parties and gatherings in houses located in north and north-west London by these two Brazilians. The personal stories of their housemates and friends were quite similar. Most of them were living 'without papers' and had not flown directly to London. They had been to other places previously[8]. Moreover, they shared these overcrowded places in bad conditions with other undocumented young adult Brazilians – ranging from 19 to 30 years old – who, like us, were working in low-paid jobs, such as cleaner, kitchen porter and shop assistant. It was at these gatherings that I also met some of their close friends who had migrated from Brazilian towns such as Quintinos, Tiros, Patos de Minas and Rio Paranaiba. Initially, I did not see a clear connection between those towns. But later they explained to me that all these localities were in a region called Alto Paranaiba situated in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais.

Even after leaving the restaurant and starting my research at Goldsmiths, I continued meeting these two young Brazilians. Of course, the meetings became more sporadic as we were no longer working together. So I had to meet them in specified places in the city, such as Trafalgar Square, Oxford Street or one of the bus stops close to the houses where they were living. I kept taking notes from these meetings, as I was very interested in understanding the

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[8] Among the places discussed, Portugal was the country most mentioned by these Brazilians. That caught my attention, and I started wondering if this Iberian country and its strong historical link to Brazilian migration could work as a sort of trampoline for these young migrants' travel from Brazil to the UK.

way they and their fellow citizens had dealt with the border controls. (It should be mentioned that my respondents were aware I was doing this!). In 2010, after I explained my plan to study Brazilian migration into London, they allowed me to explore the group itself. Without any questions, they made it clear that I could keep registering "wherever I wanted to", in Claudio's words, and they would help me to recruit respondents to be interviewed.

In that sense, I believe that most of the time my role as a migrant was quite significant in allowing me to access those migrants and their daily interactions with the UK's internal borders. Sometimes, it was more important than my role as researcher, which prevailed in very particular spheres such as academia and NGOs. Since the first time I explained my research intentions to the respondents, I have wondered about the reasons that moved them to embrace the study. Although I have no clear answer, I suspect that it was connected to our friendship established in that restaurant kitchen. Without that stage of my personal journey as an overseas migrant in the United Kingdom, I doubt that I would have been able to contact the group or even been informed of their migratory tactics. Thus, my research was conducted when I had the opportunity to expand my contacts and interview Brazilians in different places across Alto Paranaiba, Lisbon and London.

Ethical considerations

Before beginning my interviews, I submitted my proposal to Goldsmiths Ethics Panel. After attending to the terms of the British Sociological Association ethics statement that the data collected does not have legal privilege and can be subject to subpoena, it was granted approval[9]. The principle of informed consent was a crucial consideration during the entire

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[9] Besides, I agreed with the Department of Sociology at Goldsmiths that we were going to place an embargo on the University library and British Library availability for 36 months to protect the data from border agencies.

research process: from the design of the interviews, to the fieldwork, and data analysis. I designed an information sheet (in Portuguese) for all research respondents in which I explained the nature of the study and how the information obtained would be used. Participation was voluntary, and the information sheet explained to participants that their anonymity would be preserved (all names were changed) and that they had the right to terminate their involvement in the interview/discussion at any point. I usually read through the information sheet with participants before the interview to make sure they were fully informed, as some were reluctant to read it.

Following this brief introduction I mentioned that my intention was to conduct interviews and have casual conversations about their life conditions in London, their migratory trajectories from Alto Paranaiba to the British capital, and their views on the role played by international migration in Alto Paranaiba. All these procedures also enabled the research participants to feel more comfortable about telling their personal stories. It was a very important point, as the research was exploring tactics of border crossing.

Fieldwork in London

My fieldwork in London was carried out through fieldwork during 2011 and 2012. Through my two initial key respondents – Adriano and Claudio – my intention was to establish two main strategies: 1) to meet Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba who had been living in London for more than 5 years, comprising the younger generation of inhabitants – in their twenties and thirties – who had left Alto Paranaiba in search of social mobility[10]; 2) through new respondents, to be put in touch with other migrants from Alto Paranaiba living in Portugal

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[10] It was important that my interviewees had been in London for a certain period of time so that they could describe and reflect on their migratory journey and the challenge of living as an undocumented migrant.

(the country in the Schengen space that I chose to research) and Brazil, which constituted respectively the second and third phases of this study.

Accessing research participants and interview places

I expected to access the social networks of Claudio and Adriano and then be introduced to other participants who met the eligibility criteria and consequently could contribute to my research. Thus, I started accessing and recruiting potential participants through the informal snowball technique. The rationale behind the snowball technique is that through interviewing a few migrants they could provide their friends' contacts (Singer 1999).

The approach adopted to reach these migrants was through chasing them up with phone calls. It was not an easy process. I introduced myself as Claudio and/or Adriano's friend and tried to demonstrate previous knowledge about their town. This approach aimed to establish some familiarity and also reduce the possibility that a vertical relationship from my academic position and mainly documented status could damage our first contact. Some people declined altogether. Of these, some said that they were too busy, whilst others did not state their reasons. I knew that most of my interviewees were undocumented, and so I believe this was the main reason that compromised the recruitment. Nonetheless, this methodological approach still provided me with a good return, as the sampling strategy was not driven by quantity per se. From an initial list of 25 people I was able to interview 8 people who afterwards introduced me to other migrants.

I was aware that I would have only one chance to meet most of my recruited respondents. Their tight schedules and lack of migratory status did not easily afford an afternoon free for an interview with a strange researcher who was interested in their migratory life experience. I

wanted to hear their personal histories. Therefore, after a long process of negotiation[11] in some cases, my interview aimed to cover their migration journey as much as possible. In that sense, the interview was divided into four parts: 1) life in Alto Paranaiba, 2) travelling through the airport passport control, 3) dealing with the internal borders in London, and 4) projecting the future.

Interviews started with the following question: "How was your life in Alto Paranaiba?" While they narrated their stories I tried not to interrupt with any questions. I encouraged them to carry on speaking, with the use of non-verbal and paralinguistic expressions (smiles and nods) to demonstrate my interest and attention (Bauer 2013). My intention was to stimulate them to tell their stories by using expressions such as "could you tell me more about it?" or "how did it happen?" I had some topics in mind for this first part of the interview such as: their main occupation in their home town; the role played by migration in their city and, more specifically, in their families; when they decided to migrate; the reasons that made them move abroad; which countries they had as options to migrate to, and why London was chosen. In most of the interviews, these topics were well covered by my respondents. Therefore, the first part tackled mainly my respondents' past experiences and it was important to help them to engage with the interview freely and also to bring their memories to life.

In the second part of the interview I asked for more details about their trip to London. The idea of this section was to understand in detail how the respondents negotiated their travel through both Schengen and UK air space, and the role of Portugal in this tactical mobility. Therefore, focusing on their memories, the interview explored how the travel from Brazil to

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[11] Some interviewees such as Gisele demanded a long process of negotiation that lasted up to 5 weeks.

London was organized, which people were involved in such travel, the places they landed in before arriving in London and their personal views on this aerial mobility.

Unfolding the mobility

Scholars who map the journeys experienced by migrants through the Mediterranean Sea towards Europe argue that the maritime routes are never linear movements (Papadopolous et al. 2008 Garelli 2012, Tazzioli 2014). Similar conclusions have been reached by researchers investigating migrants who journey through terrestrial routes (Khosravi 2010, Riosmena and Massey 2012, Squire 2014). In both movements the traveller experiences a variety of feelings and negotiations that are not registered on the maps, but silently stored in the migrant's mind (Ingold 2010, Perera 2009). However, unlike what happens with these two types of journeys, there is a lack of mapping and research on the emotional issues when it comes to air mobility. In a lot of the academic work, researchers treat this type of spatial mobility as a flow movement without improvisation, tension, contact or planning (Auge 1995; Bloch et al. 2011).

Aware of this methodological gap and determined to capture the tactics of border crossing used by my respondents in their negotiation with border controls, at the end of the second part of my interview, I inserted two questions: "How was your travel arranged?" and "How did you find the experience of passing through the passport controls?" My purpose was to explore how the participants perceived and dealt with the surveillance at the European borders located at the airports and how they negotiated their mobility. As with studies focusing on terrestrial and maritime journeys, a range of emotions came out during the interviews. Those who spent a few days as tourists in countries of the Schengen space mentioned their anguish and preparation before facing Passport Control in the United

Kingdom. Fear, doubts, confusion and excitement were registered by my respondents as they narrated their journey through the European airports. Following the methodological approach explored by Garelli (2012) and Tazzioli (2014), I also mapped their air journeys. It was important to gather visual data about their mobility to understand how these migrants tactically worked out their itineraries through Schengen space. Thus, I asked them to draw on a blank piece of paper the itinerary they had narrated. I wanted to see what it meant for them, and how they visualized the geography of their own actions (Perera 2009).

In this key part of the interview, I faced some challenges. The multiplicity of experiences that were thrown together in these conversations forced me to listen attentively and sometimes ask them for more details or then repeat a specific point. As a result, the conversational tone was sometimes replaced by a more speculative tone. This procedure raised the awareness of some respondents, who were afraid of talking about passport control and visa issues because of being undocumented. So, a few times the flow of the conversation risked being broken, but I did not see any other way of collecting those small and rich pieces of information.

In the third part of the interview, I focused on my participants' lives in London. I intended to gather data about their everyday lives and how they dealt with their lack of migratory status in renting a place to live, finding work, and navigating public spaces. I then asked more practical questions about how they went about buying bogus documents, opening bank accounts, sharing houses and finding jobs through informal social networks. The idea was to construct a clearer picture of how the inner borders follow the migrants after crossing through the passport controls of UK airports.

The last part of the interview was dedicated to understanding the respondents' expectations

for the future. This section aimed to explore how my respondents felt about their migratory life experience in London and if they had plans to return to Brazil. As the idea of return was clearly mentioned by them, I explored how they visualized their future in Brazil and to what extent the migratory journey had transformed their lives.

In exchange, some questions were addressed to me. This happened in all my interviews. Before the interviews started, some of my participants wanted to know a little about my personal story. Why are you interested in Alto Paranaiba? Who are you working with? How long have you been in London? These were some of the questions I had to answer before the interview started or even during, in order for the situation to be 'safe' for them so that they could trust me and develop a rapport.

I therefore also made a point of sharing my own experiences of being a migrant in the UK. I felt that my participants wanted such interaction in order to make the interview a conversation. As an 'insider', a Brazilian who had also worked in menial jobs in London and was recognized as such, I believe it made the interviews work much better. During the interviews, expressions such as "You know what I mean" or "As usually happens in many kitchens of London" were often used. For me it appeared to be a way for my respondents to make their explanations clear to me, as a person who had been there before.

Public places and houses

Understanding the social spaces my respondents daily navigated in London was one of my key concerns. If I wanted to understand how undocumented migrants struggled with the inner borders beyond the theoretical perspectives largely debated in the literature (Balibar 2002, Mezzadra and Neilson 2013), I needed to join them. I considered the time spent working in the restaurant, the place where I first met Adriano and Claudio, as the starting point. That

worked as exploratory fieldwork, before starting my PhD research. During that time, I had notebooks where I carefully registered my notes about Brazilian migration in London. Working around 60 hours per week with other Brazilians in that kitchen gave me the chance to listen and take note of conversations, complaints, disputes, jokes and even evidence of exploitation, for almost 2 years.

As my relationships with Claudio, Adriano and the other workmates deepened, I joined them in leisure activities, such as going to pubs, parks, Brazilian shops, night clubs, travelling by bus, or just wandering about the streets of London with them. "Ways of walking, comportment, and habits provide important clues about their relationships with places, material objects, and people on routes through landscapes of new settlement" (Knowles and Harper 2009:19). Wandering around with these Brazilians, for instance, enabled me to access places where other migrants' lives intersected, places such as football pitches at Willesden Junction or night clubs in central London they frequented. It was an important ethnographic exercise to understand how migrants are not confined to their workplaces.

Moreover, I wanted to have the opportunity to visit some of my respondents' living spaces and learn more about their life conditions as undocumented migrants in the United Kingdom. So, when the interviews for the fieldwork started, I tried to make myself available to go to their houses[12]. They usually lived in overcrowded flats or shared houses without communal social spaces. Therefore, it was important to understand the housing conditions my

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[12] However, it was not an imposition; I suggested that I could meet them at their houses but they were free to choose the place for the meeting. Six out of the eight respondents agreed for me to conduct the interview at their house. The others chose coffee shops in central London because these were convenient locations for them, being next to their workplace. Those were places where Portuguese was not the main language spoken. I believed it could increase the anonymity and also increase confidence between the participant and researcher (Atkinson 1998).

participants lived in, in London. At their homes, usually before and after the interviews there were long conversations which sometimes lasted longer than the actual interviews. In some cases, other members of the house also participated before and after the interview conversations. Conducting the interviews at the participants' houses proved to be valuable as the participants allowed more time for the interview and seemed comfortable introducing their private sphere to the interviewer. Listening to their conversation and opinions about the challenges of living and working in London gave me a good comprehension of the dynamic of these shared houses.

The fieldwork was not confined to the interviews or passive observations of the houses' dynamics. I took the opportunity to interact as well. We went to shops and grocery stores, visited neighbours who, like them, were migrants, prepared meals together, or watched TV programmes. I also joined them in some activities in their neighbourhood or at parties. I went with them to birthday parties and barbecues at friends' houses. There, I could access other Brazilian migrants through their colleagues, workmates and fellow citizens who met with us during this leisure time. Through this, I started frequenting other homes in Seven Sisters and Willesden Junction, and was soon visiting the houses of other Brazilians living in Chelsea and Wimbledon.

Fieldwork in Lisbon

Due to the fact that my snowball technique did not lead me to Lisbon as I had expected, I decided to reorganize my fieldwork in Portugal. So, instead of seeking migrants, I focused on contacting Brazilian and Portuguese associations that work with Brazilian migrants. My intention was to trace an overview of current Brazilian migration in Portugal, the possible impacts that the economic crisis in 2008 may have had on this international mobility and

eventual connections with London in a broader perspective. Taking this into account, I designed a semi-structured interview that would allow me to tackle these questions. As had happened in London my intention was to conduct the interviews as "conversations", where my questions would just guide the dialogue or prompt the interviewee to further explore determined topics.

Accessing research participants and interview places

During the two weeks spent in Lisbon I contacted *Casa do Brasil de Lisboa* (The Brazilian Home in Lisbon)[13], *Associação Lusofonia Cultura e Cidadania* (Lusophone Association Culture and Citizenship)[14], and the *Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural – ACIDI* (High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities)[15]. As I did not find respondents in Portugal, I decided to try to get an overview of Brazilian migration in Portugal. I therefore decided to visit these associations and the Migration Department as the best way to access information about the international movement, and the role played by this EU country in the mobility of young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba to London.

After visiting these three places more than once and establishing contact with the organizers I was allowed to interview the people responsible for registering the new associates of the two Brazilian associations as well as the president of the *Associação Lusofonia Cultura e Cidadania*. At ACIDI my purpose was to access the internal library which is well known for its vast array of quantitative and qualitative data about Brazilians in Europe. Therefore, I took

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[13]It is an association that provides legal advice services, psychological counselling and social assistance to Brazilian migrants in Portugal. It also helps with searching for jobs, accommodation, and general well-being.

[14] Like Casa do Brasil, this association is also committed to providing general social assistance to Brazilians.

[15] According to its website – http://www.acidi.gov.pt/institucional_book.pdf – the ACIDI's mission is "to collaborate in the creation, implementation and evaluation of sector, crosscutting and public policies concerned with the integration of immigrants and the ethnic minorities, as well as to promote the dialogue between the various cultures, ethnic groups and religions" (2015:11).

the opportunity to check what sort of data and information regarding the current Brazilian migration to Portugal this governmental commission could provide me with. Fortunately I also had the chance to interview an internal member of staff – Margarida – who gave me valuable information about the black market of biometric EU passports in the European Union, and how Portuguese e-passports are smuggled from inside the *Serviços de Estrangeiros e Fronteira* – SEF (The Foreigners and Borders Service)[16].

Afterwards I travelled to Brazil. My goal was to visit Alto Paranaiba and access its inhabitants.

Fieldwork in Brazil

The snowball technique that had started in London effectively guided me towards a wider sample in Alto Paranaiba. Guilherme and Gloria were the two first respondents I met. Through these two locals, I managed to access returned migrants, relatives and travel agents.

Accessing research participants and interview spaces

Guilherme was a local journalist who lived in Carmo do Paranaiba – one of the towns in the area investigated, and establishing contact with him was easy. Claudio had forwarded Guilherme's Facebook address and I sent him a message explaining my purpose in visiting Alto Paranaiba. Without hesitation Guilherme welcomed me and offered his help as a driver in the region. Aware that he liked British pop and rock, and that he would not accept any sort of monetary payment for the service – information collected during Claudio's interview – I

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[16] According to its website – http://www.sef.pt/ – the SEF "is a security service organised vertically under the Ministry of Home Affairs. It has administrative autonomy and its fundamental objectives within the internal security policy include border control of persons, leave to stay and the activities of foreigners in Portugal, as well as the study, promotion, coordination and execution of measures and actions related to these activities and migratory flows."

took him some Amy Winehouse LPs bought in Soho. That was the kindest way I could find to thank him for guiding me around Carmo do Paranaiba and other towns in the area.

Gloria was Adriano's mother. As with Guilherme, I accessed Glória through Facebook. According to Adriano, his mother had opened a Facebook account when he left Brazil. She had spent most of her life in Carmo do Paranaiba which meant that she was able to put me in touch with people from the three different groups that my research was covering while I was in Alto Paranaiba. In fact, Gloria was a very easy-going person. The first day we met she offered me her house during my stay in Alto Paranaiba. However, I decided to stay in a small hotel located in the city centre. After a long process of negotiation, Glória agreed. But we decided in return I would join her in the afternoons to have coffee and *pão de queijo* (cheese bread). Being in a hotel provided me with relative independence to transcribe my field notes and transfer the interviews from my mobile in the evenings[17], and at the same time not establish any sort of dependence on her.

For Glória, I decided not to take any sort of gift as I had for Guilherme. Adriano had mentioned that she had health problems including diabetes and high blood pressure, so my idea of taking some British sweets was put aside. However, I took her some souvenirs from her son, and that worked well. Spending afternoons talking to her, and listening to her sharing about the suffering caused by the distance from her son and other relatives also living in the United Kingdom and in the United States, turned out to be the best way I could repay Gloria.

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[17]Of course these field notes did not record everything; they were selective, "a form of representation, that is, a way of reducing just-observed events, persons and places to written accounts… [a form of] descriptive writing [that] embodies and reflects particular purposes and commitments, and… also involves active processes of interpretation and sense–making" (Emerson et al. 2001). They were later typed up, which also helped further in making sense of them, and generated some additional reflective commentary.

I was somebody outside her family who knew them and could bring and take messages and information. It also built up our relationship beyond the fieldwork, and somehow helped her to unburden the personal frustrations that she may have been silently carrying inside.

Through these two locals, establishing contact with returned migrants was quite different from what happened in London. There was no need for rounds of negotiation, or people who avoided being interviewed. Presenting myself as a researcher and showing that I knew some of their friends living in London facilitated the contact. They not only were very interested in the research, but were also helpful and made me feel comfortable and at ease. While Glória chased up acquaintances and friends with phone calls and explained the purpose of my interviews, Guilherme drove me through different towns of Alto Paranaiba – Tiros, Quintinos and Rio Paranaiba – to meet returned migrants. The respondents accessed through them were equally open and friendly, and I felt that my presence there was not 'out of place'. I was able to rapidly access locals who volunteered to be interviewed. As a result, I built up a rich bank of qualitative data with more than 20 interviews and casual conversations with locals collected during the three weeks spent in Alto Paranaiba. The material collected was separated into the following groups: relatives and friends, returned migrants, and border people, which will be explained in more detail in the next section.

Interviewing returned migrants

In Alto Paranaiba I used three types of in-depth semi-structured interviews. Each type was specially designed for each of the groups mentioned above. The first, for returned migrants, was divided into four sections, with the first three parts similar to the semi-structured interviews conducted in London: 1) the beginning of the migratory journey; 2) travelling to London; 3) dealing with internal borders in London, and 4) the return. My aim was to gather more information about the reasons behind the huge movement of young adults to London. I

wanted to compare this data to that obtained in London. The section *travelling to London* aimed to see if the route of migration through the Schengen area had also been explored by the returned migrants. My respondents in London had described a variety of itineraries that included more than six different European countries apart from Portugal. The section that focused on everyday life in London was concerned with understanding how the returned migrants had dealt with the inner borders after becoming undocumented. The last section, *the return*, explored how these returned migrants viewed their own return to Brazil. I wanted to understand how they were managing their lives in Alto Paranaiba, the impact caused by the migratory experience on their own lives, the city, and on the views of the locals.

The other group interviewed in Alto Paranaiba were travel agents who specialized in designing the border crossing strategy to move through the Schengen area and UK borders.

Interviewing travel agents

Guilherme played a crucial role in providing connections with two travel agents. Coincidentally, he was a close friend of Donizete and Clarice, travel agency owners in his home town. One morning he just drove me from the hotel to Clarice's travel agency, and introduced me to her. She readily agreed to be interviewed. To avoid any sort of formal interview where I would use an audio-recorder and follow question by question, I used my mobile to record the interview. As in London, it proved to be an effective tool as it did not draw any attention from the respondent, and minutes later it was 'just another mobile phone' on the table. The conversation flowed for an hour and a half. During this precious interview, I asked Clarice the history of migration in Alto Paranaiba; when and why the travel agencies had started acquiring an important position in international mobility. I explored with her this border crossing movement and how it was elaborated; how she had started in that business and when London was incorporated into this migratory meshwork which, according to her,

connected not only the United Kingdom but other European countries such as Spain, and also the United States. Finally, our conversation moved to her reflections about the future of London as a destination. According to her, the migratory geography was slightly changing again, since the US government had opened its borders to Brazilian tourists.

Afterwards Guilherme drove me to Laerte's travel agency. Laerte was a key player in the migratory history of Alto Paranaiba. His travel agency was the first to be established in that region. As with Clarice's interview, the conversation ran smoothly. He provided me with information about the sudden increase of travel agencies in Alto Paranaiba in the 2000s; and how before that people who wanted to migrate had to go to other cities in Minas Gerais, where this migratory industry was well established.

Through Laerte I met Romulo, the third travel agent interviewed for this research. As with the other two interviews, Romulo provided me with a good overview of the international travel boom experienced in this Brazilian region in the 2000s. While Laerte had explained the particularities of those who returned from the United Kingdom, Romulo focused on those returning from the United States, like himself. So, the opportunity to interview these three travel agents, who were also returned migrants, gave me the chance to see to what extent the travel agencies in Alto Paranaiba adopted tactical mobility strategies from other Brazilian regions, and employed in different routes.

Interviewing relatives and friends

Relatives and friends of current migrants made up the last group interviewed in Alto Paranaiba. My aim was to explore how this group saw the migratory process and the transformation it caused in their towns and among the inhabitants. In particular, through the research I wanted to understand the emotional impact of the stories about the borders and the

struggles on those who stayed behind. The interview was therefore composed of the following main questions: How they viewed the historical process of migration in their town; what sort of impact it had on the everyday lives of the local inhabitants, their opinions on the decision to migrate, and how they pictured their relative or friend's life abroad. In line with the pattern of the interview I planned to open up these key questions with more specific questions. Most of my interviews did not require such a strategy. The dialogue tended to flow naturally, as they explored different topics in detail and so provided me with a rich source of qualitative data.

Accessing the houses in Alto Paranaiba

I was invited into the homes of returned migrants and parents of my respondents who were living in London. These visits enabled me to see the material and emotional impact the migratory journeys had caused for the families who stayed behind. As Anderson et al. affirm, "[…] the home has been identified as a place where the geographical dimension of place coincides with the social dimension to break down potentially obtrusive social positioning" (2010: 596). In some cases, other relatives of interviewees came to greet me, talked a little about my trip to Alto Paranaiba, and soon left the room where the interview was taking place. In addition, by conducting the interviews in the homes, with the possibility of observation, I believe the interviews themselves were very substantive. All were conducted with the participant who had chosen a familiar area of the house – kitchen or living room – for the interview time. It was the interviewees' choice, to allow them more privacy.

In general, the interviews worked more as conversations. They lasted between 90 minutes and 2 hours. As some of the returned migrants stated, this was one of the few opportunities they had to talk about their experiences in London. The interviews in both places – Alto Paranaiba

and London – showed differences as well as shared aspects which could be generalized to the migratory journey experienced in Alto Paranaiba; but as Stake argues: "the purpose of the case is not to represent the world, but to represent the case" (2000: 448).

Collecting and registering visual material

Photos are used in this thesis to demonstrate how migration is visible in the Alto Paranaiba landscape as well as illustrating aspects of everyday life in both public settings. I did not plan to include photos in my fieldwork at the beginning of my research; the interviews were my main concern. However, as I began to establish good relationships with my respondents, some of them would show me objects to emphasize episodes of their migration journeys that they had carefully described during the interview. Returned migrants, for instance, showed me photos of their lives abroad. They told the stories of pictures or objects on display or in photo albums. I therefore decided to take photos and use them as part of my research. I soon concluded that these visual materials could considerably enlarge my comprehension of migration beyond the limits of the interviews. I considered that paying attention to this materiality could be a good way to understand, convey, and appreciate the humanity of the mobility that was very much present in the everyday lives of those Brazilians (Miller 2001).

Finally, travelling through some of the towns in Alto Paranaiba to meet respondents gave me the chance to visit their towns and observe how international migration had transformed them. Scholars have observed that migration does not just have an impact on the social relations where it occurs, but also on the architecture (Sayad 1991 Margolis 1994, Santos 2001). Thus I decided to walk and photograph the towns visited in Alto Paranaiba, noting elements such as the shops, cars, "American houses" – for me the most iconic element, a square in Tiros where an annual festival dedicated to its inhabitants living abroad took place, and a cemetery in Carmo do Paranaiba, where the bodies of migrants who died abroad are

buried. In the evenings, if I did not have any meeting with locals, I would stay in the hotel writing up my observations about what I had seen during the day.

After concluding my fieldwork in Alto Paranaiba, I returned to Lisbon. Determined to meet migrants from Alto Paranaiba I decided to adopt a similar strategy to before, but this time I was expecting to establish connections from Brazil to Portugal. My intention had been to meet people in Alto Paranaiba who could put me in touch with fellow citizens in Lisbon. However, once again the strategy did not work as expected.

Returning to Lisbon

Inhabitants of Alto Paranaiba mentioned the importance of Portugal as a migration destination. However, as with London, it played an important role during the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. According to the research respondents, it rapidly changed for Spain and the United Kingdom. Thus those who migrated to Portugal were people from a different generation to those investigated in this research. Faced with this situation, I decided to adopt the strategy utilized before. After visiting NGOs and ACIDI, on this last trip to Portugal I wanted to hear different perspectives. Thus, I chose a parish which provided assistance to Brazilians and academics. I went to Portugal focused on contacting these two particular segments to verify if Portugal worked as a port-of-entry to the United Kingdom. I first contacted a Catholic parish located in Almada, greater Lisbon, whose priest in charge was a Brazilian who provided support to Brazilians. After this I contacted scholars from the University of Lisbon and New University of Lisbon, who had studied Brazilians in Portugal.

Accessing research participants and interview places

Almada is a small city located approximately 2 miles from Lisbon. My first contact with the parish was by phone. The Brazilian priest, Luiz, immediately agreed to talk to me the following afternoon. Carrying just my notebook I caught a train from Lisbon to Almada and visited the local parish. Father Luiz was ready to talk to me about the unbearable situation faced by Brazilian migrants, mainly from Minas Gerais state, who appeared in his parish seeking help. Covering topics such as visa status, types of job, regions of origin, return, migration to other countries and the impact of the economic crisis, my conversation with Father Luiz flowed spontaneously and gave me an important glimpse into how Brazilians have managed the ongoing economic crisis in Portugal, and, moreover, how countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States have worked as alternative destinations for those who do not want to return to Brazil.

During the rest of my time in Lisbon I frequented Portuguese universities to talk and share experiences with researchers who had studied Brazilian migration in Europe. I had an opportunity to meet Professor Beatriz Padilla – one of the main scholars dedicated to studying Brazilians in Portugal – to talk about the current scenario faced by undocumented Brazilians in Portugal, and to what extent the United Kingdom and the United States have become optional destinations. At the New University of Lisbon, I met Professor Margarida Marques who invited me to attend her seminars on international migration to Masters students of Anthropology. Such contacts enabled me to share experiences about Brazilian migrants in Lisbon and Portugal. In addition, it put me in touch with other academics as well as students who had researched international migration networks to Portugal.

Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have presented the methodological approach that I adopted for this study and explained the different stages that were involved in the research process. The overall approach adopted was a qualitative, multi-sited ethnographic study across London, greater Lisbon and Alto Paranaiba. It included in-depth semi-structured interviews with current migrants in London, together with extended participant observation in a restaurant (during the exploratory fieldwork), leisure activities and migrants' domestic spaces in London; with migrants' families, returned migrants and travel agents along with exploratory walking in three different towns in Alto Paranaiba; and finally with NGOs, academics, a priest and the National Immigrant Support Service in greater Lisbon. I have argued that a qualitative approach was necessary to address the main aims of the research, and to capture the experiences and perspectives of those who were involved in the particular type of mobility unpacked by my study. The methodological framework was designed to remain grounded in specific places, while at the same time not losing sight of the broader context within which the research was situated.

This chapter has thus set the scene for the study with regard to *how*, *where* and *why* the research was carried out and *with whom*. The following chapter will empirically explore the border negotiation of the research respondents described here.

Chapter 4

Alto Paranaíba and its mobile people:

migration as a movement loaded with expectations, desires and enchantments.

I'm leaving for Pasárgada

There, you have everything
Another civilization
With a safe-proof system
For the dangers of conception
Automatic phone booths
Alkaloids for the asking
Good looking harlots
With whom to romance

(Manuel Bandeira, 1986)

Introduction

This first empirical chapter unfolds the reasons that motivate young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba to choose international migration as a way to fulfil their expectations of a global lifestyle (Torresan 1995, Martins Jr 2012). Moreover, it also explores how the social conditions of this group define the forms of migration chosen by them. Most of the studies on Brazilian migration portray economic instability and/or unemployment as the motives behind the massive migration of Brazilians to countries of the Global North over the last two decades (Tsuda 2003, Campo 2008; see also Padilla 2006, Siqueira 2009, Margolis 2013). However, this chapter will argue that the young migrants from Alto Paranaiba reveal how Brazilians also see migration as a social practice not exclusively restricted to searching for better work

opportunities. The desire to live in 'big cities'[18], share public spaces with people from other nationalities, travel and consume the latest electronic goods are also present in the motives as to why these young Brazilians migrate, which will be explored in this chapter. As will be shown through the chapter, international migration can also be understood as a way to access the promises of Western ways of life desired by this group of young Brazilians (Appadurai 1996).

The chapter is structured in three main sections. First, I briefly present Alto Paranaiba and how the unexciting Brazilian country way of life fails to meet the expectations of the young inhabitants. My focus here is to unpack the elements listed by the respondents of this thesis which define the towns of Alto Paranaiba as tedious and even predictable places. A closer look at the available jobs and the geographical distance between this region and metropolitan areas provides a glimpse into the high movement of its young population to other Brazilian areas as well as abroad. I then turn to examine how the available opportunities outside of Alto Paranaiba are directly related to the social class of these young Brazilians.

Based on that, I analyse how international migration is a social practice mainly used by the lower middle class to avoid the social and economic limitations in their towns and seek a new lifestyle in the Global North. The narratives of Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba provide a rich and unique account of how the projection of a life in North America and/or Western Europe is produced in the imagination of this population. The distribution of clothing and electronic goods, the stories and social gatherings, and the architecture of Alto Paranaiba are some of the aspects explored in this chapter. In the last section, I show how these young Brazilians are aware that contemporary globalization has also generated a proliferation of borders, which I

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[18] A term used by the researched group that will be further explained below.

argue has a strong influence on their decision to migrate as tourist travellers. Although on the one hand they want to taste the 'pleasures' of the Global North, at the same time they are aware of the fact that such a world will not readily open its doors and welcome them. They have to find alternative porosities to access it.

Leaving the town: traditional jobs and lack of a dynamic life

Alto Paranaiba is a large area in the state of Minas Gerais (see Map 1). It is in the eastern part of the mesoregion called *Triangulo Mineiro and Alto Paranaiba*, in Brazil – a highly developed place, with mechanized agriculture, and rich pastures producing beef and dairy cattle. According to Renata Faria de Melo (2005), this economic segment has been strongly invested in by the Minas Gerais government since the 1970s. Through a series of economic plans, the state government has provided credit to local producers and developed a strong infrastructure to capitalize on the local production. The purpose was to transform *Triangulo Mineiro and Alto Paranaiba* into one of Latin America's main leading producers of dairy products, livestock and coffee.

> Thus were created the Integrated Credit Program and Incorporation of the Cerrado (CIP); the Settlement Program Headed Alto Parnaíba (PADAP); the Development Program of the Cerrado (POLOCENTRO) and the Japan-Brazil Cooperation Programme for the Development of the Cerrado (PRODECER). Such programmes aimed at the productive incorporation of the closed area and, consequently, the establishment of a technified and modern agriculture that would benefit the area of Triangulo Mineiro and Alto Paranaíba (Melo 2005:37).

Overall, the towns in this region have a developed social structure with public services and an agricultural economy. Piped water, sewerage systems and electricity, for instance, are present in the localities where I conducted the fieldwork – Carmo do Paranaiba (29,752 inhabitants), Tiros (7,416 inhabitants) and Rio Paranaiba (10,809 inhabitants). Furthermore, their

respective small downtowns are well served by a mix of retail, restaurants, bars, grocery stores, butcheries, pharmacies, electronic goods shops, banks and other services that make up the architecture and dynamics of the everyday lives in these towns. Public schools and public health systems are also present, though in many cases deficient in quality and coverage.

Regarding its inhabitants, Alto Paranaiba is made up of a strong influx of Portuguese, Italian and Lebanese migrants. The latter two nationalities arrived in the *Triangulo Mineiro and Alto Paranaiba* mesoregion to work in the fields during the first half of the twentieth century (Junior 2000). These historical migration flows have impacted on the skin colour of the local population. The majority of the population show a typical Mediterranean skin tone. This observation is supported by data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) that conducts censuses in Brazil, revealing that Alto Paranaiba is a region racially occupied by 63.3% *Brancos* – Whites – followed by 30% *Pardos* – Browns – and 6% *Negros* – Blacks (IBGE 2010). Another characteristic of Alto Paranaiba's population is its median age. Although the IBGE does not provide accurate population age distribution figures, it still indicates that more than 60% of the population is relatively young (from twenties to fifties).
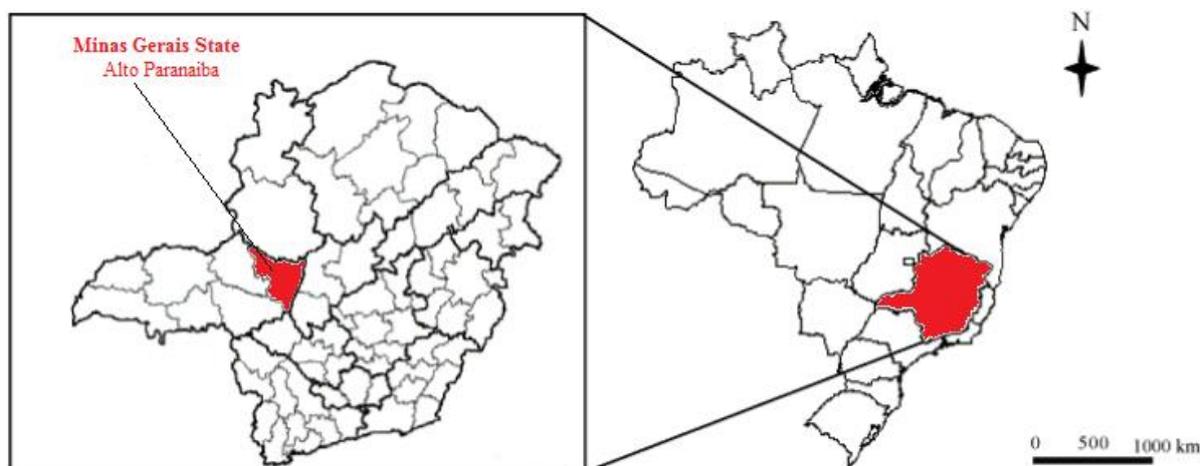
Map 1. Location of Alto Paranaiba, in Minas Gerais state.

Tedious place

Despite this decent urban infrastructure, Alto Paranaiba experiences a continual movement of its young population to other regions inside and outside the country. According to the research respondents, the towns located in this Brazilian region do not meet the life expectations and desires of its young population. These small urban centres have an unexciting standard of living; the interviewees referred to a social life centred on family relationships, the strong presence of the religious calendar, leisure activities reduced to small gatherings among close friends, and menial jobs centred on small businesses and agriculture. Therefore it does not offer, in their view, other sorts of experiences that inhabitants of 'big cities' can experience in their everyday lives.

For these Brazilians, the term 'big cities' means metropolises which present a diverse labour market as well as a vibrant cultural and social life. It can mean large Brazilian capitals such as Belo Horizonte, Brasilia and São Paulo, or global cities such as New York and London, which are defined as big cities in the 'First World'[19]. As stated by my respondents, these cities are places where individuals can constantly socialize with others through leisure activities such as frequenting bars and night clubs, with public parks, large malls and busy shopping streets. In addition, the cultural life is always being promoted through universities, colleges, theatres, cinemas and music concerts.

The idea of a dynamic life in a big city contrasts with the predictable and tedious routine of Alto Paranaiba. Lucio, a 35-year-old man interviewed in London, for instance, comments that the quiet standard of living of Alto Paranaiba is not enough to satisfy the young inhabitants.

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[19] The use of the term 'First World' by my respondents will be further discussed in this chapter later.

"We need more than that. If you want to build a good [material] life you need more than the tranquility offered by our town and hanging out with friends. We need to open our mind, live with different races, meet people from different places." He was from Carmo do Paranaiba and, according to him, spending time with friends in leisure activities was a regular social practice. "That is something I used to like very much. We used to organize barbecues at the weekends after playing football. It was good spending time with friends and talking about our weekdays. But, that is all you do. Now [in London] I see different things. It was nice [there], but I like the opportunities that I found in London."

Besides, Lucio remembers that his weekdays used to be restricted to repetitive work activity, in Alto Paranaiba. "It was from home to work in the morning, and then the opposite direction in the evening. Our lives during the week were centred on that. There was nothing else to expect from our predictable jobs and all the other sorts of limitations that a tedious small town like that one can offer." He adds, "there is nothing there other than this boring and unexciting everyday life". Lucio explains how the quiet and predictable life that Alto Paranaiba offered was not envisioned as something essentially positive as he reflects on his personal need to grow professionally and even acquire more life experience. "When you are young there is a lot of energy to be spent and desires to be fulfilled. For me, it was no different. I could not stand this constant repetition. I wanted to experience more than that." Apart from the reduced social life, the perspective of working in traditional local jobs was also listed as another issue that bothered them, and thus motivated them to search for a different lifestyle outside of Alto Paranaiba. So, in the following section I discuss what job opportunities were available for these young Brazilians in Alto Paranaiba.

The traditional work perspective

The cities and towns of Alto Paranaiba have economies mainly centred on rural trade. Coffee and dairy are the main products that regulate the local economy. They represent the main source of jobs for the inhabitants entering the local labour market. Dairy production, for instance, has traditionally played an important role in the region. National and international corporations such as the Brazilian *Tirolez* and the French *Danone* buy milk from local dairy producers and employ local workers for the production of yogurt, toffee and cheese. Tiros and Rio Paranaiba, where these two corporations, respectively, are established, are the main places where the young low middle class workforce is hired. However, as reported by one of the research respondents in Tiros, Rafael, a 24-year-old man, the job vacancies in these companies are essentially restricted to temporary unskilled menial jobs, characterized by precarious working conditions. He emphasizes how the lack of worker rights causes uncertainty among the inhabitants: "Those are the kind of jobs that people can find over there [pointing to Tirolez, while we were walking in Tiros]. There are jobs over here and they are good enough to live on. But you cannot have great expectations of that. I mean, you work, but you are not registered nor have any sort of job benefits that you should have…".

Apart from dairy production, coffee plantations are the other main economic sector in Alto Paranaiba. It has employed local workers for generations. Nevertheless, Guilherme observes that this economic sector has declined recently. "There are some problems connected to that. The first is that the pesticides used in the agriculture contaminate the water and can result in cancer. So, it is an economic practice that has turned against us. The second is related to the urban areas." According to him, the towns in Alto Paranaiba have considerably grown in the last 2 years. Guilherme says "now some of them are close to the coffee plantation, the coffee

production is kind of suffocated, it does not develop". Another issue mentioned by him is the increasing use of machines in agriculture.

Driving across the towns, we saw different robust coffee harvesters used in the coffee plantations passing by us on the roads. Pointing to a huge one travelling fast, he comments "before, it was not like that. Now there are machines working faster than workers. So people cannot compete". This empirical observation made by Guilherme is supported by a study of Ester William Ferreira (2000). According to her, the increased use of mechanized harvesting in the region of Alto Paranaiba has substantially reduced the demand for wage labour inasmuch as it has lost its relevance. "[…] areas known for their traditional methods of coffee production have improved the production of their harvest in the last two decades through mechanization, in order to compete in the international and national markets" (2000: 26). In this new context, the coffee plantations provide jobs only for 6 months in Alto Paranaiba, the period of the harvest. "After that, they [workers] have to live on their savings or look for other activities", Guilherme concludes.

Another source of work I identified in Alto Paranaiba was centred on small family businesses and/or small retail outlets. These types of enterprises met the everyday demands of the inhabitants. Guilherme and Lucio associated these kinds of business with options to "escape from the big farmers". They shared the opinion that apart from agricultural businesses – coffee plantations and dairy production – small entrepreneurism was the remaining economic resource for its inhabitants. Nevertheless, to start a small business or even to be employed in this sector is not an easy task. For Lucio, "there is not much opportunity to open a new business". He argues that these businesses are passed from generation to generation, and for a shop owner to succeed "he mainly depends on friendship". Thus, "if you want to run a small

enterprise, either you have a family business or you must have friends. Otherwise you will fail". In Lucio's particular case, his family is well-known among the inhabitants for their small residential construction business in his town.

That is one of the few business alternatives that enables the population not to be dependent on the menial work at *Tirolez* or *Danone* or the temporary jobs at the coffee plantations. Despite the fact that it gives social status for those who run these businesses, as they become entrepreneurs, the competition in the local market is very high. Adriano, who worked in this sector for years before moving to London, states that a large number of families live in this economic sector. "You do not need to have high skills to run this business. There is always someone in the family who knows how to build a house. So, everyone can start building houses for a small price in the market." As a result, for many workers it becomes another temporary job where the salary depends very much on the number of workers employed and the time spent constructing a house. In some cases, the spare time between one house project and another can mean long periods of unemployment. "So, it implies that you need to have good contacts if you want work continually. And luck is also important, because sometimes there is no work for weeks and it means short money […]", Adriano says.

Although these economic sectors – dairy, coffee, retail and small family businesses – constantly hire from the local workforce and there are no complaints about unemployment, the lack of satisfaction with the work conditions is noticeable among the young population interviewed. Lucio again is a good example. As he states, "[…] from 1990 to 2000 there were many work opportunities. But after that, the use of machines in agriculture increased in Alto Paranaiba. As a result, job opportunities are very much limited to the same kind of jobs. There is not a variety of posts to choose". He continues his observation by adding that, "small

business like working construction is just one alternative, like being cashier, seller or any other sort of ordinary worker". So, most of the posts become menial jobs such as lorry drivers and coffee harvesters, milking staff, coffee pickers, sellers, masons and hodmen.

Gloria (Adriano's mother) believes that this limited traditional market is the main reason why the young population, mainly from the low middle class, have wanted to move out from Alto Paranaiba to 'big cities'. She focuses on the case of the mechanized agriculture and observes that it "is important to increase the production … but it only provides improvement for the farm's owners. What about the workers? Don't they need better work conditions? What about permanent jobs?" Gloria strongly states "our workers should have much better working conditions such as labour rights, decent salaries, and a chance to improve in their careers". She continues her argument by saying that if the picture does not change "the current jobs won't provide any chance to improve their lives. That is why I believe they have to move to large cities to work or search for other opportunities. As a mother it is very hard to say that, but it is the truth". Adriano, in addition, recalls that the lack of labour law protection, stability and risks to health and safety have produced a number of complaints and concerns among the young population.

> There are cases of workers who have had serious health problems caused by harsh working conditions found in the coffee plantations. They are workers who start before sunrise and continue working until the late afternoon. Try to visualize their working conditions: short lunch hours, constantly picking up coffee beans, crouching to fill baskets and carrying heavy weights, without medical care. Any days not worked means unpaid days.

Another significant element mentioned by those living in London was that these economic sectors did not provide a salary capable of offering them the minimum for the lifestyle they

desired. Some of the respondents recognized that these jobs provided enough money for immediate needs such as rent for a small house, food, simple clothes, and local leisure, but it did not enable them to substantially improve their economic and material lives, nor allow them to experience a more vibrant lifestyle. Adriano's stance strongly affirms such a view of the opportunities offered by the towns of Alto Paranaiba: "you can make a good sum [of money] and then buy clothes, go out with your friends and even help the family's budget. But that is all".

Despite the fact that none of the interviewees in London were the main breadwinner, their income was part of the monthly household budget. Denise, a 33-year-old migrant, says that these jobs are good enough to help with the household expenses and a little is left for "some leisure activities with friends at the weekends. That is it". In her case, the struggle was even tougher as she had a little baby a few months old. "I was lucky because my father and stepmother helped me to raise him. Otherwise, the available temporary jobs in my town – Alto Paranaiba – would not be enough for that". Like the others, she also suggested that the available jobs did not provide the social mobility and lifestyle these young Brazilians desired. Working as a cashier in a local grocery store, for instance, did not give Denise any hope of professional improvement. "There was enough money for the everyday needs, but no chance of improvement". And that strongly affects the majority of young adults inasmuch as they become older and the expectation of professional upgrading shrinks. As a result this situation forces them to seek better professional opportunities outside of Alto Paranaiba.

So far, these interviews analysed above have clearly shown the predictable daily routine and the lack of prospects for a good job, mentioned by the research respondents as two important complaints about the lifestyle in Alto Paranaiba. Although this Brazilian region cannot be

characterized by unemployment or poverty, its young population are still not satisfied with the available job opportunities. They expect much more than a life confined to a local sphere where the leisure activities and the careers are both predictable. They are rather looking for novelty, and financial improvement. Those are things that Alto Paranaiba cannot offer, and as I will show, are essential to an understanding of why the young population from the low middle class of the region migrate abroad. However, these were not the only points raised by the respondents. Another motive mentioned that adds an important dimension to moving outside of Alto Paranaiba is the geographical distance between this region and the closest big cities.

'Alto Paranaiba is far from everywhere'

A few times in casual conversations and during the interview, Adriano stressed that accessing the facilities and/or attractions in large urban areas places is a difficult task for those living in Alto Paranaiba. In one of these conversations, he points out:

> It was very frustrating. The feeling was that we lived in a hole. For example, buying electronic goods or even a new CD released by a band demanded a considerable effort. Everything you needed, you had to take a car or a bus and travel for one or two hours to get to Pato de Minas, or five hours to Belo Horizonte. Otherwise, you had to wait until some shopkeepers realized that it could be sold here.

Adriano continues by explaining about the negative impact of the geographical distance between Alto Paranaiba and the large centres, adding that "Alto Paranaiba is a place where nothing really changes. You have to wait for new ideas from outside to arrive here. Why can't we go out by ourselves and access these innovations? Why do we have to wait for so long?" So, as Adriano observes, for the young population the desire to leave Alto Paranaiba and live

in a 'big city' is not only to increase the opportunities to access better jobs, the city also has to offer them a more dynamic way of life, a place, as they say, "where everything can happen".

Consequently, the long distances between Alto Paranaiba and the large cities in Minas Gerais state or even the Brazilian capital reinforce the young people's desire to leave their small towns, which they define as places where the latest new trend takes time to arrive. So, "instead of resigning themselves to the life assigned to them by fate, more and more people are finding ways" to access other worlds where their expectations, desires and aspirations can be fulfilled (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2014:81). Central metropolitan areas and their dynamic economic sectors have for decades attracted a large number of Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba (Bertolucci Junior 2000).

Searching for a cultural life outside of Alto Paranaiba

The study conducted in Alto Paranaiba and London shows that social class plays an important role in the aspirations of these young Brazilians to leave their towns. It is important to note that while a considerable number of the population from the middle class[20] want to leave Alto Paranaiba to study in good Brazilian universities located in metropolitan areas, Brazilians from the lower middle class tend to consider migration[21] as the best option to fulfil their impetus to experience the new opportunities of big cities.

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[20] In this thesis I take the definition of Brazilian middle class coined by the sociologist Jesse Souza (2010). According to him, this social class is not as privileged as the high or upper middle class. However, they still appropriate a valued cultural capital which comes from scientific knowledge, postgraduation courses, foreign languages, and access to cultural events such as plays, concerts and the cinema. Unlike the privileged high and upper middle classes who consider economic capital as the main element in defining their social position in Brazilian society, Souza (2010) explains that for the middle class, what prevails is the cultural capital, although some economic capital is also needed.

[21] In Alto Paranaiba migration is a social phenomenon that occurs on different dimensions: national (to Brazilian metropolises) and international (to global cities in North American or countries in the EU). The group that I researched exclusively explored international migration. In fact, the fieldwork clearly shows that international migration is currently the main type of movement occurring among the population in this Brazilian region. As stated by my respondents – including travel agents – most of the local young people have taken advantage of the

During the fieldwork in London, I accessed this second group. It was made up of migrants mainly from a lower middle class background who did not want to work in the traditional jobs in their towns and live that lifestyle, confined to the same routines. In addition, they had no opportunity to study in Brazilian universities. For them, this left only one way of accessing the high life and the enchantment that big cities can offer: international migration. In the second stage of my fieldwork, at that time in Alto Paranaiba, I had the opportunity to meet a considerable number of friends of my London respondents. They were mainly from a middle class background, a section of the Brazilian population who had access to various facilities such as private health insurance, public universities and cultural events such as plays, concerts and the cinema (Souza 2010).

Thus, for this particular group, the idea of taking a degree was the best possibility to experience the cultural and economic environment of big cities in Brazil. So education and international migration were two different social practices used by young Brazilians to access a more dynamic lifestyle away from their towns.

Education: middle class opportunity to live in 'big cities' and ascend socially

As young Brazilians grow up in Alto Paranaiba, their life expectations are not being fulfilled in their home towns. According to Guilherme, a young Brazilian who left Alto Paranaiba to study journalism and is currently the owner of a local newspaper, this unbearable situation forces many of them to desire and seek other ways of life far from the unexciting pattern offered by Alto Paranaiba. He, along with Alvaro and Thales − friends of Claudio − were young adults who "had the chance of going out to study". In Alvaro's words,

accessibility of international travel in Brazilian society in recent years (This will be discussed further in the following chapter). Therefore, in my study I focus essentially on this type of movement.

> We believed that going to a big city like Belo Horizonte, for instance, to study could open new doors to us. Having a degree in engineering or computer science in a good public university would certainly provide a change, to be employed in a skilled job, with a good salary. Afterwards we were ready to find skilled jobs in big cities where you can also enjoy the cinema, musical concerts or even go sporadically to the theatre. At the weekends we can come to Alto Paranaiba to spend time with our family and have a beer with our friends.

Alvaro, who came from a middle class background, advocated that only through education could he reach his personal expectations of a professional life and the chance of living in a large city where a cultural life could be accessed. Alto Paranaiba, on the other hand, would be a tranquil place to enjoy weekends and holidays with friends and family.

The main Brazilian urban centres where vibrant cultural and social environments can be found include Belo Horizonte (5,156,217 inhabitants), Brasilia (2,556,149 inhabitants), Goiânia (1,301,892 inhabitants) and Uberlândia (654,681 inhabitants). While Belo Horizonte and Uberlândia are the main economic and cultural hubs in Minas Gerais state, the Brazilian capital and Goiânia are relatively close to Alto Paranaiba. These four cities are characterized as places with a strong presence of young people. According to IBGE[22] the median age in these cities is between 20 and 35 years old (IBGE 2010). In general, they are Brazilians from small cities who have moved to one of these large centres to study or find better opportunities to work, for instance. This would clearly satisfy the goals of the research respondents who considered these Brazilian 'big cities' as places where newcomers have the opportunity to

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[22] The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics is the governmental agency responsible for statistical information in Brazil.

find different types of jobs with better salaries, or start college and thus "transform their future", as Alvaro says.

Nonetheless, some of his childhood friends who were from lower social classes did not share the same opportunities. Reflecting on that, Guilherme notes that after finishing high school many of his friends, such as Claudio, migrated abroad.

> Going out to study was a more difficult option for them, unlike us [himself, Guilherme and Thales], who have better economic conditions. It was quite expensive moving out to obtain a higher degree. Many of them stayed and worked in those available traditional jobs. Of course, years later they started moving abroad … United States, London, Canada …. As you know, most of our friends are still there. I understand why some of our friends have gone. Apart from enjoying free time with friends, what else could they have?

Natalia, another respondent interviewed in London, reinforces this argument, observing that "those who have a chance to continue their studies tend to go out of the city in order to take up a place in a good university and/or college[23]". She, for instance, after finishing her high school in Patos de Minas moved to Uberlândia to start her studies in journalism at a local college. For Natalia, that was "the best option for professional improvement. Uberlândia is one of the largest cities in Minas Gerais. It is a place which gives you good chances of career improvement". However, it should be mentioned that applying for a place at a college away from Alto Paranaiba means depending on financial support from parents, who in many cases cannot afford it. That was Claudio's case. His experience was completely opposite to that of Natalia and Alvaro.

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[23] At the time she went to Uberlândia, there were no colleges or universities in Patos de Minas. Nowadays, there is a Federal University.

Claudio recalls that, after high school, he got a place at a Private Technical College, to study agronomy. But that was an extremely expensive course for him, whose divorced mother was the householder and his older sister a cashier in a small shop in his home town. So Claudio could not rely on his family for financial support. "I could not use part of their meagre salary to pay my own education. I should do that by myself, if I wanted to study. But I knew that was practically impossible … From where would I get the money?! Besides, it would be expensive to keep myself at the college [in Patos de Minas]". Therefore, he says, the remaining option was to start working in order to get his own salary. After finishing high school, Claudio worked as a hodman and a painter in temporary jobs. However, similar to the other migrants interviewed, soon these jobs did not fulfil his financial expectations.

The remaining option for Brazilians from the lower middle class is to move out of Alto Paranaiba. Otherwise, as Pedro, a young returned migrant interviewed in Rio Paranaiba, comments, "we are doomed to live the same boring life". The interviews explored so far have strongly reinforced the idea that they do not want the quiet lifestyle that Alto Paranaiba offers its inhabitants. They rather aim for a lifestyle with a dynamic social life. However, unlike those who move to large Brazilian cities to study, these Brazilians opt for international migration; and this is what I unpack in the next section.

International migration: accessing big cities in the 'First World'.

As discussed, in Alto Paranaiba, international migration is seen as one way for young Brazilians from the lower middle class to participate in a dynamic lifestyle that a big city can provide. While the middle class people have the opportunity to study in Brazilian metropolitan centres, and so experience cultural and professional improvement, the majority of young adults from the lower middle class, on the other hand, see migration abroad as their

only alternative. Denise, for instance, states that "between going to Uberlândia or Belo Horizonte and going to London, I prefer London. I am not going to study in any case, but as long as I can find a job in London to keep myself, I am sure this city has a richer life to offer me. And I think this idea is shared by others that you will meet in London". Their international migration is a movement that has a clear goal: metropolitan centres in the Global North. So, cities in North America – mainly New York, Boston, and Toronto – and in Western Europe – London, Lisbon, Madrid, Barcelona, Amsterdam, Milan and so on – are the main destinations explored by these Brazilians.

The tension between the economic and social limitations found in Alto Paranaiba alongside the expectations created by international migration, reveals how global cities are viewed by young Brazilians as open and cosmopolitan in character. "The dynamism of cities, the economic and cultural vitality that is often associated with the dense clustering of peoples, cultures and activities, is in many ways a testament to what comes together and blends with particular city spaces" (Allen et al. 1999:02). In that sense, North American and European cities were understood by the research respondents to be places where the flow of money, ideas, goods and information converge, often producing something entirely new in form and fashion. According to them, this myriad of expectations cannot be found in their own towns. They are rather found in the "big cities in the First World", as Claudio highlights.

The First World

It is important to note that, while in academia the idea of distinguishing countries through the Cold War concept of First, Second and Third Worlds is outdated, in the everyday life of Alto Paranaiba such an approach has never been put aside. The definitions of First and Third World, in particular, are very much present in their vocabulary and are largely utilized to

differentiate countries and cities located in the Global North – First World – from Brazil and its cities – the Third World. Therefore, this required me to look at how they operate this outdated concept alongside the idea of the globalized world, which could also be seen in their narratives. Sara, a returned migrant who had lived in the United States for more than 7 years, states "life here [Tiros] puts you down. We were living in this small house, my husband was a carpenter and I was a cleaner. However, friends were working and living in the First World [US]. We could see by the pictures what living in the North could be like." So it is important to understand how these young migrants identify and locate themselves in this hierarchy of the Global World. They are from small towns in the Brazilian countryside which they themselves consider to be backward, with a traditional mindset and averse to innovation; however, they want to socially ascend, they want to leave the Third World behind and head to the First World, in the North.

> […], in Brazil there is a widespread ideology that all that is "modern" is located abroad – in the United States and in Western Europe. From this perspective, Brazil still has not metaphorically shifted into what is thought of as "modernity". Brazilians can achieve such transition only by moving to an industrialized country, that is, relocating away from what is "Brazilian". (Margolis 2013:18)

Such an accurate definition offered by Maxine Margolis well fits the way these Brazilians distinguish Alto Paranaiba from the 'First World'. The two main sources of employment – dairy and coffee industries – along with small-time entrepreneurship of Alto Paranaiba are seen by them as something outdated, averse to the industrialized countries sitting in this imaginary 'First World'. Countries in the 'First World' are places whose innovation and technology permeate the everyday lives of the ordinary population.

Denise remembers that people used to talk openly about the advantages of living in 'the First World', particularly in the United States. According to her, migrating to the United States or Europe meant the best and only opportunity for those young people who had no chance to go and study in Brazilian 'big cities'.

> We do not have much perspective of improvement there [Alto Paranaiba]. I think this happens because there are no industries and colleges to get a degree and try something better, in our towns. So, this is the reason why we see moving abroad as an alternative. We aim to build something and have a better future by investing in the town ... and this is why we hear about migration the whole time when we are there [Alto Paranaiba]. I came in 2003 ... no, 2002! And by that time I remember we could hear stories of people going to the United States, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom, and that strongly influences someone who is seeking something different ... you know … I started saving some money and focusing on a plan to migrate from Carmo [do Paranaiba]...

Denise left Alto Paranaiba with the aim of building a better life for herself and her son. London was considered the best option for that. "Otherwise I would not leave. He was 1 year old. Imagine how hard that was for me. I had to leave my son with my father and stepmother if I wanted to see him attending a good private school or having opportunities and a material life that I did not have. So, that counted a lot in my decision to migrate." Like the others, Denise also links this international movement by large numbers of young adults of Alto Paranaiba with the lack of expectations that the region offers. From the late 1990s, big cities in the 'First World' became an attractive destination for inhabitants from Alto Paranaiba, who wanted "to build something different" and not "get stuck in that repetitive everyday life".

Living in a vibrant and cultural atmosphere

"It is great to live in a city where you can have different types of restaurants, a park to spend a sunny afternoon among people from other nationalities who do not care how you are dressed, and a nightlife to meet friends," says Gisele, a 32-year-old woman interviewed in London. Large North American or European urban centres are places where something is always going on. For the research respondents, it means being in "sites at which a multitude of social relationships and ties intersect, giving both a sense of their worldly nature, the different times and mixes they embody, and a sense of the resultant intensity and diversity" (Allen et al. 1999:01). They are not only the enchanted places where the crystallization points of the globalized world economy happen, but also the pillars where socialization takes shape.

Migrating to European cities, for example, is constantly mentioned by those who love a vibrant nightlife filled with bars, discos and ethnic restaurants. That was the case for Robson, a 38-year-old returned migrant who I interviewed in Carmo do Paranaiba. He says that he and three friends "just wanted to go abroad as tourists and see the world. I had friends living in Brussels and in England. So, my intention was to spend time with them". Robson stated in his interview the desire to meet people from different countries and how London and the short distance between European countries provided that. "We visited our friend in Brussels. We had a good time there, enjoyed artisanal beers, saw the Christmas presentation in the main square of the city, and walked around with our friend. That was great! We really had a good time. Then we went to London." Five days later, they headed to the United Kingdom. A ferryboat linked them from the port of Zeebrugge to Dover. In London, Robson and his friends quickly adapted themselves to the dynamic of that global city and its vibrant nightlife. "That was crazy. We worked very hard in those busy restaurants around Leicester Square,

shift after shift. We were young and wanted to spend the money in bars, and on good live music in clubs" (close to the restaurant where he worked).

Valéria, a 34-year-old woman interviewed in London, and Sara, are two other good examples supporting the argument that international migration gives the opportunity for these young Brazilians from the lower middle class to access a new lifestyle that Alto Paranaiba and its social limitations cannot offer. Like Robson and Pedro, Valéria also focused more on the cultural dimension that cities in the Global North can provide for migrants. After almost 11 years living in London, she explained to me that her initial decision to come to London was very much based on the British cultural heritage that she could access. "That was my dream. Going to Lord Byron country and learning the original English [comparing British English to US English] was my aim. And I got it." Besides, Valéria states that London as a 'cosmopolitan city' enlarged her world perspective. "Living in a city like this [London] where you can meet people from different nationalities, enjoy ethnic restaurants and walk the streets and listen to different languages is unique", she comments. She believes she fulfilled this dream. She has not only visited the church where the British poet is buried but has also seen with her own eyes "the British beauty that she used to see in magazines and TV programmes".

Thinking more about the material goods that the 'First World' could provide, Sara, on the other hand, concluded that living in the United States enabled her and her husband to access goods that in Brazil they "never dreamed about as they are quite expensive". Sara meant not only electronic goods, but cars, holiday trips and the possibility of frequenting restaurants. "This is what we see on those American movies or read in gossip magazines. We had little chance of travelling through beautiful landscapes covered by snow and have money to do that. I was very much looking forward to experiencing this". In addition, towards the end of

the interview, while I was packing my notebook and turning off my mobile phone recording, Sara went to another room and returned with three large photo albums. She wanted to show me what her life was like in the United States. For her, those photos, chronologically organized, illustrated the narrative that I had just heard. Sara proudly acknowledged that she had spent her afternoons organizing pictures of her life in the United States. Eight years of migratory experience were registered in those books and they were a particular connection for Sara with the United States. She invited me to stay longer in order to see the photographs.

Pictures of Christmas and birthday celebrations with small notes indicating the day and the names of people at those parties made up a large part of her albums. Informal parties and barbecues were also recorded. Sara wanted to tell me details about some of the people in those pictures. Some of the friends Sara left behind included Latin American and Brazilian friends who were still there, others who had also returned and a particular friend who tragically passed away. But Sara has not been in touch with them since she returned to Tiros. "She [pointing to one of her friends] still lives there and sometimes calls me. That is wonderful". Then she flips through the pages to show her flat and another picture where Sara and her husband are leaning on their car. "After months working there, you can afford this kind of car [pointing to a large pick-up]". Finally, she shows me pictures of their weekends in a ski club in Colorado. "We spent our holiday in there. That was a magical experience…"

Through these two women, it can be seen how the Brazilian media also helps to build the image of the glamorous life that can be found abroad. As Margolis stresses, "by saturating the Brazilian public with representations of good life, American style, the Brazilian media played [also] an inadvertent role, in the massive migration of Brazilians" (2013:17). Their personal dream of a good life built on Brazilian magazines and TV programmes such as soap operas could be accomplished in London and in the United States.

I found that stories like the one narrated by Sara are well-known among the inhabitants of Tiros and even Carmo do Paranaiba. They are mentioned by those who want to evidence how through migration it "is possible to live an experience that Alto Paranaiba cannot offer". Migration can be seen as a social practice explored by those who, instead of resigning themselves to the life assigned to them by the limited material and social expectations offered by their towns, want to fulfil their expectation of a global lifestyle. "In consequence, their lives are no longer determined solely by the immediate realities but increasingly by global scenarios as presented and suggested by the media as more or less readily attainable, either directly or indirectly" (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2014:82). Thus, I argue that more and more young Brazilians are comparing other places in the Global North with their towns and managing to find ways to access them. Migration is one of these ways.

However, it is not only the possibility of leaving the tedious and predictable life in Alto Paranaiba and finding a vibrant lifestyle in 'big cities' in the 'First World' that attracts these young Brazilians to move to abroad. Another motive gaining in prominence for these people is material goods. I identified two elements to this. The first one is clothing, electronic stuff, sports materials, and household goods. According to Lucio, these goods can be "easier to purchase in Europe or the United States than in Brazil, where they are very expensive and restricted to shops in the big cities". The second motive represents the chance to save a good amount of money while abroad and invest it in the construction of their own house.

Material goods from the 'First World' and dwellings transforming the landscapes
The opportunity to migrate to the US or European cities where material goods – designer clothing and electronic goods – are accessible, even for those who are in menial jobs, reinforces the desire among young Brazilians to move abroad. Sara recalls that before she

moved to the United States "there was always someone arriving from the United States, England or Portugal" in her town. "And the anticipation of seeing what they brought with them as well as hearing their stories was huge." According to her, it worked on the imagination of those who had never left Alto Paranaiba. And that was even an important motivational factor for her.

> They used to bring electronic goods that you do not find in a Third World country like Brazil. Expensive ones! Such as video games, [photograph] cameras, video cameras, mobile phones… Even their clothes were good ones. I mean designer clothing, expensive trainers such as Nike and Reebok trainers … It was all different from what we have here [Alto Paranaiba]. I also remember friends narrating their wandering through Europe, describing beautiful scenarios.

Adriano, while being interviewed in London, recalls that his older cousin, Helio, was one of the first of his family to migrate abroad. He had lived for 6 years in New York, then moved to Canada and lived in Toronto for 4 years, until being caught by the Canadian border officers. During this period in North America, Helio managed to come at least once every 2 years to Carmo do Paranaiba, his home town. "He left behind his daughter. Although he was young [26 years old], he had this 'accident' [the daughter]. So, I remember Helio arriving in Carmo, always wearing expensive trainers and trousers, and NBA jerseys. The first time I played PlayStation 2 was in his house! If I am not wrong it was the start of the 2000s. Can you imagine?!" Adriano says that after being deported in 2006, Helio managed to enter the United States again and still lives there. Since then, his cousin has built what Adriano describes as a "huge house, if not a mansion. It has a swimming pool and a large back yard where he does barbecues when in Brazil […]." He adds:

[…] the house is fully furnished with things he has sent from the United States. His daughter moved with her mother to another town. [...] And in this period that 'townhouse' was closed, with all the things he sent! Now my uncles are looking after the house while Helio is still in New Jersey.

Adriano and Claudio in fact drew my attention to the architecture in this Brazilian region before I left for Brazil to do the fieldwork. On Claudio's laptop they accessed maps from *Google Maps* to show me their town from the aerial view. "Look", Adriano says, "all the houses with green gardens surrounding the building and those blue squares, which are swimming pools, are houses built by people who lived abroad". Most of these houses are located in the middle class areas of their cities. Claudio says that those houses, easily identified on Google Maps, are the 'American houses'. "They belong to people who lived in the outskirts and now are in the top areas of our town" he observes. Adriano finishes by returning to the topic of his cousin's house: "When you go there, ask my mother to take you to see the house!"

Although I did not visit the particular house described by Adriano while conducting fieldwork in Alto Paranaiba, I still took the opportunity to visit other houses like the one described above. In Tiros, for instance, it was easy to find many 'American houses', as the people call these dwellings. Milton a middle-aged man who I met in a local bar, categorically affirmed that those massive houses "work as a parameter to measure how successful the migration mobility has been for those who live or have lived abroad. It shows to everyone in the town what happened to a given person who spent years and years working abroad". So the constant movement of people and money between Alto Paranaiba and North America and Western Europe has a strong capacity to transform the landscape of towns such as Carmo do Paranaiba and Tiros. The American houses, as this section examines, provide material clues about what happened to the owner abroad and the worth of the journey made by him/her to the

neighbourhood. In fact, these constructions are not just visible from satellite images accessed on the internet, but also when we walk through the town's streets.

These peculiar two-storey houses present a different architecture from the local standard, and their nickname – 'American houses' – reflects how connected Tiros is to the United States. It is not difficult to identify them. Photo 1, for instance, provides a good example. Unlike the average Brazilian houses characterized by a ground floor, with metal windows and high walls protecting the building, the 'American houses' are massive two-storey houses, with large wooden windows and pillars supporting the roof, which make allusion to US mansions, and they are painted in unusual colours, by Brazilian standards.

Photo 1. Example of what the locals define as an American house – a massive two-storey house, which was built with payments sent from abroad.

In the next picture of an 'American house', it can be seen that the ground floor is reserved for a small family business (see Photo 2). According to my interviewees, as well as in the

literature on Brazilian migration, returned migrants tend to become small entrepreneurs after returning to Brazil (Tsuda 2003, Sasaki 2006, Siqueira 2009). This allows them to invest the money made abroad into their own business and, therefore, they do not need to work as an employee for the local labour market. Besides, it also enables relatives and family members to be employed in the migrant's business. A migrant and his/her family can look after a family business. The massive 'American houses' and their rooms available for family enterprises increase the likelihood of them not being dependent on unstable jobs such as those provided by *Tirolez* and *Danone*, or the coffee plantations. Entrepreneurism, for them, seems to be the key to escaping from the limitations of the local job situation and putting into practice the knowledge acquired abroad. As Adriano observes, "that is the only chance for those who still want to return to Alto Paranaiba…develop something different and try to be noticed!"

Photo 2. Example of an American house with its ground floor reserved for a small family business. In this case, the owner has opened a drugstore.

So international migration in Brazil can be understood as the opportunity to access the promises of the Western way of life, as Appadurai explores in his book *Modernity at large* (1996). It feeds the dream of accessing material goods that Alto Paranaiba does not offer to those from the lower middle class. The financial capacity to build an 'American house' has meaning in this Brazilian region. It materially shows to the neighbours that the migration by the house owner was successful. Like their friends who see studying at university as the opportunity to ascend socially, Claudio and Adriano clearly demonstrate that international migration and foreign currency can also lift them and other people from the lower middle class. According to them, it is a rise in social status from the outskirts of Alto Paranaiba to "the top areas" where these houses with foreign architecture are located.

The *Tirense ausente* celebration

The narratives presented above can be understood as personal stories of returned and current migrants who have been in the 'First World', and enjoyed the pleasures and fantasies that its globalized cities can offer. However, in Alto Paranaiba these stories also have a collective dimension. I refer to the annual celebration called *Tirense ausente* (Tirense absent), which has been held in the main square of Tiros since 1998 (Photo 3). In fact, it has become part of the town's calendar and is a well-known public event all over the region. The people of towns such as Quintinos, Carmo do Paranaiba and Rio Paranaiba, for instance, participate in this festival mainly organized by the local Catholic parish. It is always on the weekend of 7th September – Brazilian Independence Day – and lasts for four days.

Photo 3. The main square in Tiros, where the annual celebration called *Tirense ausente* takes place.

This annual open celebration aims to remember the compatriots who have emigrated, and salute the returned ones. After starting with a mass prayer to protect all *Tirenses* (demonym for the people of Tiros), there are rounds of local singers, *violeiros* – traditional guitarists, and dancers performing on the stage to the audience. Pictures and posters with messages from the absent citizens are displayed in the square, while stalls sell local food and beverages. See below three posters announcing the 14th *Tirense ausente* event in 2012:

(**Source:** http://pejosecoelho.blogspot.com.br)

In this festival returned migrants are invited to publicly tell their migration stories. Milton tells me that some of those who returned from abroad have become "a sort of personality in the town". Their stories are well-known by the locals and "motivate anyone who is still deciding to move to abroad". Among these returned migrants, he mentions the current mayor, a potato seller who had lived and worked for years in the United States. Afterwards he returned and "wisely invested in his own business… he became an owner of properties and land over here [Tiros]". According to Milton, the mayor is considered one of the most influential people in the town and his epic story inspires others to follow the path. "He shows how life looks like abroad. He can narrate it to anyone who wants to know. People can learn from him as well as others who also migrated ... and returned with a different mind…brought new ideas! And some money in their pockets as well…" Overall, it adds up to a very successful experience: he left his family, lived abroad for years, worked hard, returned with knowledge and money, wisely invested it and is now highly respected.

In that sense, living in big cities of the 'First World' means, to these Brazilians, accessing a vibrant dynamic and cultural life promoted through globalization in its most lively facets. It is no wonder that music festivals, nightlife and other cultural activities are listed as some of the elements of migration having the power to entice young Brazilians 'to hit the jackpot' and build a life entirely different from the one their homeland and its unexciting lifestyle has imposed on them. In other words, "the civilizing force of the city assumes the reins of destiny [...] the global city becomes the place of new possibilities for survival, life organization" (Freitag 2006: 111). London, Brussels, and New York are some of the global cities where economic, technological and cultural events can be found and accessed by anyone who navigates their streets. For these young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba the constitutive pattern of these cities becomes their Utopia. It is a game of seduction that can be immediately consummated by international migration (Margolis 2013).

How these motivations define the migration by young Brazilians

Although these young lower middle class Brazilians want to embark on a long migration journey to countries where some of the 'big cities' of the global world are, they are also aware that this glamorous world will not readily welcome them. As I explored in the second part of this chapter, international migration is registered and lived in Alto Paranaiba through the continuous movement of people and their stories and goods, remittances and foreign architecture. These elements constantly reinforce among a young population keen to live abroad the idea that outside of Brazil there is a world where social inequalities are minor, power consumption is greater, and walking and sharing busy streets with people from other nationalities is a reality.

However, behind the comings and goings of people from Alto Paranaiba to places abroad, the respondents are very aware that visas, deportation, exploitation and other sorts of struggles

also constitute these journeys. "I think that everyone who decides to go to a foreign country has in mind the challenges that will be found there. The language, hard work conditions, the weather, loneliness and illegality … well. At least they should know before embarking!" Pedro cautiously observes in a low voice on his mother's veranda, while being interviewed.

These Brazilians have also learned from the returned ones about the contradictions of this so-called borderless world they live in. Thus the research respondents recognized that it had "become more open to flows of goods and capital but more closed to the circulation of human bodies" (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013:19). And this shows another side of the international migration undertaken by the young Brazilians in this research. Statements such as the one made above by Pedro reveal the more obscure face of migration that is not relayed at big events such as *Tirense ausente* or discussed at barbecues with parents and acquaintances. Rather, as with Pedro, this is shared in the intimacy of homes or whispered in corners, when the conversation gets deeper and more serious. Migration, for these Brazilians, also means negotiation with the border regimes in the Global North.

Stories of border struggles told by close friends who have experienced this in their migration journeys can be easily corroborated by numbers provided by the Brazilian and British media. The number of Brazilians deported in the last decade is very high from some European international airports. Incidents involving Brazilians at both Barajas (Spain) and Heathrow (UK) airports are relentlessly shown by the Brazilian mass media, and even attract the attention of the Brazilian authorities who accuse the EU border management of unclear procedures. The total number of Brazilians who were refused entry into the European Union through Barajas airport stood at 2,764 in 2007; while in 2008, the Spanish authorities refused to allow nearly 800 Brazilians entrance into the same airport, claiming that they did not have the full documentation required by the European Union (The Prisma 2012). In addition, a film

made by Daniel Florêncio, *A Brazilian Immigrant* (2008), shows how the struggles faced by Brazilian migrants at Heathrow Airport can go beyond the desks of passport control. In this documentary, interviewees confirmed that officers from the UK Border Agency have unexpectedly detained Brazilians in order to identify what kind of mobility (student, tourist or economic migrant) the arrival is and if they know somebody in London, which could indicate possible contacts with social networks in the inner territory.

This dreadful border spectacle that is also constantly presented by the Brazilian mass media through Free-to-air television and the newspapers clearly shows how necessary a visa is for those journeying to the 'First World'. Without that, they become travellers susceptible to intimidation, incessant inspections and interrogations and, finally, deportation. Therefore, learning from those with more experience is essential to cover their mobility and avoid the sort of risks they may encounter while journeying. It leads them to search for people with the skills to negotiate mobility through these strong borders that control the entry of foreigners into the so-called 'First World'.

Searching for knowledge about passports and the rules of the foreign country

> Obviously, tourists and business travellers do not necessarily contradict social norms. Taking a relational (Cresswell 1996) view of mobility allows us to see movement merely injected with meaning in different socio-spatial circumstances – it means different things, to different people, in different places and at different times. Therefore, where a tourist may be welcomed into a country a migrant may not be (Adey 2004:502).

Agreeing with the interviewees, the young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba relate these risks of deportation, inspection and interrogation to the type of visa presented by the traveller. "You have to present the right visa that the border control wants to see," Claudio states.

Regarding the work visa, they know, for example, they need to get visa permission to work temporarily in any of the countries where they want to move. That is the case with the United States. Temporary employment visas are requested by the border authorities "of anyone who wants to enter the United States to work, but they have no right to stay permanently in the country", Adriano says. Without this visa, they have to find jobs that hire undocumented workers, and that suggests a number of tough working conditions [as the last empirical chapter will examine]. Claudio recalls that the United Kingdom also has

> […] a bunch of visas for each situation that someone wants to enter. Work visa, student visa, tourist visa and so on. And I know that applying for a work visa to the UK demands the right qualifications, and letters from a sponsor. Student visas, on the other hand, require an English school enrolment from the person who applies and that is very expensive. So, how can I get one of those visas?! ... You must be rich or European. And that is not my case.

So, given the fact that these Brazilians are aware that obtaining a work or student visa is a tough issue, as they have to show a large amount of documentation, considerable financial means or prove that they will have a sponsor, and without these there is no chance of crossing the border control at Western European and North American airports, the remaining option left for them is to travel as a tourist. Until 2001, Brazilian tourists did not need pre-approval visas for most European countries or for the United States. From this perspective, this visa category not only hides the intentions of Brazilian migrants to live and work in the country that is demanding a specific visa for that activity but is also evidence that it is the only alternative left for them to enter the Global North.

However, travelling abroad as a tourist is not simply a matter of buying tickets and getting on the plane, as Bloch et al. (2011) note, for instance, in their research on Brazilian migration into the United Kingdom. It demands knowledge of the social rules embedded at the airport. The negotiation with the EU border regime, therefore, starts at the passport controls situated in these social spaces. Migrants have to know how to behave and present themselves at the passport desk, how to do a check-in, understand and follow the informational boards correctly, and what is the right time to present their passport and access the departure lounge. The airport setting demands the right performance from a tourist traveller. Therefore, s/he has to demonstrate that they have absolute control in their interactions with other actors and social spaces (Goffman 1969). The practice of accessing an airport must be theatrically performed as a usual activity. However, none of my respondents had been in an airport or travelled by plane before. Adriano, for example, says that prior to travelling to London

> I had travelled to Brasilia and Belo Horizonte before, but it was by bus. That was the first time I entered an airport and got on a plane. I think that in Brazil people do not travel very often by plane, unless you have money or are going abroad. It is expensive and we are not used to it. Look … Claudio, Pedro, Paulo and all my cousins who are here [London] or in the United States flew for the first time when they migrated. Before, no one had flown yet. [...] It's indeed a novelty. You need to know what time you must arrive to not miss the flight, how to dispatch the bags, how to talk to the immigration [officers] ... You know, those are things that you've never done before, and they surely leave you quite apprehensive.

This slippery scenario, where any mistake can jeopardize the entire trip, forced the research respondents to search for people specialized in designing convincing touristic mobility. And travel agencies are the places where they can be found. According to Denise, "the travel agencies know how to put anyone in a determined country. They have good contacts, and knowledge about the paperwork. You pay and they do". Therefore, such mobility requires

someone who knows how to intervene in the social spaces involved in the journey. Travel agents, in this context, are the *border people* with the skills to navigate through border controls. They create the right scenario to act in front of border officers and passport control. This is what the following empirical chapters explore – the emergence of these central actors in the migration mobility carried out by Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba.

Concluding remarks

Alto Paranaiba is a place that has established various connections with other Brazilian regions and distant foreign countries through its young population. Unhappy with the economic, cultural and social limitations that the towns located in this region present, the young people see migration as a way to overcome it. According to them, living in a big city with all of its challenges, the cultural environment and sensorial stimulation represents an exciting experience behind this movement. In fact, it is a practice that permeates the social life of different social classes in Alto Paranaiba. However, the way the respondents define the possibilities that await them outside Paranaiba show important differences, which are directly related to their social class. For young Brazilians from the middle class, studying in a Brazilian metropolis is understood as a way of keeping a standard of living or even ascending socially, and accessing the cultural and social universe that this city has to offer. For those from the low social middle class, on the other hand, international migration is the best and fastest way to access a world with more opportunities.

International migration automatically places them in global cities in the 'First World', mainly represented by North America and Western Europe, and provides the chance to experience a dynamic lifestyle. Appadurai (1996) calls for attention to ethnographic studies to be sensitive to the web of cosmopolitan mass media into which subjects in this globalized world are

inserted. The movement of ideas and images, as well as goods and people prompt the imagination and fantasies as "antidotes to the finitude of social experience" (1996:53). The motives behind the migration mobility of young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba is no different; they show us that the opportunity to be part of a global world is not exclusive to international students, tourists or skilled workers, whose transnational mobility is considered an incontestable habit in the global world (Adey 2004, Cresswell 2006). It populates also the minds of the lower middle class population from the rural areas of Brazil, who have grown up listening to the epic stories of those who have been abroad or in towns where the 'American houses' flourish high above the ground-level local houses. It importantly shows that the contemporary migration carried out by the Brazilian lower middle class cannot be reduced to a simple explanation focusing on poverty or unemployment. The group explored in this study show that they want to take part in this glamorous globalized life, which they believe to be available to all who successfully negotiate their crossing with the border regimes of the Global North.

Chapter 5

Travel agents in Alto Paranaiba:

Border people and their tactics of border crossing movement

> *"What do we mean by 'skill'? Skill is compressed knowledge about the world and how to operate within it. It is not confined to employment. Skill is generally demonstrated in the practical operation of routine activities in everyday life"*
> *(Knowles and Harper 2009:232).*

Introduction

This chapter examines the role played by travel agents in the movement performed of young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba to the Global North as part of their negotiation with border regimes. Furthermore, it shows how London, in particular, was included by these travel agents as an alternative destination for those who wanted to leave Alto Paranaiba. Migration, as this research explores, is a form of mobility embedded in practical engagement with the border controls that the migrant has to pass through (Vila 2000, Cresswell 2006, Mezzadra and Neilson 2013). In Alto Paranaiba, Brazilians revealed that this commitment demanded of migrants the necessary skills to negotiate their mobility with border regimes in the Global North. Travel agents, in particular, are the border people who hold the *tactics of border crossing* to smoothly manage the mobility of young Brazilians through international airports linking Brazil to cities in the 'First World'.

The chapter is structured in four sections. The first covers the appearance of travel agencies in Alto Paranaiba. I show how the introduction of this business and its connection with international migration is strongly tied in with a broader context: the inclusion of Brazil in the so-called 'Golden Age of Globalization' (Urry 2003). To do so, I particularly focus first on the unprecedented growth of the Brazilian lower middle class – that includes the group investigated – and its place in the consumer market. Then I turn to examine how the popularization of air fares and international travel in Brazil enabled this emergent middle class to consume such types of commodities. I argue that this broad insertion of Brazilian society into international tourism in the 2000s produced a rich scenario that stimulated the emergence of travel agencies in Alto Paranaiba. However, as this chapter shows, travel agencies in this Brazilian region operate a very particular business, as it relates to returned migrants who moved abroad in the 1990s.

Based on this historical background, I then analyse how the travel agencies in Alto Paranaiba came into wide demand for the group examined in this thesis. The interviews conducted with three travel agents, and their clients that I met in London and Alto Paranaiba, provided information about the capacity of these border people to design the tactical mobility explored in this thesis: travelling as a Brazilian middle class tourist. The travel agents cunningly create a tourist character as well as their particular story of being a traveller on holiday. To understand such tactics for border crossing, I explore the skills employed in executing it. Finally, in the last section I show how these skills enable travel agents to design a particular strategy for border crossing capable of overcoming the strong border surveillance at the passport controls of international airports. It was in this context that London emerged as an alternative destination.

The emergence of travel agencies in Alto Paranaiba

In Alto Paranaiba, migration and its particularities can be related to the sudden emergence of travel agencies during the 2000s. The fieldwork conducted in both London and this Brazilian region shows that the development of this business is connected to two major elements: the popularization of international travel in Brazilian society since the 2000s; and the return of the first group of migrants, who lived in the United States and/or Western Europe during the 1990s. Indeed, my study shows that both aspects are intimately linked. I argue that the first element produced a solid opportunity for the local young population to afford international travel to the 'First World'. Consequently, it also provided good conditions for the emergence of the second element. Returned migrants took the opportunity to capitalize on their own migration experiences and open travel agencies to act as intermediaries for the massive public mobility.

The popularization of international air travel in Brazilian society

Through economic and social programmes promoted by Brazilian governments in the last two decades, Brazilian society has witnessed the unexpected growth of its lower middle class consuming international air travel[24]. The literature suggests that the popularization of air fares and international air tickets started during the Cardoso administration (1994-2002, 2002-2006). The Brazilian government was strongly focused on replacing its foreign policy agenda, dominated by *the logic of autonomy via distance*, with a new proactive international agenda, determined by *the logic of autonomy through integration* (Fonseca Jr 1998; Vigevani et al.

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[24]Following the study of Jan Peter Wogart (2010), it can be seen that the percentage of Brazilians living in poverty dropped "gradually in the 1990s and more rapidly in the most recent decade, from close to 35% of the population in 1992 to 18% in 2007" (2010:390). On the other hand, the middle class who comprised only 15% of the Brazilian population in the early 1980s sharply grew to nearly a third of the country's 190 million inhabitants (Wogart 2010). This meant that more than 60 million Brazilians were taken out of poverty. Furthermore, it is important to highlight that this large section of the Brazilian population started participating in a consumer market hitherto restricted to a smaller public.

2003). The intention was to end the foreign policy established by the military dictatorship in the Cold War – that aimed to control the national territory through political and economic isolation – and to prepare both the government and society for an international place in the new global order (Fonseca Jr 1998). Thus the movement of Brazilians abroad through international package tours and cheaper air fares was considered part of this agenda.

Subsequent presidents from the Labour Party, Lula (2003–2006, 2007–2010) and Dilma Rousseff (2011–2014, and 2015 onwards) maintained this international agenda, but also intensified the investment in social programmes. The purpose was to strengthen the middle class and extend it to the lower social classes through social programmes and credit facilities for that population. Among these social programmes, I highlight *Minha Casa, minha Vida* (My Home, My Life)[25], the *Fome Zero* (Zero Hunger)[26], and *Bolsa Família* (Family Allowance)[27]. Along with social programmes, the Lula administration also launched the *Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento - PAC* (Growth Acceleration Programme), in 2007. This programme, which is still in progress, aimed to promote the resumption of initiatives in social infrastructure, urban planning, logistics and energy for Brazil, contributing to its economic development. Moreover, the PAC also aimed to increase jobs and income generation, through public and private investment. "In its first four years, the PAC helped to double the Brazilian public investments (1.62% of GDP in 2006 to 3.27% in 2010) and helped Brazil generate a record number of jobs – 8.2 million jobs created in the period" (Ministério do Planejamento 2015: para.3).

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[25] A massive public housing programme launched by the Brazilian Federal Government in March of 2009. The programme deals with the nationwide housing deficit and addresses the demands of the growing middle class by helping low to middle income families finance home purchases through the state-owned bank – *Caixa Econômica Federal*. The programme offers low interest rate loans to home buyers making up to 10 times the minimum wage.

[26] This was the social programme that successfully managed to end hunger in Brazil.

[27] It provides cash payments to poor families in exchange for the enrolment of their children in school with additional allowances for food and kitchen gas for poor households.

Such an emergent Brazilian lower middle class is mainly characterized by the power of consumption. They are seen by the Brazilian government as a promising consumer market which can keep the internal production of goods and services constantly fuelled (Yaccoub 2011, Borges 2013). This sector not only began to eagerly consume goods such as home appliances, furniture, electronics and automobiles, but also culture as a commodity. Tourism, in particular, started to be increasingly accessed by this growing market. Credit facilities to travel, feasible package tours, and access to credit for travel agencies were all part of the government's strategy to encourage the consumption of this commodity and, thus, maintain the growth of the domestic economy. International tourism, in this context, became very much appreciated by the Brazilian lower middle class, as the air fares became cheaper and the presence of international air companies grew in Brazil in the 2000s (Franco 2012, Borges 2013).

Due to higher income levels and the greater availability of flight tickets, the emergent Brazilian middle class began to access travel more frequently. "The potential customers of this new social group also began to acquire domestic and international travel packages and this stems from the cheapening of the cost of travel and instalment opportunities" (Borges 2013: 81). This finding can be corroborated by numbers presented by the ANAC (National Civil Aviation Agency). As reported by this official agency, the number of Brazilians traveling abroad grew 62% between 2000 and 2010, when it reached 5.3 million (2015). In agreement with this, the Ministry of Tourism observes that these numbers are directly related to the emergence of the lower middle class in the last two decades.

> The increase in average income and consumption of households, and the emergence of a new middle class in Brazil are a unique opportunity to

strengthen this market with recognition of tourism as an important factor of economic and social development. At a time when new products enter daily in the consumer agenda of Brazilians, travel can and should be included in this list, increasing domestic consumption as well as fuelling the economy (Ministry of Tourism, Brazil 2013: 34).

Therefore, these economic and social transformations that put Brazil in the "Era of Globalization" (Urry 2003) soon started enabling Brazilians from the lower middle class to travel abroad. Accessing countries in North America or Western Europe was no longer restricted to the higher social classes. The emergent Brazilian middle class could also now experience international travel. It is not uncommon to find studies that "show how the Brazilian emergent middle social classes are travelling more abroad, joining international tours and even cruises on sophisticated vessels" (Yaccoub 2011:217). This also indicates that tourist spots in Europe or the United States are no longer places only visited by the Brazilian elite.

So international air travel became a very significant social practice among different Brazilian social classes. For this Latin-American society who struggled against the inflation and isolation caused by the military dictatorship for decades (1964-1985), international travel became a 'product' of contemporary life par excellence (Talavera and Pinto 2008:18). Being part of a global world and having the chance to enjoy its lifestyle became a reality for different social segments of this country. The movement of Brazilians around international airports, consequently, started increasing from 2003, "with the exception of 2009, the year of global economic crisis, which in turn also affected the segment of world tourism" (Borges 2013:97). Between 1995 and 2012 there was an increase of 193% in Brazilian travel out of the country as the table below shows:
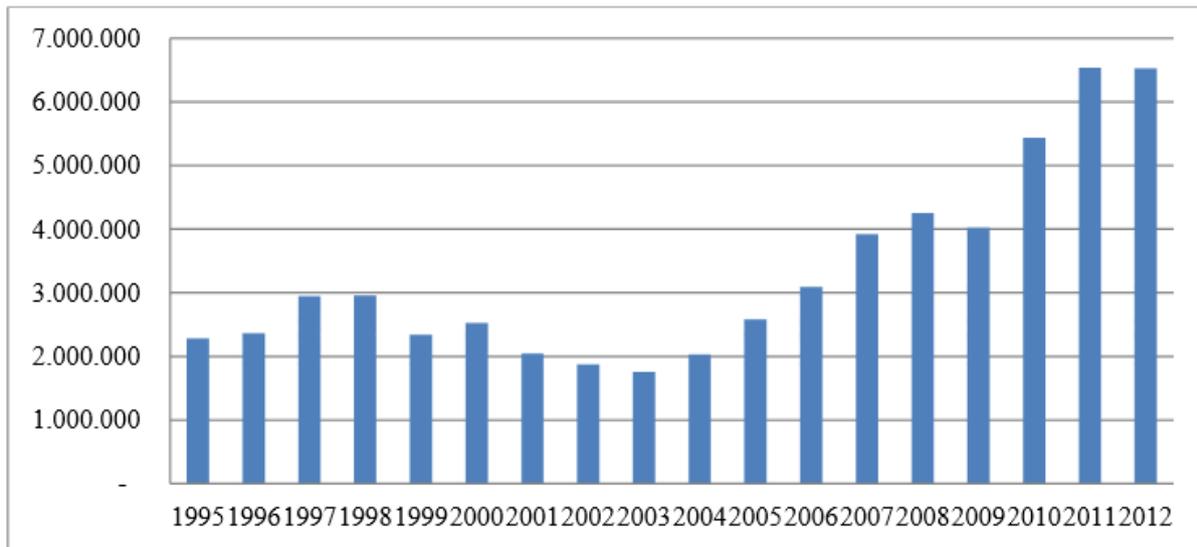
Table 1: Brazilian output abroad (**Source:** Borges 2013).

The wider availability of air fares and the opportunities for travelling abroad were also felt in Alto Paranaiba. However, it acquired a different meaning here. As I have been arguing in this section, tourism for Brazilians became more than ever the main mode of access to global cities such as New York, Paris, London, Barcelona and Lisbon. However, for a large number of Brazilians, being a tourist is not seen as the most exciting way to experience globalization. As my respondents state, they want more than just a few days travelling in Europe. As discussed in the previous chapter, young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba – mainly from the lower middle class – want to live and work abroad for a few years. However, they know that the restrictive migration policies in countries such as the United States or the United Kingdom will force them to travel as tourists.

Travel agencies in Alto Paranaiba

Romulo is one of the travel agents I interviewed in Alto Paranaiba. He states that tourism grew considerably in this Brazilian region, "in the last decade when it became affordable to travel to Europe, to the United States and even to South America. I can tell you that happened because of the facilities that the [Federal] government provided. It somehow favoured travel abroad". Furthermore, Romulo also observes that since then the majority of his clients have been lower middle class travellers.

> Well, Brazil has changed a lot since I left in 1995. In the 2000s, when the boom started, it became very easy to buy a tour package and travel to cities like London or New York. Particularly at that time, when the dollar was lower than the Real, access to credit cards was easier and tour packages could be paid in feasible instalments. These all attracted clients with this economic profile to my [travel] agency.

This picture was also reflected by the other two travel agents – Clarice and Laerte – who I interviewed in Alto Paranaiba. Clarice says that the beginning of the 2000s was the busiest time ever. "It was a boom of travel agencies over here. The number of small travel agencies opening in Rio Paranaiba, Patos and Carmo [do Paranaiba] was huge in 2000. There was a clear demand for our services". People wanted to take the opportunity to travel abroad. "It was possible to visit European countries and enter the United States". She underlines that in her town, Carmo do Paranaiba, there were seven travel agencies operating at the same time due to the high demand for package tours.

However, Clarice also points out that the travel agencies in this Brazilian region were connected to migration from the beginning. "It was always different over here. The majority of our customers were not people interested only in short trips, they rather wanted to spend

years in the United States or Europe seeing and experiencing what they could not have over here". Clarice, therefore, shows that the inclusion of Brazil in the global age through the sharp increase in international travel had a particular significance for Alto Paranaiba in that it enabled those who were not satisfied with the local way of life to access the Global North. Travel agencies thus became important places to mediate this international mobility.

The returned migrants

According to the interviews that I conducted in Brazil, the first young Brazilians to live abroad started returning to Alto Paranaiba in the late 1990s, when international travel was no longer a remote social practice in the towns of the region. As Romulo had commented, Clarice also observes that "the picture had considerably changed. It was not like when I and the others left. At that time it was very difficult to buy a flight ticket. You did not find it over here […]". However, she adds that these travel agencies "were managed by returned migrants who knew how to organize and sell mainly package tours to the United States".

Clarice stressed many times that the local travel agencies were managed by returned migrants, including herself, who had lived in the United States. "That is a common practice here [Alto Paranaiba]… actually, in Minas Gerais as a whole. Travel agencies belong to people who were out of Brazil and then returned. […] After returning we started this business. Laerte was one of the first. He knew how to travel abroad and how to pass through the passport control". According to Clarice, the first migrants from Alto Paranaiba saw a "great opportunity" in this business. "We left in the 1990s and it was not that easy to leave Brazil. Air tickets were still expensive and this place [Alto Paranaiba] was more isolated than it is nowadays". However, the picture dramatically changed in the 2000s, when this group started returning.

As Romulo also explained, Clarice says that international travel became more accessible for the local population. "I think that the country [Brazil] gave ideal opportunities to different social classes to travel abroad in those years. But it also promoted facilities to open small travel agencies like mine. With a small amount of money, a computer and the internet you could start this business". In her opinion, that helped returned migrants to invest in this business to focus exclusively on the large number of young people who wanted to live in the Global North. "Well, we combine business with pleasure…"

Laerte, the other travel agent is also a returned migrant who migrated twice to London. In his interview, he mentioned that he spent in total five years living in the British capital – two years for the first time in London, and then three years the second time. Both trips were made in the late 1990s, when international migration was still not a common social practice in Alto Paranaiba and, therefore, required a search for travel agencies outside of the region. At that time, he stresses, people who wanted to migrate had to go to cities such as Governador Valadares and Uberlandia, where this migration industry was already established[28]. According to him,

> [I] bought my flight tickets and bogus documents in Governador Valadares. There were no travel agencies here the first time I travelled. Over there they [travel agencies] were specialized in producing fake passports and stuff like

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[28]Some of the large Brazilian cities in Minas Gerais state such as Uberlandia and Governador Valadares with established migration industries and international migration networks were where this practice of appropriating touristic routes started to be widely explored in the 1990s. Maxine Margolis (1994), for example, observed that travelling as a tourist was common practice for Brazilians who wanted to travel to New York at that time, when international travel was limited to elite travellers. However, according to more recent studies, with the wider availability of air fares and international travel among Brazilians, the role played by travel agencies expanded considerably (Fazito and Rios-Neto 2008, Togni 2012). They, for instance, show that many other services apart from the tour packages were included. Among them I highlight bogus documents, the practice of intermediating money remittances, and even establishing considerably expanded links with coyotes (Soares 2002, Fazito and Rios-Neto 2008, Togni 2012, Albuquerque 2012). In cities such as Governador Valadares, the demand for these services reached such magnitude that the number of travel agencies sharply increased in a very short space of time, and expanded their services to other Brazilian regions, including Alto Paranaiba.

that. So, I had no doubt. I went to [Governador] Valadares to buy these documents and the tour packages organized by these travel agencies, which knew how to deal with migration [officers]. Bingo! I got into Europe without any problem.

Three years of living abroad was enough for Laerte to realize that it was time to return and "put into practice in Brazil what I learned abroad". He continues, that after returning to Alto Paranaiba from the second migration journey, "I had to start again my life in Brazil. But this time would be different". Soon, he realized that there were a considerable number of people initially interested in moving to the United States and years later to countries in Europe, including the United Kingdom. "I knew how to get into London. I had travelled twice to the UK through two different routes. Moreover, I had a good knowledge about visas and this sort of issue". Despite the fact that Laerte had never been to the United States, "the main place that people always wanted to go", he still knew that his life experience as a migrant acquired in the UK could become useful. "After all, I lived and worked in London for many years. That was not very different".

Laerte, therefore, saw a profitable opportunity to capitalize on his own knowledge about international travel and the challenges of living in London, through a travel agency. He knew that he could attract consumers who still had to go to Uberlândia or Governador Valadares to buy tour packages, by starting his own business in Alto Paranaiba. "My plan consisted in offering my service at their door. They do not need to go to other places…I am here!" So Laerte invested his savings in a travel agency and soon started selling tour packages to Brazilian tourist places and different international destinations, as the posters in his office reveal. However, the main tour packages, according to him, "are those to the United States, England, Spain and Portugal to a young public willing to migrate". From the beginning,

Laerte's travel agency was never limited to his home town. "I knew that I could attend the small towns around this area. My travel agency was the first, but it was clear that soon others started popping up. So…I had to expand quickly". Thus, his agency served people from a range of towns in the region – São Gotardo, Paracatu, Quintinos and Tiros. As result, Laerte became rapidly well-known in the region.

As he observed, other travel agencies started flourishing in Alto Paranaiba. As young people started returning from Europe and the United States – including Romulo and Clarice – they also realized that opening a small travel agency would be a way to make money and explore their skills as returned migrants. The interviews conducted in London revealed that the young Brazilians living over there opted for these particular private retailers not only because it was practical to deal with a travel agency from their own town, but also because of the skills the travel agents had.

Claudio, for example, recalls that Laerte was considered as a travel agent having one of the highest numbers of migrants successfully managing to cross airport border controls. In his opinion, Laerte's ability was not just due to the fact "that he was the first one to open a travel agency in my town [Rio Paranaiba], but because he knew what we wanted to do very well and is a person who is very easy to talk to". According to Claudio, that closeness makes "the life of the one who is going to face the unknown more comfortable". In addition, he says that Laerte as well as other returned migrants who opened travel agencies "were guys from our social class and had the *right balance* to read what immigration [border control] is looking for". Thus, these travel agents have the vital skills to create convincing package tours, and this is unfolded in the next section.

Technical and tactical skills

I argue that the travel agents are the main mediators in the mobility performed by young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba to the 'First World'. They are 'border people' who hold two particular skills that I define as *technical* and *tactical skills* for crossing the US and EU borders. The *technical skill* results from the experience acquired through their job as a travel agent. So, it is the know-how mainly constituted through knowledge of migration laws, types of visas, passport and flight ticket issuing, that their profession as travel agents demands. The *tactical skill*, on the other hand, is the particular ability resulting from the embedded social experiences that these returned migrants had while living abroad. Although technical skills are an essential component of organizing the trips of the young Brazilian migrants, I consider that the tactical skills have major importance in their contribution to this 'cunning art' of crossing border controls (de Certeau 1997), as it comes from knowledge about how the borders operate in practice. In this research, I identified two main sources of knowledge which I unpack below.

Knowledge about their clients

The first type of knowledge that agents hold is about the profiles of their clients. Like the young Brazilian migrants researched in this study, travel agents are part of the Brazilian lower middle class already discussed, who also saw in international migration a way to access a glamorous world that filled their imagination through the circulation of people, goods and remittances in Alto Paranaiba. While Laerte is a returned migrant who lived in London, Clarice and Romulo migrated to the United States. "I was young like these people who believe that migration is a great alternative to leave this [Alto Paranaiba] behind. I thought the same. I think that, in the 1990s, life was more tedious here. Now it is easier to travel around", Laerte

observes. For him, a man in his late forties, the current motives behind international migration in Alto Paranaiba are still the same as those that inspired his generation. "I understand what they are looking for. I know what sort of adventures and curiosities drive them out of here [Alto Paranaiba]", he adds. Agents know their market intimately, often through their own experiences.

With Alto Paranaiba being characterized by small towns, the respondents stress that people know each other well. In some cases the relationship between the travel agent and the customer is mixed with friendship. Romulo, for instance, observes that many of his clients are friends who grew up together, attended the same school or shared the same leisure activities. However, he was the first of his friends to travel abroad. After returning from the United States and opening his own travel agency, Romulo says that some of his friends and even family members became confident enough to migrate through his service and knowledge. "They were people like me. We grew up together. So I know what kind of jobs they were working in, their personalities and the behaviour of some of them. I also have an idea of what they wanted to do in Europe or the United States". In places like the ones explored in this research the relationship between client and travel agent is not restricted to professional matters. Informal contacts based on friendship or even family relationships are also involved. It means that travel agents are close and know about the social conditions and desires of their customers.

Another aspect of this knowledge is the fact that travel agents as returned migrants are aware of the expense involved in these international trips, and that makes them very conscious of the financial efforts involved with their clients to invest in the international travel. Clarice, for example, remembers a few men from a rural area who spent their savings on journeys she had arranged.

I know that most of my clients have never been in big cities, even in Brazil. So, New York, London or Lisbon will be their first experience. You can see how humble they are. Sitting in these chairs [pointing to three chairs close to us], they obediently listen to all details about the costs of the tour package, the passport issuance and so on …It is quite shocking.

Therefore, travel agents know that the tour packages have to be affordable as well as effective, otherwise the risk of their clients returning and complaining is very high. "Everyone knows each other here. A mistake [deportation] spreads fast from one corner to another. So, losing potential clients in a city of this size has a strong impact on our business", Clarice concludes.

These findings show that this way of dealing with clients is very different from the way travel agents operate in big Brazilian cities, where international migration is a more established social practice, and they deal with more clients. This is the case with travel agencies in Governador Valadares. According to Franklin Goza (2003), the travel agencies in this city create an informal loan system to lend money to their clients, and the relatives assume the debts in case the payment is not received at the right time. "Often this meant paying considerable interest rates during the loan period. However, some families did even greater sacrifices to allow one of its members to emigrate, and so occasionally sold vehicles, lands, farm animals, televisions and/or refrigerators to fund these trips" (2003: 275). The proximity between clients and travel agents in Alto Paranaiba, on the other hand, shows that the business concerned with travel is managed in a more friendly way. Romulo reinforces this by saying that due to the fact he knows most of his clients, he "very often proposes good deals and tour packages for them".

Knowledge about the airports and their passport controls

The second kind of knowledge shown in the tactical skills of these border people, that I identified, is connected to the social spaces where the travel happens. Travel agents from Alto Paranaiba understand the power relations that are embedded in airports, and the meaning of that for a migrant who has to negotiate his/her mobility with border controls. I would suggest that it is the main source of knowledge behind the *tactical skills*: the travel agents know how to get their clients through airports without drawing attention to themselves. The airport setting involves air company desks, electronic airport schedule boards indicating flight departures and arrivals, waiting rooms, baggage trolleys, and the shopping and eating areas which supply the "scenery and stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within, or upon it" (Goffman 1969:19).

According to travel agents, frequenting airports involves certain behaviours and body language that clearly shows if a given person is accustomed to that social space. Romulo, again, emphasizes that "it is a big responsibility sending these people abroad. We have to explain how an airport operates. [...] They do not know how to walk there and where to go. Most of my customers do not understand the sign boards displayed in the terminals or when to present the passport". So travel agents recognize that each part of the airport needs to be described to their clients. The baggage terminals and passport checks, departure lounges and security clearance gates have a substantial role and specific influence in the airport where the travellers wait for their flight. Any mistake or delay can mean being refused permission to embark, missing the flight or even deportation.

Therefore, Clarice says that travel agencies prepare package tours in the best way for their clients to successfully go through the passport controls located at any international airport.

The purpose – as will be further explored in the following section – is to create a Brazilian tourist character, who is travelling on holiday. "Tell me, who would, on their own, leave Brazil without speaking a single word of English, booking a hotel or having little notion about the place where they had just arrived? That is exactly the type of traveller that border officers like to put back on the plane and send back!", she says. They book hotels or hostels for the time spent as a tourist in North America or Western Europe. If the customer wants they can also provide tickets for local attractions. In addition, Clarice mentions,

> We explain everything in minute detail. Even what the person has to say at the passport control desk. You know. The questions at the US border control, for example, are normally the same for Brazilian tourists: How long are you going spend in the United States…What places are you going to visit in New York…how much money have you brought…

The luggage is also carefully prepared. "If you are going as a tourist, you have to carry enough clothes for the number of days as described in your tour package. Nothing else", Clarice stresses. Besides, international credit cards, money and health insurance are, according to her, fundamental details that a migrant has to carry in case border officers ask for more details at the interview. "We explain the importance of buying basic health insurance as these countries [in North America and Western Europe] demand that". Travel agents also demonstrate the relevance of opening a bank account and getting an international credit card. In Laerte's words, "that is the most practical way to receive money from relatives in Brazil, until the person finds a job there [in the Global North]. It also shows to the [border] officer that the traveller has access to a bank account in Brazil. Well…someone is sponsoring that tour". Laerte says that this tactic aims to convince the passport officer that the traveller has enough money, and will not stay at the country´s expense while they are visiting.

According to Laerte, the interviews at the passport controls "are procedures that aim to distinguish tourists and students from migrants. Thus, I try to fill any gap that can evidence that…I guess most of the time it works. Otherwise, I would have closed my doors down a long time ago". Airports and their passport controls are the main obstacles that these skilled border people are hired to overcome. At the same time as being the social spaces where migration mobility from Brazil to the 'First World' occurs, airports can also obstruct this mobility if the migrant is not well enough prepared to behave or negotiate his/her mobility through them.

It is therefore important to understand that more than spaces of circulation, airports become the ultimate *spaces of prohibition* for these young Brazilian migrants from Alto Paranaiba: the prohibition that separates the legitimate traveller – that one who is accustomed to frequent this space and, therefore, has the right manner of behaving there – from the illegitimate traveller – those like the research respondents who are not accustomed to moving through such social spaces (Côté-Boucher 2008). Airports are understood by travel agents and migrants to have the apparatus for examining social relations as well as social actors. Travellers moving through airports have to "pass through layers of individuating security, from document to biometric checks, crowds remain a problem. Moreover, because security is designed into airports in the form of lines of sight, bottlenecks and chokepoints, space will discipline individual behaviours (Maguire 2014: 125)"

Thus, a traveller without the necessary skills will experience these spaces of transit "as an obstacle, as a resistant 'objectality' at times as implacably hard as a concrete wall, being not only extremely difficult to modify in any way but also hedged about by Draconian rules prohibiting any attempt at such modification" (Lefebvre 1991:57). However, travel agents

have the crucial role of intervening in the restrictive guidelines imposed in these fields of force, enabling migrants to smoothly negotiate their mobility without fear.

So far, this chapter has examined the two main elements that I consider important to understand the growth of travel agencies in Alto Paranaiba: the first is the greater availability of affordable air fares and international travel among the emergent lower middle class, and the second is the role played by returned migrants. Furthermore, as the last two subsections have explored, *technical* and *tactical skills* are the two empowering factors behind these travel agents of Alto Paranaiba. Considering that their clients are mainly composed of a young population who want to migrate to the 'First World', travel agents have developed a *particular strategy for border crossing* to get through the passport controls: by travelling as a tourist. Aware of the high number of Brazilians travelling abroad, and the high regard that these tourists have abroad, due to their avid consumption of goods, the travel agents opt to transform these young Brazilians into tourists. The following section explores how this strategy is carried out.

Tactics of border crossing movement: travelling as a tourist

In Alto Paranaiba, as the previous empirical chapter has shown, the dream of travelling to the big cities of the 'First World' is present in the stories of many young Brazilians from the lower middle class. Nonetheless, they know that is not a simple journey. They are aware that the proliferation of borders to protect this so-desired world must be taken into account in any attempt to succeed in the trip. Therefore, it involves a series of preparations – applying for passports and international credit cards, preparing the luggage, organizing the package tours, and learning about the passport control's policies – to negotiate their mobility with the border

controls. In the case of the airports, the success of their border crossing is directly connected to the services provided by the local travel agencies, managed by returned migrants.

The main service provided by the travel agents constitutes package tours which attempt to transform the migrant into a Brazilian tourist travelling on holiday: middle class, good-looking with expensive clothes (Padilla 2006b, 2008; Margolis 1995). According to Laerte, "Brazilians are very welcome in these countries. We spend a high amount of money over there, and they like it! Everything is expensive here [Brazil]… and Brazilians go to spend money and buy goods in the United States or London". Based on this, he emphasizes that travel agents "exploit this fact to send migrants as tourists. Then we prepare them to travel and enter the country where they want to migrate". So, those stereotypes of a Brazilian tourist are taken by them as the typical characteristics of an acceptable (Curry 2004).

Travelling as a tourist to the United States

For Brazilians, the United States is seen as the main international destination. Historically, the *American way of life* strongly "promoted by the US government and media captured the 'geographical imagination' of Brazilians who admired American movies, music and technology, while viewing American lifestyles through rose-tinted glasses" (Margolis 2013:17). Cities on the eastern coast of the United States, in particular, are the places most frequented by Brazilian tourists, who annually pour billions of dollars into the local economy[29]. While the north-eastern United States became a paradise for material and cultural

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[29] Between 2004 and 2011 the number of Brazilian tourists in the United States quadrupled. The Brazilian newspaper Folha de São Paulo shows that, in 2012 alone, 1.8 million Brazilians visited that country. In Miami, for instance, there were 690,000 tourists, while New York received another 816,000. "One out of every 13 tourists who went to Manhattan was Brazilian, in 2012. Brazilians spent around $1.9 billion (R$ 3.6 billion), putting our country [Brazil] in third position of those who spent the most there, behind the UK and Canada. With goods costing less than a third of the value in Brazil, 95% of Brazilians visiting the United States are shoppers, according to the report of Usitic, the international trade committee of the country, released this year." (Folha de São Paulo, 20/04/13).

consumption and Christmas holidays; the beaches and Disney World in Florida represented the ideal summer holiday for families.

With the presence of an emergent lower middle class among international Brazilian tourists, travel agencies have become very specialized private retailers in producing different tour packages able to exclusively serve this section of the public wanting to migrate to the US. Feasible payment instalments and accessible travel prices were designed to cater for this new consumer market with a wide range of tour packages aimed at different types of consumers who want to visit the United States – families, young couples or groups of friends, or elderly consumers. In Alto Paranaiba the scenario was no different. Laerte says that "[...] people over here [Alto Paranaiba] always considered the United States as the main place to travel to". In fact, I noticed from my fieldwork in Alto Paranaiba, that at the start of this international travel, the 'First World' meant the eastern coast of the United States. Cities in the states of Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey were the main destinations.

Romulo says that "it was easy to send people to the United States in the beginning. The client who wanted to migrate to there did not have much to do. I organized the trip and sent them to there without any sort of complication". According to him, preparing the trip consisted mainly in following the same procedures that should be made with tourists. As Laerte stated, Romulo also observes that "Brazil is a country whose tourist is very much appreciated. We are characterized as someone who likes to buy clothing, consume electronic goods…so, we spend a huge amount of dollars in the United States". So Brazilian tourists tended not to face many complications. "Because of that most of the travel agencies opted for designing a package tour for these young people who wanted to live in the United States for a while."

"Travelling over"

Referred to by the respondents as *travelling over*, the migrant only travels between both countries (Brazil and the United States) by air, making an eventual stop in the United States for a domestic flight connection. Laerte emphasizes that this route by air has worked effectively for more than ten years, and was the main route used by the travel agencies in this Brazilian region. "When this kind of migration started in the 90s, people travelled like that [snapping his fingers to show how easy it was] to the United States". He says that it was not difficult to organize the trips for his clients, especially with the good image that Brazilian tourists used to have in the United States, "you knew that Brazilian tourists were very welcomed there. Then there was no bureaucracy to send these guys. Simple package tours, a few days in New York, or….well any place they wanted to go and it was done!" In fact, Clarice observes that the trips to the United States did not demand much effort.

> Our clients tended to go to New Jersey or New York. There is a big community of Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba over there. So, we booked flight tickets, hostels, then gave information about the touristic spots in those places...in case people needed help with passports, we also provided support.

So the travel agents were fully in charge of preparing the migrants as tourists. "It was not difficult. We followed a script that could not fail". Using their technical and tactical skills, they would transform young Brazilians into tourists who would spend a few days in the US north-east. Their clients did not have to do much apart from "learn a few sentences in English, explain to the border agency at the passport control that they were going to spend a few days in the United States visiting some touristic places and all this blah, blah, blah...", according to Clarice.

September 11ᵗʰ

However, travelling directly to the United States became more difficult. Laerte comments "there were always cases of customers having their visa refused at the airports of the United States. But I remember that after 2002, 2003 the numbers increased. The passport control agents started refusing visas and sending them [his customers] back to Brazil for any reason, I could do nothing". As a result, he observes that the "number of people flying directly to the United States drastically reduced". It affected not only his business, but also the other travel agencies over Alto Paranaiba. In the end those travel agents who managed to find new routes survived in Alto Paranaiba. In the case of his town, "all travel agencies closed their doors. To give you an idea, we are the only one currently working over here. And because of that we cover some towns around the area". Clarice believes that it may have some relation to the September 11th attacks. "After that, selling tour packages to the United States became worse".

Due to the sanctions imposed by the US government after 9/11, the number of Brazilians in the country sharply declined. As the literature on border studies and migration notes, the United States government restricted the mobility of people across its national borders (Tirman 2006; De Genova 2004, 2013). Any border crosser who did not provide satisfactory reasons why they wanted to cross the US border could be classified as a potential risk traveller. The terrorist attacks on September 11ᵗʰ also had an effect on the US immigration policy. The most significant change was the widespread recognition of the link between military security and effective control over global migration.

> The ferocious law-enforcement reaction to 9/11 overwhelmed Arab and Muslim communities. At the same time, other immigrants, legal or not, were affected, and most of those migrants are from Latin America, particularly

Mexico. So the initial focus of attention, reflecting the ethnicity of the 9/11 attackers, actually affected a much broader swath of people in or hoping to enter the U.S. (Tirman 2006:01)

In this strict border policy, the US government also included Latin-American countries, well-known for their constant movement of migrants into US territory. Thus, if previously the young Brazilian migrants from Alto Paranaiba could simply get a tourist visa to enter the United States as long as they could show they had a reasonable amount of money, proof of a hotel reservation and return air tickets, after September 11th the picture dramatically changed. Brazil was included among the countries whose citizens were required to apply for non-immigrant visas, clearly designated as being visas for those who wanted to visit, work or study for a temporary period. The United States transferred their governance sovereignty and security from the airports to the US consulates in the Brazilian territory. Hence, before arriving in US territory all Brazilian citizens now have to apply for a visa at one of their embassies located in Brazil. That involves costs and a pre-selection process that does not necessarily guarantee entry. It rather generates a pre-approval visa that has to be presented at their airports, where the final visa may or may not be granted.

Brazilian travellers, therefore, could be holding a refused visa in their passports and become unwanted foreigners before setting foot in any airport in the United States. Clarice agrees with this, confirming that getting a visa from the United States Consulates has become a very tough process. "It started taking a long time and without any guarantee. Any simple misunderstanding in the visa application could be a reson for a visa refusal and then put the entire travel under risk. Your time has gone; your money as well". According to her, a migrant who fails in the interviews booked in Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo City could also

lose the high amount of money invested in that tourist trip and, in addition, get a refusal stamp in her/his passport.

> Yep…how many cases of refused people we had to deal with!...I remember, we sold a package tour, got the pre-approval visa, explained point by point what they had to say at the passport control, but a mistake put all the journey at risk. One or two weeks later they were here asking for some sort of refund. What could I do?!

These border reinforcements forced the travel agencies in Alto Paranaiba to rethink their initial tactics of border crossing that were mainly focused on preparing tour packages for the United States. Travel agents knew that their customers were mainly young Brazilians with a limited sum of money for travel. Now flying from Brazil directly to the United States, and presenting themselves as tourists was no longer a guaranteed way of entering the country. Besides, this border crossing movement had become very costly and risky. Successive failures could jeopardize the business legitimacy of these travels agencies. So, the migratory routes and the tactics of travelling as a tourist had to be reconstructed in Alto Paranaiba.

The immediate alternative was to explore the traditional routes that passed through Mexico before arriving in the United States. The travel agents, therefore, decided on this traditional migration geography that had been widely used by Latin American migrants travelling to the United States (Massey and Riosmena 2012, Assis 2008, Squire 2014). In this new context, travel agents such as Romulo, Laerte and Clarice started worked alongside another well-known border people among Latin-American migrants: the coyotes.

"Travelling below"

After the border reinforcements imposed by the US government on Brazilians, travel agencies adapted their tour packages to Mexico City. For Clarice, the reason was clear: there was no requirement to have a visa to enter Mexico. Therefore, the tactic remained the same: travelling as a tourist, "[…] but now with a tour package to visit the Mexican capital" and from that point migrants had to *travel below*, as the respondents describe it. Unlike the first option where migrants would go over on flights, now they had to journey from Mexico to the United States on the ground. In their respective interviews, the travel agents commented that they used to send a large number of Brazilians to the United States through this alternative route every year since the stiffer border enforcement by the US government. "That became a fever. There were young men who did not care about the risks of being caught by the US border police and trusting in Mexican coyotes. They used to pay for a tour package to Mexico City and from there meet a coyote, whose meeting was also previously arranged here", Romulo explains.

This alternative border crossing negotiation consisted in breaking down the initial air route into a shorter air journey composed of pathways and in partnership with coyotes. While the travel agent has the skills to negotiate the mobility of migrants through airports' passport controls, coyotes know how to journey through the terrestrial routes in Mexico and deal with the border controls between Mexico and the United States.This shows the importance of *improvisational knowledge* to design alternative routes. Travel agents are able to disassemble established routes, and creatively incorporate the pieces into new combinations. "In this ability lies life's power to resist the impositions of regimes of command and control that seek to reduce practitioners" in unpredictable movements hard to be monitored (Ingold 2011:81). After landing in the Mexican capital the Brazilian migrants would present their tour packages

to the border authorities and, then, get into the territory where the coyotes were waiting for them.

So, in order to avoid the interview and pre-selection process at the United States embassy in Brazil as well as the passport controls at US airports, the route through Mexico was taken, which was longer because they had to find less controlled places less to cross. According to Carolina and Andre, two returned migrants who had travelled to the United States through Mexico, this route meant a long journey through different places and took a considerable time[30]. In their view the struggle was very hard and the risk of death was present when they were going through the Sonora desert or crossing the *Rio Grande*. While Carolina spent 22 days travelling from Mexico City to Monterrey then to San Antonio before arriving in Charlotte, the final destination, Andre's journey which took place along the Pacific coast and the Sonora desert lasted 14 days. They observed that the travel not only required connections between cities in Mexico and the United States, but also with other border people along the way. "As soon as we got on the other river bank [Rio Grande] there were some people ready to take us out of the water…", Carolina recalls. She means the coyotes on the US side who conducted her group to a place where lorry drivers would drive migrants to Dallas, Texas. From that point the group was split into pairs and delivered to their final destination.

It is important to note that these two respondents, as well as many inhabitants of Alto Paranaiba who I had casual conversations with, highlighted the struggle that a migrant has to face along this gloomy route. They stressed that the relationship between the coyotes and migrants was not stable at all. Carolina, for example, tells me that the migrant "depends

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[30] Travel agents categorically refused to provide information about how the mobility through the Mexican territory happened. They said that their role was getting their clients through the Mexican passport controls. From that point, the coyotes were the border people in charge. So, the alternative solution I found to unpack this 'travel from below' was to interview returned migrants who had travelled via this route.

exclusively on the coyote's decision. It is not like travelling over, where the travel agent organizes everything and you just fly…no! The picture is different. You have to follow the coyote, without speaking a single word. You are dominated by their will…" Therefore, the confidence in the coyote is very weak and at any time it can be broken. The respondents said that personal rings and watches, for example, were used as 'money' to buy the coyote friendship, and thus guarantee some protection while they were travelling to the United States. The main purpose was to keep a connectedness with the people and places involved in the journey. Otherwise, they could get stuck along their route or even suffer physical abuse. Andre confirms that the mobility was very confusing and they could spend days waiting in a room or moving from flat to flat on the outskirts of Mexico City until they journeyed North. "It was not clear where we were moving to. There were days we did not move, other days we just moved at night".

In Carolina's case, after arriving at the outskirts of Monterrey, their group had to wait for five days for the authorization by the coyotes to keep journeying northwards. "We stayed in a small flat with other migrants until a considerable number of migrants had gathered to cross the border. They were people coming from other Latin American countries and even Chinese people. They arrived from different Mexican regions". Carolina explains how the migrants experienced fear and insecurity while travelling under the rules of these border people contacted by the travel agents in Alto Paranaiba to move their clients. During the days of waiting the coyotes were busy calling other people and organizing the next leg of the journey. "But at night, they used to spend the time drinking and consuming drugs, while the migrants were kept in separate rooms."

She recalls that one of these nights, while they were waiting for the order to continue moving, the room occupied by the group was invaded by two smugglers who chose a girl. "It was very scary. I think the girl was from Cuba". They dragged her out of the room. But Carolina and the other migrants could hear her being raped. Desperate, she grabbed a Brazilian beside her and started kissing him. Looking for protection, she made out that he was her boyfriend to the other coyotes who were guarding the door. "It was the only way to protect myself in that place. I kissed him and held his arm. What could I do?!" The following night, the group was informed that it was time to cross the border. "We had to move to a small town on the river bank[31]. I think that probably the contact on the other side of the river bank was ready." But she said that the Cuban girl was left behind.

Carolina's story highlights how sexual harassment is a serious risk for female migrants on their journeys. Indeed, she was not the only one to mention this. Another respondent, Sara, also struggled with this sort of violence, but at the Mexican airport while trying to negotiate her mobility with the border officers. These two Brazilian girls' accounts draw attention to the fact that gender is an important dimension for migrants dealing with borders. Sexual violence, in particular, was expressed as the main concern for my female respondents who moved to the United States through Mexican territory. Carolina indicated that men have more autonomous mobility, tending to go by themselves alongside the group, while women are not so empowered as mobile people. The risks of being alone with border officers or border people force them to depend on male protection. Carolina reveals that women on their own are used as bargaining chips by coyotes inasmuch as they can control the mobility of the group or particular subjects.

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[31] Carolina could not remember the town's name, but looking at the map of the Mexican-US border I believe it is located in the state of Tamaulipas.

The risk of violence and even death alerts locals to the fact that *travelling below* to the United States was not easy after September 11th. That was a migration mobility which involved not only the skills of the travel agents, but also endurance and courage from the migrants, who became fully dependent on the coyotes while moving through the Mexican and US territories. Thus, as Andre observes, "if you are not sure about that, it's better you stay [in Brazil]". The experiences narrated by returned migrants and relatives divide opinion among the locals. While Andre confirms that he would repeat the whole process again, Carolina says that she wants to return to the United States, but this time *travelling over*. She says that deportation in both cases is different, as the mobility presents distinct features. Being caught by border patrols in US territory means that the migrants can sometimes stay for months in a detention camp, whereas getting entry refused at a US airport results in a quick flight back to Brazil.

However, the situation became more serious after a young man from Carmo do Paranaiba was kidnapped near Monterrey, and a small group of ten young Brazilians from Tiros disappeared while travelling through the Sonora desert. Romulo says that the community became very impacted by these stories. "Obviously it affected the business again. First, because only men had the courage to travel. Then the number of clients was reduced. Second, the families no longer provided support and started questioning the validity of this trip". Therefore, new routes had to be created and new countries included in the perception of 'First World'.

Europe and London, in particular, became the new goals. Despite the fact that the United States was considered the main destination in Alto Paranaiba, Clarice observes that her clients are still moving to countries classified as 'First World'. Countries where "life is better than

here [Brazil], despite working more than we do in Brazil. You can easily purchase goods that would be quite hard to buy here [Brazil]. There it is the First World, unlike here", she states.

The emergence of London as a new Global North destination

The difficulties imposed by the US government along with the uncalculated risks of the route through Mexico have transformed the geography of Alto Paranaiba migration again. European countries such as the United Kingdom, Portugal and Spain have become more attractive destinations. Adriano, for instance, remembers that the creepy stories about the Mexican border told by his cousin were fundamental in changing his mind.

> I always wanted to move to the United States. I have relatives over there. But the idea of crossing a desert without any guarantee that I would survive at the end was too much. That was very risky and expensive. I changed my mind. Rather than going to the United States, I opted for London. It was safer and cheaper. You know, there is no need for a visa and the journey is much safer than crossing through Mexico. Besides I had my cousins and friends who were here and could provide me some sort of support.

Adriano explained that many people from his town who had aimed to travel to the United States had their visas refused before leaving Brazil. According to him, the travel agency suggested taking European capitals into consideration for those who wanted to live abroad. This appeared to be the best option, as the United States borders were stricter on Brazilians. Therefore, the inhabitants of Alto Paranaiba temporarily opted to move to these European countries as an alternative choice, when the United States' borders were reinforced. Portugal and Spain were the two initial countries whose languages and the supposedly easy entry were taken into consideration. But low salaries and stories of racism built a negative image of these places. Guilherme, for instance, observes that:

There was indeed a difference between those who migrated to Portugal and Spain and other countries in Europe and the majority that insisted on the United States. I think there were more job opportunities in there [US]…we saw the difference of those who returned. It is not a general rule, but many of them came back better. I know that they suffered there. They must have worked like slaves. Portugal and Spain was different. Some did not return…there is that woman who stayed in Lisbon [looking at his friends, while talking]…I forget her name… others returned and have a tranquil life, but in a different way. They made enough to live here…

Faced with this picture, Clarice recognized that those two countries did not gain importance among the local clients as she had expected. In her view Portugal and Spain were second-rate alternative countries that did not satisfy the interests of those young adults searching for adventures in the 'First World'. Once again, she tells me, the local business started going down. "Portugal is understood as an old country. There is also the grumpiness of Portuguese people…we always hear about their lack of politeness with Brazilians…I think it made the difference. In Spain it was a bit similar. Anyway…we decided to explore other countries". In this context, she says that the United Kingdom, particularly London, became a destination option, adding "there is in this region [Alto Paranaiba] a saying that people who go to London have a typical profile. They are young, like the nightlife, rock and roll and want to meet other races…" Lucio, for instance, saw London and the cultural diversity this city could offer as elements that could make "life more exciting than Lisbon". Moreover, the purchasing power of the pound was another attractive factor for him. "I remember that when I arrived in London the difference between the pound and the real was five to one. It made a huge difference. You did not have this in Portugal, nor in Spain. Besides, as my friends who were here said, it was easy to find a job that could cover my expenses".

Gloria, Adriano's mother, agrees, saying that travel to the United States was very expensive when her son left Brazil in 2007. It involved applying for visa at the US embassy in Rio de Janeiro city and travelling with a good amount of money which would be presented at the US border control. "Otherwise, he would have to travel through Mexico. So we decided on London. It was cheaper", she recalls. It seems that it was a temporary route while the United States' doors were still highly monitored. Unlike the United States government, the British government does not demand a pre-approval visitor visa for citizens from Brazil (UKBA 2012). Brazilians apply for a visitor visa at the passport controls of any UK airport. So there is no need for a pre-approval visa, and that definitely brought about a transformation in the mobility of economic migrants from Alto Paranaiba. Thus, Alto Paranaiba would see a massive movement of its young adult population to London during the following ten years.

However, the *tactics of border crossing* would change again. If at the beginning the young Brazilian migrants could rely on the travel agents' skills to design the package tour, travelling to London soon revealed itself to be difficult. According to Laerte, "the client has to be committed to the story of holidays that we create here and also incorporate the tourist. Otherwise, it fails". Thus, those willing to travel to London also have to develop particular skills to act as an authentic Brazilian tourist on holiday in Europe.

Concluding remarks

Although migration studies call attention to the border smugglers who are tactically positioned at the fringe of countries and always ready to negotiate the mobility of migrants through guarded territories (Papadopoulos et al. 2008, Papadopoulos and Tsianos 2007, Khosravi 2010), the migration performed by young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba to London reveals

another set of important border people in designing the tactics of border crossing: the travel agents.

In my study, I show that travel agents are not just sellers with the capacity to provide travel and tourism related services for their clients. I reveal that they are returned migrants who after years of living in North America or Western Europe moved back to Alto Paranaiba and capitalized on their knowledge about foreign cities where they lived and principally about the passport controls and their migration policies. Through their own experiences and the economic improvements in Brazilian society, travel agents know that travelling as tourists can be the best way to successfully overcome the border controls that protect the globalized cities in the 'First World'.

Based on this, I argue that travel agents in Alto Paranaiba are border people specialized in producing package tours to migrants to practise their mobility as Brazilian tourists. This tactic of border crossing movement comes from their *technical skills* in preparing the documents and other procedures involved in international travel, as well as their *tactical skills* which are able to 'domesticate' the passport controls of international airports. Travel agents know how to blur migrants through fake images of tourists and so produce desirable travellers for border controls. In fact, they are key players who help to intermediate the negotiation between border crossing movement and border enforcement that will characterize the entire journey of these young Brazilians on the way to London, which is analysed in the following empirical chapters.

Chapter 6

Migrants as border choreographers:

Performing tactics of border crossing through UK passport controls

"2022, a new European order
Robot guards patrolling the border
Cybernetic dogs are getting closer and closer
Armored cars and immigration officers

A burning village in Kosovo
You bombed it out, now you're telling us go home
Machine guns strut on the cliffs of Dover
Heads down, people look out, we're going over
[...]
The chip is in your head, not on my shoulder
Total control just around the corner
Open up the floodgates, time's nearly up
Keep banging on the wall of Fortress Europe"

*(Asian Dub Foundation, **Fortress Europe**)*

Introduction

After revealing the skills of travel agents in creating the *tactics of border crossing*, and exploring the emergence of London as a destination I focus now on the mobility of the young migrants from Alto Paranaiba in moving to London. This chapter explores how these Brazilians put the travel agents' tactics into practice in navigating the Schengen and UK passport controls. Based on the argument that migration results from the multifarious tensions between border crossing and border reinforcing (Vila 2000, Mezzadra 2006), I show how migrants are empowered subjects in negotiating with the border controls positioned throughout their journey. As shown by the research respondents, the success of their mobility

through the Schengen and UK passport controls depends on inspiring tourist performances. They have to bring the character to life to convince the border agents that they are Brazilian middle class tourists on vacation in Europe. Therefore, I unfold the performance given by these border choreographers to reinvent their migration mobility as a touristic one.

The chapter is organized into two main sections. In the first section, I examine how the tourist character is prepared by both the travel agent and the migrant who buys their services. Through interviews collected in London and Alto Paranaiba, I analyse how success in achieving the border crossing movement depends initially on the close proximity between the travel agent and the migrant. The dialogue performed is seen as essential by both subjects to create package tours able to meet the migrant's needs as well as give vigour to the tourist character that s/he will portray. My goal here is to demonstrate the participation of the migrant in designing his/her own border crossing performance.

 I then turn to examine the two major elements that these Brazilian migrants focus on in order to portray convincing characters: the visual aspects and making flight connections through the Schengen area. Defined by me as the *design aspects*, I argue that they are the source of the tourist performance carried out by these Brazilian migrants. I initially unpack how the visual aspects of a tourist character are composed by the appearance – costumes and make-up – as well as a convincing performance in pairs – either as a couple or as classmates. Then I demonstrate how flight connections through the Schengen zone involves exploring domestic flight connections to London through airports whose passport controls are considered by the research respondents as less strong. So these two design aspects give the body as well as coordinating the tactical movements of these Brazilians to face the challenges of passport controls at the UK airports.

The art of bringing the tourist character to life

Considering the fact that international airports are presented by travel agents as *spaces of prohibition*, the act of portraying a convincing character is the chance for migrants to smooth their mobility through the passport controls which constantly filter travellers. Brazilian migrants learn that migration is a tactical performance "which occurs during a period marked by his [or her] continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers" (Goffman 1969:19). As the previous chapter argued, staff, other travellers and mainly the border officers have to believe that these Brazilians are part of the play that is going on there. Incorporating a tourist character is a tactic of resistance at the passport controls, a way of putting one over on the established order on its home ground.

Migrants, therefore, play an important role in the tactical mobility designed by travel agents, in Alto Paranaiba. Although the travel agents are the border people with the technical and tactical skills who create the character – a Brazilian tourist – and the story – travelling on holiday to Europe – it is important to understand that this is put into practice by the migrant. It is the young Brazilians who give the necessary vigour to the tourist character drawn up by their travel agents. Gisele, for instance, says that the migrant has to "feel that s/he is in a game. I enjoyed the trip to London [...]. I was not afraid of being eventually discovered by the immigration [officers at the passport controls]. That worked like a play for me, and I knew that I depended on myself to arrive in London". She evidences that migrants are in charge of their own 'play' where the mobility and, therefore, the negotiations with passport controls are going to occur. So the migrants are travellers who have to learn to improvise in order to overcome the uncertainties that may happen as they go through the border controls. Out of necessity and not for pleasure, migrants must perform as "'acrobats in the manipulation of

boundaries', presenting themselves to be adept, ingenious and flexible in the process" (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2014: 83) of border crossing negotiation.

Preparing the travel performance together

Due to the fact that the migrants have to give vitality to the character, Clarice tells me that the act of preparing the package tour to London should involve close proximity between the travel agent and his/her client, the migrant. As it is a journey that is "not as simple as the first ones to the United States" migrants do not get a direct flight from Brazil to London. On the contrary, on the route designed to connect Alto Paranaiba to London, the migrant – as the following section explores – has to access other countries while travelling. Because of this, Clarice notes that "the contact with immigration [officers] is constant and happens more than once. So they have to be well-prepared, but also committed to the story created here [in the travel agency]….they have to follow the script. Otherwise s/he returns and has lost his/her money", confirming that the migrant must be very committed to the tactic of border crossing movement drawn up by the travel agent.

Such commitment was also stressed in the interviews with Brazilians who had travelled to London. Adriano was one of those who was keen to emphasize that the success of the border crossing begins "the moment that the person who is going to travel through those airports starts believing in the travel agent and in his ability to get him/her inside the country. Without that you do not buy the idea…and that means failure!" Therefore, a good relationship between the migrant and travel agent is considered to be the main pre-condition to the negotiation with border controls succeeding and getting the traveller into London. Adriano observes that the travel agent initially "must show capacity and knowledge to the person who wants to buy his service. He needs to show his experience about the place where you want to

migrate, and how to get you in there". However, that is not the only factor that produces the good relationship. Adriano adds that the capacity to listen to the needs of the client is also very important. "Otherwise, there is not a dialogue, just orders, and you are not going to invest a good amount of money in a person like that". A dialogue built through clarification, opinions, questions and joint decisions "produces a good team. They [travel agents] coach us, and we [migrants] play".

Adriano's comments indicate that the tour package and all the details involved in the trip have to be prepared together, "because we need to understand what is going to happen. What are the odds of being deported, which countries we could visit while travelling to London and how to pretend to be a convincing tourist". According to him, those are some of the things that worry these young Brazilians, who want to cross the Atlantic Ocean for a dynamic life in London. "I and other friends who bought these package tours wanted to be aware of any eventual problems that could happen in this trip, before putting our money in the travel agent's hand". In that sense, to play a convincing tourist character, the migrant has to feel confident with the service and the relationship they are going to establish with the travel agent who will intermediate the negotiation with the airport passport control.

Giving vigour to the character

Young Brazilian migrants from Alto Paranaiba play out their tactical mobility to London by theatrically portraying Brazilian middle class tourists on holiday in Europe. Thus they have to correctly incorporate the values of that social group. Paula, a 33-year-old, for example, says "You do not need to look like someone who came from the very countryside…I mean, being shy and looking very humble. I think that behaving, being well dressed and talking calmly are essential. They give you a good appearance to justify what you are doing there.' Paula thus

demonstrates that what these Brazilians attempt to do is put the tactics of border crossing from the travel agent into action. Thus their body language and behaviour have to act like a tourist:

> […] they strive to adapt their personal characteristics, distinguishing features and circumstances, so as to make them correspond as closely as possible to 'passport requirements'. And they make the necessary changes quite literally, so as to seize the window of opportunity in the competition to gain entry to the country they have chosen (Bledsoe 2004 In: Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2014:83).

These actions intervene at the passport control that regulates mobility and attempts to refuse unwanted mobile people "at the first level, but they [migrants] introduce into it a way of turning it to their advantage that obeys other rules and constitutes something like a second level interwoven into the first (for instance, *la perruque*)" (Certeau 1997:30). Acting as a tourist is not seen by these Brazilians as a border infringement but rather an empowered act of pretending to be a given desirable traveller to ease their own mobility. Denise, for instance, stresses that this sort of tactic of border crossing should not be understood as a violation. "I do not see any problem coming to London as we did. I did not steal from anyone, I was not carrying drugs. I wanted to live in Europe for a while, working, paying my bills, enjoying the city". Thus she concludes that the best and only way to achieve that is to match the right requirements to look like a tourist. "That is the best way to enter. Europe is used to receiving tourists and likes the fact that we bring money".

My empirical findings suggest that the Brazilians focus on two major elements to make a convincing tourist character to negotiate with airport border controls: their visual aspect and Schengen domestic flights. I defined these two elements as design aspects, because they are the main features behind the construction of the tourist character by the migrants themselves,

which I will unfold in the next section. While the visual aspect works from an aesthetic perspective focusing on the body or appearance of the character, movement through the Schengen area provides a safe direction and mobility for the performance of these border choreographers. The Brazilian migrants interviewed believe the body and movement give content to the character. Therefore, the performance depends on these two features to get past the airport passport controls.

Unfolding the first design aspect: the visual aspect

In the interviews with the young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba who were living in London I observed that this design aspect was characterized by two elements: *building a tourist appearance* and *travelling in pairs*. According to these migrants, those accepting the challenge of buying a package tour to London have to be very careful about their appearance. Moreover, they consider travelling alone very risky. It should be noted that this particular element is also taken into account by the travel agents. Therefore, the Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba always choose to travel in pairs. In the following section I look at these two elements in more detail.

Building a tourist appearance

Brazilian migrants consider that portraying a convincing tourist character needs a good appearance. Gisele, for instance, observes that "pretending to be a tourist is not just a matter of buying a package tour. You also need to learn how to dress up. People wear different types of clothes for different occasions. Right?" She reminds me that these young Brazilians have never travelled abroad before. However, they still have in mind a stereotype of a tourist. She says "...we used to watch TV in Brazil and see those soap operas and movies where people with money always travelled abroad. So, you conclude that you need designer label clothes,

shoes or new trainers to look like a Brazilian tourist..." She and the other Brazilians interviewed for this research observed that being well-dressed is a tactical element to playing a Brazilian tourist travelling to Europe. For them, there is a connection between a person's appearance and his or her tourist status. Thus they also believe that there is "a connection between the status and the proper place in airports and airliners of passengers, airline and airport personnel, and the general public" (Curry 2004: 479).

My respondents, therefore, invested a considerable amount of money in new trainers and clothing to travel. Gisele and Claudio, in particular, gave important emphasis to this area. According to them, they spent part of their savings preparing not just the clothes that they wore to travel, but also the ones carried in their luggage. In some cases, they even over-exaggerated. Gisele recalls that she travelled very well-dressed. "To be honest I think that I overdid it a little. Today I would not wear those clothes…I wore high heels to travel! [giggling]". Claudio, on the other hand, focused on winter clothes. According to him, travelling in November required special attention. "Well…it was winter here [England] and I had an idea about the European winter... my friends who had first arrived warned me… Otherwise I would play a foolish tourist who was travelling to Europe and did not even know about the weather". Hence, as evidenced by the respondents, the 'costume' is essential to build a convincing character.

Nonetheless, clothing is not the only design aspect utilized to create a tourist appearance. Paula, for instance, says that the travel agency where she bought her tour package also had a key differential, "it provided *all* [stressed by her] the facilities" to safely move her into London. By facilities, Paula meant not just appropriate clothing for the journey, but also an appointment at a hairdresser. "They take their clients to do their hair and their nails,

everything". She believes that the travel agency provides this sort of service because it helps the migrant to look more like a tourist. "I think when you live in Brazil, coming to Europe or to the United States...when you go to any travel agency, they suggest how you have to arrive at an airport in Europe... so, I wanted to look fashionable. Then I decided on wearing make-up and having neat hair".

Therefore, for these Brazilians the act of creating a tourist appearance has to match their stereotype perception of a Brazilian middle class person. The tourist has to wear brand clothes and be good-looking. Gisele says that "good clothing, shoes or designer trainers are essential when you go travelling. We embark at Belo Horizonte, fly to São Paulo and then to Europe…a good appearance is essential to justify what you are doing there". According to these young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba, a convincing appearance – clothing and make-up – are the characteristics that the traveller might need in order to prove that they belong in the space of the airport and the aeroplane.

Travelling in pairs

That, however, is not the only element of the visual aspect. Another element identified in this research is *travelling in pairs*. The research respondents stressed that travelling to London was never a lone mobility, but was rather shared with another young migrant who also wanted to access the British capital. The travellers can prompt each other if one of them forgets the speech, does not know how to answer or becomes afraid. It importantly shows that the visual aspect of a tourist is not just down to the bodily appearance of the migrant. To get the character's content and, above all, the authenticity in the social spaces they will have to move through, it is necessary to work together and share the performance with another migrant. Thus, the visual aspect needs to go beyond one's own body and connect to the pair.

This research therefore found that young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba prefer to travel to London in pairs. The travelling is never a lone mobility. Pedro observes that "tourists are always travelling together. You are not going to visit tourist cities like London, Rome, Lisbon and Barcelona alone. That is very depressing. People tend to go with someone else to enjoy the views and the experience". Moreover, Paula explains that "people in London advised us to travel together. They said that it is a long trip and it is better to have someone that you can trust travelling with you".

The interviewees observed that travelling alone puts the migrant in a very fragile position. Such an exposed situation results from the fact that they speak little English, and are not familiar with the airports and their passport controls. Besides, they have nobody to share uncertainties and anxieties with that may appear while travelling. Valeria stresses the numerous details behind the travel. She says, "there are flight connections, information, and dialogues that you may not get….it is all new. And we are fresh. I mean, we've never been there. So, being alone is very risky". They become vulnerable mobile people who depend exclusively on their own strength to negotiate with border controls.

 On the other hand, travelling in a group is also seen as a risk. It makes migrants highly visible to the authorities. This observation came up during Claudio's interview. While I was conducting the interview his mobile phone rang, and he left the kitchen. Minutes later, Claudio returned with a frightened face:

> Wow….a group of friends, who I was waiting for, was just deported from Gatwick. They left [Alto Paranaiba] three days ago and came as a group of [seven] students to London. […] I am not sure, but it seems that someone

> contradicted the speech of another, and the police [border officer] caught them… No mercy, the whole group is returning to Brazil now. That is hard…. Travelling in group is funny, but you are conspicuous. If someone says bullshit, the whole group pays for it…

According to Claudio, the group of people travelling have to be well synchronized in their speech and behaviour. No mistakes can be made, otherwise, any suspicious movements seen by the passport control can put the whole group at risk of deportation. So, in Alto Paranaiba travelling in pairs is seen as the best option to get past the border controls of European airports.

The couple or the classmates

Travelling in pairs is seen by these Brazilians as the right balance between travelling alone and in a group. According to Roberto, "if you have a friend or an acquaintance that is also willing to travel to London, it is a good opportunity to go together. Otherwise, the travel agent can find someone who is going too. But I prefer to find them myself, because it is easier to rehearse with a close person". After deciding the people who are going to travel together, Adriano observes that it is up to the pair to rehearse together. "That is important. For example, travelling with a girl means that you need to know her name, her age, and other personal questions because you will probably go as a couple. I mean, she is going to be introduced as your girlfriend". On the other hand, two girls or two men travelling together are defined as classmates on holidays. It "can be friends as well. But I think that is easier, as you do not need to know much about the personal life of that given person", Adriano states. However, as the previous chapter reveals, this freedom of choice tends to be restricted to male migrants, as women migrants may need to travel with men, due to the risks of sexual violence.

Clarice says "there are girls who feel more confident travelling with a supposed boyfriend. It gives them a sort of protection. Normally everyone knows everybody in the city, so it is not a big issue creating a couple". Men tend to take the lead in negotiating with the passport border controls. According to Lucio, "that is what is expected from a boyfriend. He has to take care of his girl, despite us just pretending (laughs)." Lucio recalls that he could not find anyone to embark on the trip with, so he had to wait for the travel agent to find someone to pair up with him. After three weeks, he "came with a girl from my town... we were not friends, we just knew each other, but as Laerte knew that we were both planning to come to London, he suggested for us to come together". Lucio says that he and the girl travelled to London "as a couple on holiday across Europe...we combined our stories and then we came [...] She was afraid of travelling alone, so I could give some sort of support". Nonetheless, he still complains about the girl found by Laerte. According to Lucio, she did not incorporate the tourist character. "She was very shy and did not learn anything that Laerte told her. Every time I had to take the lead and negotiate with the officers, check-in staff, taxi drivers and so on…It was hard to pretend that she was my girlfriend".

So, gender as a social construction plays a significant part in organizing the relations between males and females who are aiming to move to the UK. It is a fact that, during the journey, the men and women from Alto Paranaiba have different access to power and resources across the range of scales, from local to global, and thus face different opportunities and constraints that determine their patterns of mobility. Therefore, the decision processes and logistics of female and male migration may differ depending on the case. In my research, the majority of the respondents demonstrated that women were less likely to migrate independently, and were more likely to be subject to the will of a male in determining how they migrated (Dodson 1998).

Nonetheless, it is not a rule; there were a few cases that showed a different perspective of this gender relationship, among the female travellers who opted to travel with other women. Two girls or two men travelling together will usually be viewed as classmates going on holiday together. In London, I had the opportunity to interview Paula and Gisele who had chosen to travel together posing as two classmates on holiday. As Gisele explains "we were aware of the risks of being caught or deported, but worked together to convince the border officer. After all, we were two girls on holiday. What sort of risk could we pose?"

Paula describes how she opted for travelling with Gisele. "I waited for Gisele who was still saving money to travel". She says they were almost the same age, early twenties, and that "was the age that people normally are studying in some University". Gisele and Paula showed particular confidence in their plan. By appearing as two girls on holiday, they used gender to play in their favour. So the discourse previously arranged by the travel agent and the make-up, mentioned earlier, helped to reinforce their appearance at passport control as merely students travelling together. Such cover stories help the Brazilian migrants to stay calm and deal with any unexpected situations that may arise at the passport controls.

This finding from the research lends weight to the argument that female migration cannot be viewed simply as an adjunct to male migration and is often undertaken independently of a male partner. The scenario presented by my respondents was much more complex, and shows that gender can play either in favour of or against female migrants. While in some cases, the women may seem to be tied to male decisions, other situations may represent a means of female empowerment.

Claudio was not friends with his 'classmate'. Nonetheless, due to the fact that both young men were buying a tour package to England in the same week, and knew each other, they accepted the idea suggested by Romulo. "That was such a coincidence. We were in the travel agency at the same time and he [Romulo] suggested that. He said that we could go to the UK as classmates whose parents had paid for a holiday trip to spend Christmas time in Europe…" Claudio, who was also advised by his friends in London, agreed with the plan. "The guy also accepted. We did well. We got the tips and planned the package tour together and then faced the challenge". Both young Brazilians were only 19 years old and had never been out of Alto Paranaiba. "Although we did not know each other very well, we managed to get to London". Four years later when I interviewed Claudio, he mentioned that since the day that both migrants landed in London he has never met his 'dummy' classmate again. "To be honest I saw him once at the Tiger-Tiger [nightclub], two years later. But that was brief. We greeted each other, talked quickly and that is all. I hope he is ok".

The research identified that to play a consistent tourist character, the young Brazilian migrants from Alto Paranaiba strongly focus on the visual aspects. In the above sections I explored two elements of this: appearance and travelling in pairs. According to the group investigated, these elements give content and vitality to the character, enabling them to take ownership of the package tour and the story created by the travel agents. It gives them confidence to perform as a Brazilian tourist at the airport passport controls. Another aspect of the design, however, is to do with making connections through the Schengen area. As was mentioned before, travelling to London is not direct, and requires short stops in EU cities. In the next section I show how this tactical movement also strengthens the young Brazilians' performance.

Unfolding the second design aspect: flight connections through the Schengen area

Being aware of the large number of Brazilian migrants who are deported every year from Heathrow airport, migrants and travel agents emphasize that the travel cannot be a direct flight to London. According to Lucio, "the control in this airport is very strong. That is because it is an airport that receives people from different parts of the world". Moreover, it is the British airport where direct flights from all international Brazilian airports land. Therefore, there is a high number of Brazilians coming and going. In the 'All other passports' queue for overseas non-EU travellers, especially, which is usually long, the research informants considered it risky as there was a high chance of other migrants, including Brazilians, being there. "You have Brazilians of different types arriving there. Most of the people who migrate to here [UK] land there. There are also those who are deported […] when you are deported from London that is the airport where they send you back to Brazil..."

This visibility arising from the passport queues and the potential presence of other Brazilian migrants can put the mobility of the research respondents under threat. If detected by immigration officers at the passport controls these Brazilians may face deportation, and that would jeopardize the entire migration project that they have developed and invested in. Hence, in travelling to London the other design aspect is for the migrants to fly first to other European cities located in the Schengen area before landing in the UK[32]. They exploit the fact

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[32] This treaty allows the 26 countries in the Schengen Area to operate like a single state with external border controls for mobile people travelling in and out of the area, but with no strict internal border controls. Thus, border checks are done only occasionally and custom controls are not required. Such agreement allows the airside zone for flights within Schengen countries to be classified as a Clean Zone (Codourey 2004). Nonetheless, I realized during the interviews that neither the travel agents nor the migrants were aware of the existence of the Schengen area. While they were narrating their mobility through the airports, I specifically asked them if this tactic of border crossing had any relationship with the idea of exploring this European area. Their answers clearly showed a total ignorance of the existence of this political and economic agreement. However, they did know how to take advantage of the encouragement promoted by the Schengen agreement for the free movement of goods, information, money and, mainly, people.

that Brazilians do not need to apply for a tourist visa to enter the Schengen area before leaving Brazil. According to them, this enables them to visit European cities before arriving in London, which as well as reinforcing their tourist story, permits them to arrive in London through what they define as *small airports* – which is further explored below. These are peripheral endpoints that I define as *the UK porosities*, as their passport controls are much less strict than the Heathrow ones and the negotiation to get through can be easier.

Visiting European cities before landing in London

According to Claudio, there is a way to visit Europe. "A Brazilian tourist normally does not go to Europe and stay in just one country. As you are spending money to travel to Europe, you take this opportunity to see a bunch of places. Right?" So, spending a few days in the European continent before landing in London is understood as a way of reinforcing the image of the tourist. Therefore, the package tours of these young Brazilians are made up of different destinations. The researched group noted that this tactic provides Tourist Visa Stamps on their passport. Claudio stresses that those stamps "show to the [border control] officer in London that we are coming from other countries as proper tourists. They see our hostel reservations, our passports and can be sure that we are just passing by, we are not going to stay". Therefore, airports in Spain, Portugal, Holland and Italy, for instance, are constantly used for the flight connections of these Brazilian migrants. London, in this strategy, is represented as just one more tourist city where they will spend a few days in their tour around Europe.

Lucio observes that "in the package tour, London is never the first or the last country". He continues, London "[…] has to be a city in the middle of the tour….then you stay". The plan is to show passport control that in his passport it is registered that his package tour is designed

to visit three European countries. Thus, "they (border officers) would check we had a visa from Portugal and after London we would still spend a few days in Spain...with those [tourist visa] stamps they would think we were tourists". For him, it makes it easier to get into London. The aim of this, therefore, is to show to the passport controls at any British airport that the pair are actually in transit, and they will continue their journey to other countries in the EU after passing through London.

However, it is important to note that making flight connections through the Schengen area is a design aspect of the migration plan that also has a pleasurable side. In the interviews and casual conversation with the respondents, I found out that these young migrants from Alto Paranaiba try not to miss the opportunity to visit the European cities where their flights from Brazil connect. According to them, this is an opportunity to visit other tourist cities before arriving in London. Lucio observes that after overstaying the tourist visa, they are unable to leave the UK, except to return to Brazil. "So the time to learn a little bit about Europe and visit some of tourist places that we always hear about from others, or read in the magazines and newspapers is when we are going to London with these flight [connections]..." It shows that the migrants are not just flying *across* Europe to London. They are actually travelling *through* determined airports and European cities that can also satisfy their particular desire to visit tourist spots.

Crossing the Schengen borders and glimpsing the 'First World'

Brazilians have a passport as a document exclusively for the purpose of foreign travel. Apart from that, this document does not have any official value in terms of identification in Brazilian territory. Since 2006, this official document issued by the Brazilian government, through the Brazilian Federal Police, has become machine-readable in order to comply with

the ICAO Document 9303 standard[33]. This means that the holder's personal identification – fingerprints, signature and photograph – are digitally stored in the passport database, and can be accessed at check-in points through a two-dimensional bar code. The Brazilian government had to include such security technology in this Federal document as a consequence of 9/11, in order to meet the standards imposed by the US government and recently the EU government (Coudorey 2008, Ceyhan 2008).

The airline staff and security agents engaged in the process of profile-reading attempt to gauge whether the identity stored in the database matches perfectly with the traveller. "The move from symbolic to interactive profiling involves what one could describe as a process of 'fleshing out' the identity that the symbolic profile has attempted to discern" (Curry 2004: 485). This new biometric system of authentication ties the access codes to the travellers who are no longer identified only through interviews; the algorithmic logic of a database and the information stored on it have replaced the features of the individual in a biometric system of control (Coudorey 2008).

> Therefore, mobile individuals are increasingly integrated into a collective electronic database; a collection of data arranged for easy and speedy search and retrieval. Transnational spaces of airports continue to face different patterns of mobility that are also concerned with the biometric pattern match. In the nearest future, anyone who resists submitting his or her body pattern into a global network of tracking and control will simply not gain access to transit zones (Coudorey 2008: 2000).

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[33]Document 9303 contains the current International Civil Aviation Organization's specifications for machine-readable passports, visas and ID cards ("travel documents") used in crossing the borders.

The mobility, thus, starts being mapped at the check-in desk at one of the two international Brazilian airports where the journey starts – either in Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo – when the biometric database stored in the travellers' passports is read on the computer system, and they are registered as having left Brazilian territory. In order to identify passengers and try to prevent unpredictable risks, government security agencies create networks where the information is circulated, involving data-sharing in bulk. This procedure enables authorities across international airports to identify people with more certainty and trace their movements and itineraries (Ceyhan 2008).

Therefore, the border controls at any airport can access the historical itineraries of mobile people through passport analysis to reduce the risks and provide security for their national territories. In fact, in order to map mobility, *smart borders* are positioned along the routes "constructing an apparatus that may follow individuals over multiple lines of displacement, and verify their identities at various locations on those lines" (Côté-Boucher 2008: 146). So, in the *age of profiling* where e-passports carry and transmit electronic information about their holders, the process of border reinforcement at the airports is no longer fixed (Curry 2004). It moves with the traveller. The European airports in the Schengen space are transit areas where internal, national and European regulations are applied to foreign travellers.

> On one side this space promises overcoming the violent legacies of the nation-state, while at the very same time undergoes a process of effective border fortification and cultural homogenization. Moreover, increasingly the border condition turns into a space itself: the airport's so-called transit area or air side is in fact a jurisdictional enclave inside the territorial boundaries of a nation. Various laws, rules and agreements that apply to passengers, depending on nationality or travel status, regulate this zone (Coudorey 2008:193).

At this stage, the travellers are all split and classified by their passports or identity cards at the border controls in order to identify their type of mobility. Aware of the fact that "the single biggest entry route from migrants into the EU is via international airports" (Frontex 2012), the European Union has increased the surveillance at its airports in order to monitor and filter the circulation or "flow" of people in its territory. Since 9/11, Europe has clearly aimed to guard its territory at its airports with the help of sophisticated information technology employed by agencies such as Frontex, which is responsible for co-ordinating the activities of the national border guards to ensure the security of the EU's borders with non-member states. They are smart borders and focus on implementing "efficient and effective border checks at their external borders, which are of a comparable level, thus guaranteeing that no weak spots in the borders can readily be identified" (Frontex 2012).

Surveillance technology is promoted as the crucial barrier to fortify permeable borders and monitor border crossing movements through the EU territory. Therefore, at the airports based in the Schengen area, every traveller is submitted to a process of filtering through a smart border which is diffused along the corridors. Checking passports is the first stage. Long narrow passages separate citizens of the European Union from citizens of other regions into two queues according to their passports: the "EU passport" queue for those who hold a burgundy coloured passport issued by one of the 27 Member States of the European Union, and the "all other passports" queue for travellers holding foreign passports.

Presenting reservation letters from hostels or hotels and their tourist itinerary, proving they are guests on a short-term basis and explaining why they are passing through that specific country are some of the reinventions of migrants from Alto Paranaiba to secure their border crossing movement. However, according to my informants, the passport controls located in

the airports of Schengen space are normally quick, and once the officers know that they are heading to other countries there are only a few routine security questions. "It is nothing very serious. They just ask what we are doing here, how long we are going to stay, and what the next country is" Gisele recalls.

Likewise, Pedro says that the border control at Malpensa airport, in Milan, raised few questions with reference to their travel journey. He travelled with a friend and, according to their itinerary, they would be spending three days in Milan and then go to London where they would spend four days and then finally land in Paris. That would be the last European capital before flying back to Brazil. "We were lucky because my friend had lived in Spain before and because of that he could speak Spanish. The officer asked some questions regarding our motives for being in Europe, and how much cash we had. So my friend said that as both of us had got a place at university our parents had decided to pay for a trip to Europe. It was a sort of gift". In fact, Pedro and his friend "stayed in Milan as a proper tourist", after crossing through passport control at Malpensa airport. He says that they "had time to go sightseeing in the city, there is a beautiful cathedral there. So, we went there. We had a good time".

Like Pedro, Denise recalls "I took the opportunity to visit Amsterdam before landing in London. I always wanted to visit this city and its canals. [...] It is a beautiful city…small, but still beautiful with its little houses positioned side by side. I loved it." For them, spending a few days in other European countries before heading to London is the best if not the only opportunity to visit some of the European cities that, in their perception, make up the image of a glamorous Europe filled with history and opulence. According to Paula "visiting some of these cities before arriving in London is a great opportunity to see what it [Europe] looks like. If they are really like what we see on TV or hear people saying…"

Claudio notes that the customer decides if they want a package tour which includes two or three countries and then the rest (buying coach and flight tickets, booking hotels, and preparing the speech which will be used at passport control) is organized by the agents. He says, "they [travel agents] give the options, but it is up to you. You can choose the countries that you want to travel through. Then they make up the schedule, including hotel bookings and flight tickets, and give you the price". Barcelona, Milan, Lisbon, and Amsterdam are among the EU tourist cities explored by these migrants while they are building up the tourist persona.

Being a tourist constitutes the putting together of a valid biography too. Adriano and his 'dummy' girlfriend, for example, traced a route through Rome and Madrid before arriving in London. He says that Rome was his choice. "I have an Italian surname and I know that my ancestors come from there. It was important to me to visit Italy, even though I only stayed in Rome for a couple of days". The couple, therefore, stayed for three nights in Rome, with all the time spent between the hotel room and walking round the city. Adriano recalls walking "the entire city during the time I stayed there. The Coliseum, the Fountains, those narrow streets…I explored all these places". On the other hand, "my 'girlfriend' [gesturing air quotes] did not want to sightsee. She spent most of the time in the hotel, watching TV. I met a Brazilian there. He was also a tourist, but a real one. We decided to walk and take pictures". Nonetheless, Adriano "tried not to spend too much money in Italy, because we knew that we should show a good amount [of money] in the UK [at border control]. They verify if you are a tourist with enough money to cover your expenses".

Non-linear patterns of movement

The high technology strategies developed by governments to monitor travellers through airports after 9/11 through the use of e-passports shows an attempt to map traveller bodies through their own biometric data. The replacement of the *era of stereotyping* by the *age of profiling* aims to eliminate the areas of doubt at the airports (Curry 2004). Increasing the security and border controls at the airports enables the EU governments to strategically delimit these spaces of circulation. Through the power of knowledge, using scientific *Cartesian* methods, the governments aim to try and manage any possible threats or targets (de Certeau 1984).

However, that knowledge does not come without a struggle. The dialogue established between the border crossing movement and border crossing reinforcement is a continuous process. "Strategies of subversion emerge in these spaces and push the state to transform itself beyond the coordinates of the existing social compromise" (Papadopoulos et al. 2008: 13). In other words, just as migrants have to reinvent their mobility, border controls also have to adapt to new ways of operating. "New social subjectivities and new social actors now emerge as a productive force, an imminent force which the modern nation state can no longer negate; national sovereignty is challenged. But this challenge, in turn, triggers its own response" (ibid: 18). The new biometric system of authentication can efficiently read the travellers; it cannot, however, rationalize their movements.

A wide variety of European cities are visited by these Brazilians migrants, including Lisbon, Barcelona, Madrid, Dublin, Paris, Brussels and many others, before landing in London. As noted above, these cities share the common factor that they are located in the Schengen area, and once the Brazilians are allowed to move through this European area, getting into London

becomes easier for them. Making connections through the Schengen area also ensures that the migrants from Alto Paranaiba do not show a predictable migration route from Brazil to London. This finding is confirmed by Adriano:

> No…the way that I arrived in London was different from Claudio's and Pedro's. I came through Rome and Barcelona, and their package tour had a different combination. And that is how it works. Each one comes from a particular way. […] It is a good way to avoid Heathrow, but also to outwit the immigration [officer]. […] because nobody repeats the same travel. I think that confuses them [the passport control].

The subjective choices and multiple flight combinations behind the package tours bought by the different Brazilian migrants produces non-linear spatial air routes, which aim to be difficult to track and manage by the UK passport control. On the map below (Figure 2) it can be seen how the movements of the research respondents produced non-linear patterns. Each line on this map represents the mobility route of a pair of Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba:

The result is a mesh of distinct routes whose combinations are rarely repeated as they are based on subjective choices and have to be original to avoid producing similar patterns of migration mobility. The routes drawn in the map jump from city to city in the Schengen area before producing the final movement: crossing the English Channel and landing in the outskirts of London. They are tactical movements that explore connections between distinct localities and take advantage of the different EU transport systems as they can enter the United Kingdom through the so-called *small airports* as the following section examines. It is a route that consumes more money and time from these Brazilians migrants, but it also guarantees a better connection between Brazil and London, rather than using Heathrow airport.
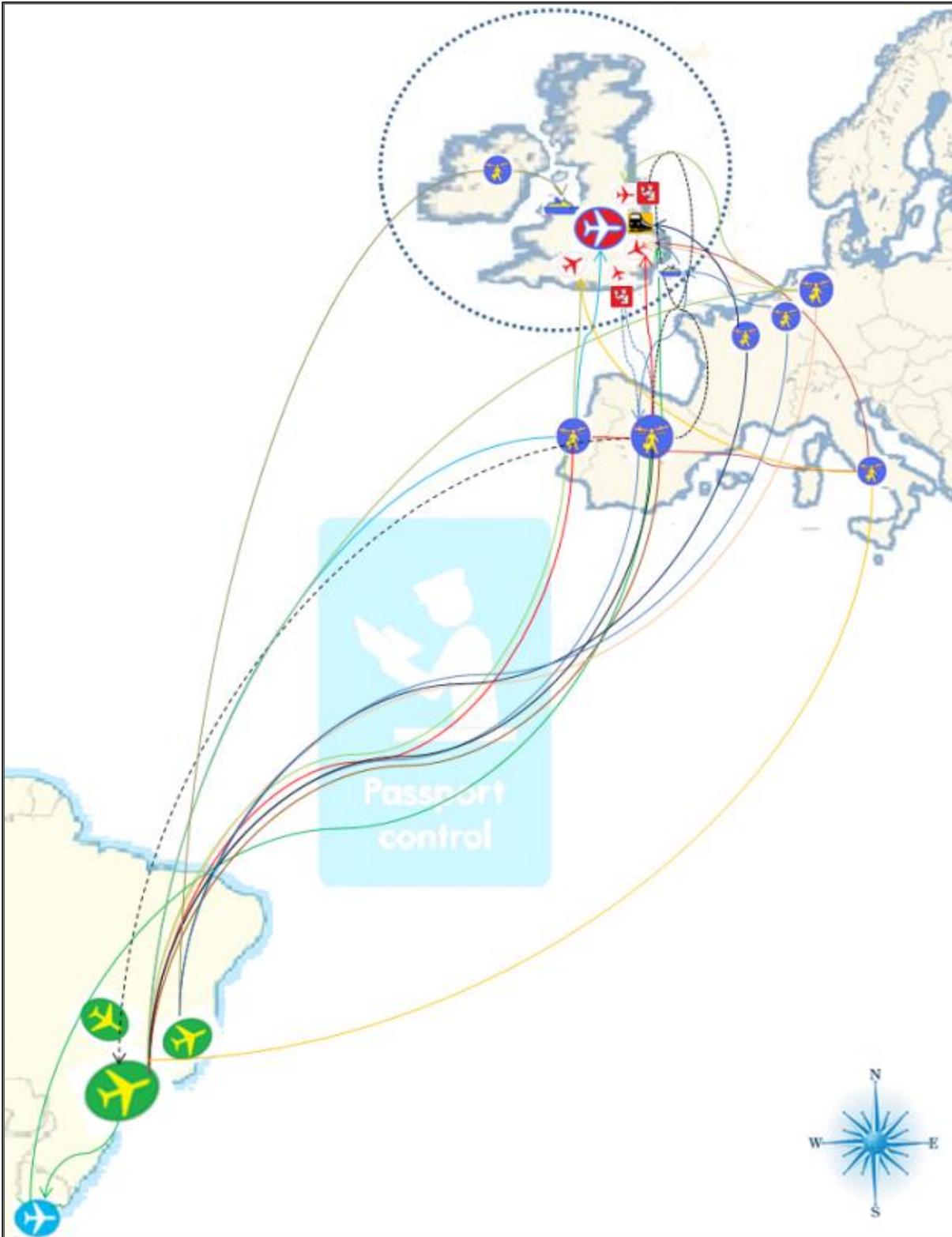
Map 2 – Lines revealing the non-linear patterns of movement by the Brazilian migrants.

Arriving in the United Kingdom through the *small airports*

As stated by those in the research group, Gatwick, Luton, Stansted and London City are airports with few Brazilians going through their passport controls. Lucio explains that in these airports "you will find exclusively Brazilian tourists who are coming from other European countries. It makes it easy to cross the immigration [border control] as there are not many Brazilians to alarm the officers…" According to him, the constant presence of Brazilian tourists in these social spaces works in the migrants' favour. It reinforces the stereotype of a traveller for the passport controls. "What type of Brazilian arrives in London through these airports?... Tourists, of course! Migrants tend to come from the other airport [Heathrow], and the UK [border agency] knows this difference…" So, due to the small and particular circulation of Brazilians in these airports, the Brazilians in this research defined any UK airport apart from Heathrow as a *small airport*. It is important to understand that the adjective is not related to the airport size, but rather to the circulation of Brazilians there.

In addition, Paula and Pedro note that the majority of European domestic flights carry mainly EU citizens. As a result, the 'All other passports' queue for overseas non-EU travellers is shorter, and there are not many overseas migrants trying to cross. Pedro tells me that "the wait in the queue is shorter and this makes it easier because we do not run the risk of catching [border] officers tired and grumpy".

While Heathrow airport is understood as being the main entry point into the United Kingdom, the small airports are seen by the Brazilian migrants as alternative gates to reach London without attracting attention from the UK border agency. Working like *wicket gates* used in fortifications, small airports are narrow entrances that make the travellers visible. However, the intensity of comings and goings through their passport controls are less than through the

main gate, Heathrow airport. The contact with the border officers at the small airports is less tense inasmuch as the number of overseas migrants – including Brazilians – is smaller.

Meeting the UK Border Agency

Nonetheless, the idea of arriving in the UK through the *small airports* does not eliminate the risk of going through a border control. The negotiation, therefore, happens again on this last leg of their travel: filling in the landing card for the UK border control and an interview at passport control. Acting as a tourist requires of these young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba an attentive mental and corporal exercise to be capable of maintaining their role throughout the entire journey. They have to bear in mind the possible questions and correct answers that they were taught by the travel agents in their towns, as the British authorities also use the interview as a strategy to identify and ascribe legitimate and illegitimate identities to those moving across borders (Wilson and Weber 2008).

Adriano comments that, after copying what other travellers were filling in on their respective landing border cards, he and his dummy girlfriend managed to find the right queue to be in to be interviewed. Their flight coming from Madrid landed at Stansted Airport. "Well...after waiting for 40 minutes in the 'not European citizenship' queue we were finally called". They moved toward the passport control desk and the "officer immediately asked for our passport, he turned the pages looked with a grumpy face, and then asked how many nights we were planning to stay". As Adriano was the only one of the couple who could speak a little English, he did not hesitate to answer the question. "I got what he said…so I answered 5 nights and showed my five fingers to make it clear [laughing]...then he asked something else...I did not get. He made a sign with his hand showing that there was no problem... he stamped our passports and I got in..."

Valeria, on the other hand, recalls that at London City airport the queue for 'All other passports' was relatively quiet, while the 'European' queue was full. According to her, the tactic was to introduce the girl travelling with her and herself as two classmates who were on holiday. "We had [Tourist Visa] stamps from Paris…" The two Brazilians waited briefly before the British passport officer called them. "He saw our passports; I think he saw the stamps too. Then he asked something in English. I said we could not speak it. After a while somebody speaking Portuguese came to help. Well, we said what we wanted to do in the UK".

Valeria told them that they would spend only three days in London and then travel to Madrid, where they would stay for four more days, before returning to Brazil. Without understanding clearly what the two border officers were saying to each other, Valeria recalls that the queue started to grow behind them. "We got nervous…we did not know what they were talking about. In Brazil we always hear stories about migrants that are separated in rooms to be rigorously interviewed" She felt that the border crossing negotiation took a considerable time to happen. She concludes that "the one who spoke Portuguese kept asking questions regarding money, then asked what we wanted to do in London… I repeated the whole story again […] Well at the end the plan worked. I guess they got tired and allowed us to pass through".

Wrong answers and refused entry: time to improvise

It is clear that the border controls in the UK can also refuse permission to enter British territory. Claudio, for example, tells me that he knows "people whose entry was refused. It is not easy. I think luck is very important at this stage. I mean if you get tough staff, you can be

fucked. All money and time invested just gone". During my fieldwork in London and in Alto Paranaiba I interviewed four migrants who had been refused entry into the UK. Curiously, the tactic of travelling first to European cities in the Schengen Area works as a migratory platform for some of these young migrants. In the case of being deported from the UK it is the place where they will return. Thus, it gives them the opportunity to reorganize their journey from that European city to London.

This is the case with Lucio whose friends lived in Mostoles, Spain, and who he kept informed about his movements. According to him, this plan was crucial in helping him to avoid going back to Brazil. He said that Barajas airport was the first European place on his journey, and from there he and his dummy girlfriend caught a plane to Gatwick airport where they were refused permission by the passport control. "They refused our visa. According to them, we did not have enough money to stay in the country for two weeks". Both Brazilians tried to argue that they would afterwards be going to Paris, in order to confirm their temporary stay, but were sent back to Barajas airport.

However, Lucio's cousin who was waiting for them at Gatwick airport realized that they had been refused permission to enter the UK. "When she became aware that I did not pass [through the UK border control] she contacted their friends in Móstoles. They picked me up at Barajas airport". His dummy girlfriend did not want to stay in Spain and decided to return to Brazil, while he spent the next six months living and working with people from Alto Paranaiba in Spain. After this time, "I moved to a house where two Chileans were living...they had a spare room, and as I was sleeping in the living room I decided to go. They were very nice people". Working as a carpenter and saving money enabled Lucio to travel to

the UK again. But this time he changed his trajectory. He arrived as a tourist at Luton airport, where he did not have any problems at the border control.

Unlike Lucio, Mauro failed on one of his journeys to London. At his home in Alto Paranaiba, he tells me that he travelled three times to the UK. Each time he travelled with a tour package bought from Laerte's travel agency. However, the tactic of acting as a tourist did not work as planned on his second trip. Mauro says that after spending three days in Móstoles with some fellow citizens, he and his dummy classmate travelled to Bristol. "The man [passport control officer] asked us a few weird questions. It was hard to understand him. Then he split us up into different rooms. He gave me a phone. Somebody was translating our conversation into Portuguese. The translator asked me how much money I had, and if I was employed in Brazil". In fact, Mauro says, the UK border control was aware that it was his second time in the UK.

> They [the officers] guided me to a small room where they took photos and my fingerprints. I was treated like a thief. The same happened to my friend. After that we were left in a room to wait for the first flight out of the UK...The first plane that came, they put us on it. I had no clue where we were going. Then I asked one of them, and he replied Malaga, but I did not get it. Perhaps his accent... To be honest, I do not really know. Actually, I did not know where Malaga was. I thought we would fly back to Madrid.

After landing at Málaga–Costa del Sol Airport, Mauro and his dummy classmate headed to the passport control again. There they finally understood where they were. "Then the officer asked me what we were doing in Spain again. I said that we were not allowed to enter the UK, and he asked me if we were really going on holiday". Unsure about the migration officer's intentions and afraid of being sent back to Brazil, they kept acting as tourists. "He

[the officer] asked if we had money and I said we had enough money for our holidays. Actually it was not that much. He saw it and said that was the reason why we did not enter the UK". However, to their surprise, the officer gave back their passports and said "You can come to Spain. Spain does not have problems with Brazil. So, we did". The money left was enough to buy coach tickets to Móstoles, where their friends could host them again. However, two months later without a job they decided to return to Brazil. In 2007, two years after being deported from Bristol Airport, Mauro tried to get into the UK again, but this time through Gatwick Airport.

Crossing the UK border without noticing it

However, the negotiation between migrants and UK passport controls are not always as dramatic as described above. Based on her own experience, Paula comments that the experience of border crossing the passport control was easier than people had described to her. "I'll never forget that day. Gisele and I arrived in England on 31st March 2003. It was a rainy day and cold for us". Both Brazilians arrived in the UK through the Manchester Airport. According to Paula, Manchester was suggested by their travel agent as the best place to land in the UK, after travelling for three days through Brazil and Amsterdam.

Following the other travellers the Brazilians soon reached the queues at the passport control. As the travel agents had informed them in Alto Paranaiba, the queue for the 'all other passports' desks was small, because that was a domestic flight. Besides, it would not probably have many Brazilians. In fact, the majority of the arrivals were gathering in the queue for the European Union and Swiss nationalities. The cousins lined up in their queue and waited for a few minutes. Then a UK Border Agency officer called them.

Paula recalls that they walked towards her and gave their Brazilian passports. The officer saw their passport, and then unexpectedly asked: *Quanto tempo vocês pretendem ficar no Reino Unido?*[34] She was Portuguese. Amazed Gisele said they would stay just four days. She requested letters confirming their hotel reservation, which were quickly provided by Gisele. After quickly examining the letters she welcomed them to the UK and wished them a good stay. A bit lost, Paula grabbed Gisele's hand and walked in the direction of the luggage collection area of Manchester Airport. A few minutes later they were pushing a trolley with their bags through the arrivals gate where Denise, Paula's sister, was waiting for them. Paula pauses briefly during our interview and smiles. Curious, I ask her the reason for that smile and she says,

> Well…you know. We were very scared about the passport control. The travel agency had alerted and prepared us for that moment. We knew cases and cases of deportations. But when I met my sister, I was very confused. I didn't know that we had already passed through the migration control. Then, I asked her when we would be interviewed by the passport control!

Neither of the Brazilians realized that the 'conversation' with that Portuguese officer was in fact the notorious moment at the passport control. Paula was expecting a different scenario, because of the conversations, tips and stories she had heard before leaving Alto Paranaiba. Rather than a desk with somebody who speaks Portuguese, she imagined an isolated room where she would spend hours being thoroughly interrogated. After meeting her sister, Paula was still waiting for that crucial meeting. From her point of view, going through the passport control like that was a combination of good planning and luck. She thinks that, unlike British

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[34] 'How long are you going to stay in the United Kingdom?'

officers, the Portuguese one was used to Brazilians. Otherwise, "she was in a good mood that day", Paula says.

So, connecting places, removing failed options, contacting people throughout the trip, and defining and redefining routes according to personal circumstances, were some of the features explored in 'making flight connections through the Schengen area'. There is more than one single route and the elaboration of it can take different shapes. They are aware that the route that provides connectedness from Alto Paranaiba to London is fragile and can fail if they do not portray themselves as convincing Brazilian tourists at the passport controls. Along various points of the border controls at airports, some mobility journeys may be interrupted, while "others may be simply surveyed through the analysis of the travelling records of airline passengers" (Côté-Boucher 2008:146).

Concluding remarks

This chapter has shown that to negotiate with external borders, migrants must give vitality to the *tactic of border crossing* developed by the border people. As reported by these young Brazilians, the tactics of border crossing created by the local travel agents only become convincing to enable movement through the EU and UK airport passport controls if the migrants themselves take ownership and are in charge of their performance.

Brazilian migrants are mobile people with great ability to memorize their specific roles in the border crossing movement designed in Alto Paranaiba. Nonetheless, they also know that improvisation is part of this act. Dealing with visible borders such as the airport passport controls requires constant contact. Thus migrants have to creatively negotiate their mobility with border controls without losing the conviction in the script. The combination of the

information provided by the travel agent along with the unpredictable demands of the external borders forces them to improvise movements and stories, to think up creative escape routes, or just wait for the right moment to keep moving.

Migrants, therefore, are travellers who embody tactical skills to negotiate with the borders at the point of moving. The knowledge and skills for getting past border controls result from the singular relationship established between the migrant and the borders. The experience emerges from a particular negotiation in time, and differs for each of the young Brazilians interviewed. They can share stories and memories about the crossing, but to learn how to navigate EU and UK airports they have to embark on their own travel. This peculiar *air performance* shows how migrants can be defined as genuine border choreographers.

Chapter 7

Migrants as invisible global citizens:

Dealing with and struggling against the UK's inner borders

"If you like, just try to go in despite my veto.
But be warned: I am powerful.
And I am the meekest of the gate keepers.
From hall to hall there is one gate keeper after
another, each more powerful than the last.
The third gate keeper is already so terrible
that even I cannot bear to look at him…"

*(Franz Kafka, **The Castle**)*

Introduction

While the previous chapter analysed how Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba tactically act as tourists to negotiate their way through airport border controls into London, this last empirical chapter explores how these migrants deal with and struggle against the UK's inner borders. I argue that the negotiation with borders does not cease for migrants after going through the airport passport controls situated in the Schengen Area. This study rather shows that the EU border regime continues to operate – through the British immigration policies and UK border officers – upon those who get into London. Holding a visitor visa, Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba are classified as temporary visitors without the right to work or access any sort of service from the British welfare state. However, living in a city such as London where the

identity control permeates the various activities of daily life, makes this fragile migration status become more evident after their visa expires. Based on empirical findings collected in London and Lisbon, this chapter shows how these Brazilians develop peculiar tactics of border crossing to escape from the harsh British immigration policies and the unpredictable presence of UK border officers in the public spaces of the British capital.

The chapter is structured in three main sections. The first section shows how my respondents identify the UK inner borders. The findings suggest that the British bureaucracy and the 'Men in Black' – the way the Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba describe the UK border officers – are considered by these migrants as the main obstacles they have to deal with. The second section, 'besieged in the city' explores how these inner UK border controls dramatically reduce the access to public spaces and opportunities by undocumented migrants in London. Deportation is the highest price they can pay in the event of being caught. As a result, the young Brazilian migrants from Alto Paranaiba are obliged to develop the tactics of border crossing to escape from this blurred border regime spread over London, constantly searching for undocumented migrants.

The last section identifies and unpacks the tactics utilized by these migrants to negotiate their stay in London with the UK inner borders. They are tactical urban strategies which, according to the respondents, if carefully performed can give undocumented migrants the means to hide themselves from the constant monitoring by the UK border controls in the streets of London. 'Navigating through the city', 'Housing mobility' and 'Becoming Southern European' are the three tactics that the Brazilians have developed and utilized in order to live secretly in the social spaces of London.

Identifying the blurred inner borders

After getting through the passport controls and being allowed to access British soil, the young Brazilians start a new episode and perhaps the toughest one of their migration journey: managing their expectations of living in London, while dealing with and struggling against the UK border regime. Abdelmalek Sayad (1991), in his groundbreaking study on the circulation of migrants between Kabylie, Algeria and France, during the late 1970s and 80s, suggests that overseas migrants are born again after reaching the new country. Their past does not have any interest for the local population. The host society is more interested in migrant bodies as labour than as citizens. Migrants, according to him, are mainly assessed based on prejudice and profit in the "host society" as they have a specific role: work. Therefore, as long as they execute their role correctly, do not disturb internal rules, and contribute to the local economy, their past in the homeland is not important. However, Brazilian migrants who landed in London, reveal how the process of erasing the past is made inversely in the contemporary border regime that composes not only the everyday life of the UK, but also of the EU border regime as a whole (Balibar 2002, Mezzadra and Neilson 2013, Kubal 2014).

For example, I have observed that the attempts by the border controls to follow migrants into the territory gains stronger significance to the extent that my respondents do not intend to stay in the United Kingdom just for 6 months as their visitor visa allows. They rather plan to live for a longer period, which tends to be between 3 and 5 years. After 6 months of living in the British capital, when their visitor status expires they become undocumented migrants. The Home Office automatically classifies this status as "a criminal offence" that "can lead to prosecution and removal from the UK, being subject to a mandatory re-entry ban" as set out in the Asylum and Immigration Act 1996 and Asylum and Immigration Act 2004 in the UK

(2013:04). In this context, the young Brazilian migrants from Alto Paranaiba become subjects who have no right to remain in the United Kingdom.

Nonetheless, this migration status does not discourage them from wanting to fulfil their dream of living in a big city of the 'First World'. As Laerte, the travel agent who also lived in London, stresses:

> in the end all these difficulties are overcome. Most of the people who manage to get into London are keen to address these problems in order to experience the chance of living in Europe. You know…accessing a different world with new possibilities that they… or we… cannot find here [Alto Paranaiba]. One helps the other and it becomes a game. You cannot be silly and draw attention to immigration [officers]. Alertness is a key behavior to winning in London.

Laerte explains that the plan of living in a global city has to be adjusted according to the harsh British immigration policies that follow these young migrants in their everyday lives in London. The fieldwork in London demonstrated that these immigration policies assume the features of blurred inner borders (Balibar 2007). The Brazilians commented that they could not predict when and how these borders would operate. They do not have a physical presence as the passport control, for instance, does. The British immigration policies are unclear and unpredictable. However, these Brazilian migrants can still identify their presence in the public spaces of London. As Gisele says "it is possible to sense these controls when you are in London. Prohibitions, bureaucracy, deportation, etc., etc., hold back our lives in this city". Based on this, I identified in this study two forms by which the British immigration policies as blurred inner borders were described by my respondents: the British bureaucracy and the 'Men in Black'. So, in the next section, I explore these two elements.

British bureaucracy

Immigration to the UK this century is greater and more diverse than at any point in its history[35] (Vertovec 2007). "Although the United Kingdom has received immigrants for centuries, the country has traditionally been a net exporter of people; only from the mid-1980s did the United Kingdom become a country of immigration" (Somerville et al 2009). Public anxiety about immigration, fuelled by the European debt crisis since the end of 2009, and the ongoing debate over Brexit and its consequences, has sharply risen in parallel with the numbers. In this context, UK policymakers have attempted to draw up policies to manage net migration. According to the Observatory of Migration (2016), since the coalition government came to power, in 2010, the UK's immigration policy has seen significant changes.

The government has been merciless in implementing a points-based system for migration and new institutional arrangements. Among all the types of migration movement to the UK, the government has most control over the mobility of non-EU nationals. Brazilians, therefore, are affected by the current government policy that is focused on addressing levels of non-EU net migration. Students[36], workers[37] and family/dependants[38] have been the main target groups in

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[35] The Observatory of Migration (2016) reveals that between 1993 and 2014 the foreign-born population in the UK more than doubled from 3.8 million to around 8.3 million. "During the same period, the number of foreign citizens increased from nearly 2 million to more than 5 million. London has the greatest number of migrants (3.0 million foreign-born people in 2014) among all regions with comparable data in the UK. In 2014, the UK population was 13.1% foreign-born (up from 7% in 1993) and 8.5% foreign citizens (up from 4% in 1993)" (The Observatory of Migration 2016).

[36] As stated by the Home Office (2016), students can apply for a Tier 4 (General) student visa to study in the UK if they are 16 or over and have been offered a place on a course; can speak, read, write and understand English; have enough money to support themselves and pay for their course. It costs £328 to apply for this visa from outside the UK, and they also have to pay a healthcare surcharge as part of their application. There are restrictions which include the inability: to get public funds; to work in certain jobs; to study at an academy or a local authority-funded school.

[37] To enter or stay in the UK, the Home Office (2016) declares that skilled workers who are non-EU migrants must have a Tier 2 visa. To qualify, s/he must have been offered a job in the UK and have held at least £945 in her/his bank account for 90 days. The job, moreover, must pay at least £20,800, although the government is

the efforts to reduce and control the levels of non-EU net migration, which includes Brazilians.

As the previous empirical chapter showed, the remaining option for these young Brazilians is to arrive in the UK with a visitor visa. As stated by the UKBA (2013), overseas visitors must be able to show during their temporary visit that they do not intend to stay in the UK for more than 6 months – the maximum time limit – take paid or unpaid work, live in the UK for long periods of time through frequent visits, marry or register a civil partnership, or give notice of marriage or civil partnership, get public funds[39], or receive free medical treatment from the National Health Service (NHS).

These restrictions impose strong controls and, therefore, shape the life of the young migrants from Alto Paranaiba. And this can be observed through their limitations on accessing, for example, paid work or free medical treatment from the NHS, the two main elements that the respondents constantly mentioned during interviews or gatherings. Anderson observes that "without the papers that the immigration [authorities] request a migrant is *caged*. What can you do?! How do you find a job to live in London?" As stated by him, "these regulations

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currently considering a recommendation to raise this to £30,000. A non-EU migrant must also get a certificate of sponsorship from their employer (which involves a fee of between £536 and £1,476), pay £200 per year as a healthcare surcharge and be able to prove her/his knowledge of the English language. Finally, they are only permitted to remain in the UK on Tier 2 visas for a maximum of six years. Last January the Migration Advisory Committee also recommended that "the government set a £1,000-a-year levy on companies employing skilled migrants from outside the EU, and raise the salary threshold for Tier 2 visas from £20,800 to £30,000. The Home Office has not yet outlined its response" (The Guardian 12/03/2016).

[38]Tier 2 also is required for a dependant or family member (Home Office 2016). According to the UK government, a 'dependant' can be a partner, or a child under 18 or over 18 (if they're currently in the UK as a dependant). In order to apply, the dependant also has to pay the healthcare surcharge as part of his/her application. In addition, they need to have their fingerprints and photograph taken at a visa application centre to get a biometric residence permit as part of their application, and this permit has to be collected within 30 days of their expected date of arrival in the UK.

[39]As stated in the website, public funds include a range of benefits that are given to people on a low income, as well as housing support. Among them are included: working tax credit, housing benefit, social fund payment, allocation of local authority housing, and income-based jobseeker's allowance (UKBA 2013).

transform London into a nightmare. It forces us to find alternative solutions". Mauro shares the same opinion and recalls how the enforcement imposed by British law has reduced the capacity of a migrant "without papers" to live in London.

> To enjoy London and all the attractions that this city has to offer, you need to work. Life over here is quite expensive… food is ok, but accommodation and public transport are expensive. So…after a few weeks everyone has to find a job, otherwise the dream of living in London ends. But…that is the point. Finding a job is not easy, and day by day it is getting worse. You need papers and address proof, otherwise you are not hired. There is bureaucracy to work in London…I think we are not welcomed in this country.

From Mauro's point of view, London is a city with plenty of working opportunities, but "without real papers" life becomes unbearable. "There are a lot of good jobs over there, man. But you must be legal. Without papers it is hard. You are going to work for nothing..."

Laerte remembers that the scenario was very different in the 1990s. He says that everyday life in London was not so scary. The surveillance was much less strict. "1995 was not like in 2012, 2010 or 2008. The country [the United Kingdom] was more tranquil. They needed manual labour. It is not like today. That time there was no need for it [bogus documents]". He mentions that banks, for example, did not demand documents or proof of address to open a bank account. However, the rules have dramatically changed since 1997, when the British government through the Home Office enforced measures on companies or shops that employed undocumented migrants[40]. Companies and employers could be prosecuted and fined up £5,000 for each undocumented worker, according to the "comprehensive guidance booklet published by the Home Office in December 1996". The UK Border Agency

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[40] Conforming to the UKBA (2012), employers who did not check the entitlement to work in the United Kingdom of staff employed before 27 January 1997 "are not liable to sanctions if such individuals are found to be illegal migrant workers".

maintained this stance in 2004, when Eastern European countries joined the European Union. As Vertovec (2007), Pai (2008) and Balibar (2010) argue, the entry of Eastern European countries into the EU brought a massive wave of now legal European workers – EEA citizens – to fill menial posts, which were previously filled by migrants of other nationalities such as Brazilians, other Latin Americans, Africans or Chinese[41].

In most of the cases, I realized that the conversations or interviews tended to turn into complaints, not only about the imposed restrictions on finding a job, but also related to medical treatment or access to medication in case of illness. During the London winter of 2012, I conducted numerous interviews with these young Brazilians. It was common to find some of these migrants in bed. Adriano, for instance, suffered from asthma and in the winter his health tended to deteriorate. Without a prescription to get an inhaler he became very dependent on any potential newcomer who could bring this medication from Brazil. He explained to me that his mother "always is in touch with travel agents. In case anyone is coming to London, the travel agent tells her and then she sends me the medication". He says that the restrictions on medication and access to GPs force him to keep medication stored in his bedroom. "Otherwise I have no medication. I am done…"

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[41] In fact, the biggest enlargement of the EU in 2004 by including countries that could provide a reservoir of cheap labour, and the ongoing financial crisis required immediate action by the British government in order to remove undocumented workers from the labour market. Following the UKBA/Home Office policies, the internal borders built through law enforcement have in a very precise way reduced the chances of illegal workers being hired in the UK. In a country where the passport is the main personal document to access the health system, rent a place to live or open a bank account, they live their everyday lives on the borders of legality. From 2008 onwards, the UK Border Agency became even more strict. Such constant reinforcement coincided initially with the financial crisis which reached the European continent in 2007-08, resulting in high unemployment in the Eurozone. Later, it gained a further dimension through the phrase "British jobs for British workers" used by the ex-Prime Minister Gordon Brown as a motto to ensure that British workers could have access to job vacancies (The Guardian 2013). Since 2010, due to the strong presence of the Conservative Party in Parliament, the British government has adopted a radical posture regarding the "historical presence" of migrants in the UK and "multiculturalism in London".

Due to the fact that General Practitioners (GPs) require personal documents and proof of address from their patients in order to be registered, these young Brazilians holding passports with visitor visas and without any documental proof of address in London were excluded from the NHS. Once again the legal rules imposed by British law managed to impose bureaucratic borders on these migrants, who have no option but to depend on the help of other fellow citizens coming from Brazil to get medication. However, the limitations imposed by their migration status were not restricted to the lack of papers. The presence of immigration officers on the streets of London was considered by the respondents to be a real risk. As the following section reveals, the inner borders also mean the risk of deportation for these Brazilians.

The Men in Black

The term 'Men in Black' is what some of my respondents, as well as other undocumented Brazilians I talked with during my fieldwork, called the Home Office agents. It is based on a Hollywood science-fiction movie. The undocumented respondents peculiarly noted the two main characters of that movie and their goal of saving the Earth from intruder aliens as an example of the process of dehumanization daily experienced by themselves as unauthorized border crossers. So, moving through the streets and open areas of London means they can be recognized by the authorities and accused of occupying places where they are not expected to be. The 'burden' of Brazilian citizenship is fixed in their bodies (Puwar 2004). In fact, stories about 'capture' were repeatedly relayed to me. In general they emphasized the 'immigration officer blitzes' as ruthless. That is why they described the Home Office agents as 'Men in Black'. Khosravi coincidentally came across the same term while conducting fieldwork with undocumented Iranians in Sweden.

> The movie, as it appears on promotional posters, is about 'protecting the earth from the scum of the universe'. The hero, an Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agent, chases space aliens, non-human creatures. The movie starts with a 'humorous mistake'. Instead of space aliens, a group of human aliens – undocumented Mexican border transgressors – are apprehended (2010:27).

Mauro remembers his time in London as a period of fear and insecurity. Daily leaving his house and accessing the streets of London was an action that demanded full concentration and courage in order to overcome the fear of being caught. "Fear was a constant feeling. I used to work with a motorcycle [courier], then the first moment I put my feet on the street I felt fear. You know, every day you could hear those stories... [Home Office] took somebody; put in jail... [some friend] was stopped during a police blitz and was sent out [to Brazil]." Their undocumented vulnerability makes them to be constantly in contact to the borders. They are pushed against the borders. Most of the time my respondents demonstrated it to be a negative perception. It is a feeling of fear which arises because of their lack of immigration status. Mauro explains that it is a reflection of the difficulties they have to face daily in London. Sometimes they try to spend most of their time in places closer to where they live and work. According to him, "that is a solution found by those who are constantly afraid of the sudden blitz made by the Men in Black. The idea is move little and always in the shadows..." So, the less they move through London, the less they draw attention to their 'legal' inability to share that space.

In addition, I noted that the fear was a mixed feeling caused not just by their undocumented status, but also by the unknown rules and behaviour seen in the UK. Mauro, again, clearly elucidates that. He remembers a fellow citizens from Alto Paranaiba who had been living in London for more than ten years. According to Mauro, that person is still there, because he is

trying to build his house back in Brazil. Nonetheless, despite the fact that the UK Border Agency has caught him three times, they still keep him in London. "I do not really know what he [his friend] has...He attracts them [Home Office], but at the same time they do not send him to Brazil. I do not understand why they do that". It should be noted that Mauro's example is not an isolated case.

Other Brazilians have experienced similar cases. Gisele, for example, has been caught by the Home Office more than once. However she has twice been mysteriously released from detention. "I was brutally caught and pulled into a car. They threw me in the boot. It was summer time and I was sweating a lot while being driven to that detention place." It seems that the disciplinary operation of tracking and arresting undocumented migrants in London is never simply just about the putative goal of deportation. According to Agnieszka Kubal (2014), deportation or removal incurs high costs for the UK government. She notes that detention prior to removal should not be for longer than four weeks. So Home Office agents tend to use the deprivation of physical liberty as a punishment available to scare undocumented migrants. Although it cannot be seen as a general rule, some of the respondents said that after a period they were free again. It can be seen in Gisele's story as she continues, "…in there I stayed in a clean cell. I had the right to call my cousin and two or three days later I left the place. They gave me some money and said I should get a flight ticket back to Brazil….I never returned".

Therefore, it "is deportability, and not deportation per se, that has historically rendered undocumented migrant labor a distinctly disposable commodity" (de Genova 2002: 438). The UK inner borders play, in a blurred way, against undocumented migrants. Although the rules

are clear and can be easily found on their websites or in airport corridors and restaurants, the practice is unpredictable and that causes despair among the targets. Stories such as these contrast with cases where migrants were actually deported to Brazil or refused entry to the UK (as I explored in the previous chapter). Along with the fear of being caught and deported, the unclear procedures adopted by the Home Office intensify the lack of clarity over the British immigration policies among these young Brazilians, making the obscurity of these inner borders even stronger. Undocumented migrants live with a constant feeling of 'deportability', that is, the possibility of being removed from London and sent back to Brazil.

The intensification of the number of immigration raids and their increasingly public character – checks conducted at bus stops, tube stations and other public places such as cafes and restaurants – by UK immigration officers in civilian clothing, targeting passers-by based on their so-called "foreign" appearance or accent, and applying measures openly borrowed from the domain of criminal law – handcuffing suspects in front of the wider public as potential criminals, arrests, detentions and deportations – has become a frightening everyday reality for many undocumented migrants in London (de Genova 2002; Bloch et al. 2009; Kubal 2014). In that sense, the daily life for "the undocumented has become more and more saturated by the [border] regimes that receiving states impose through immigration laws" (de Genova 2002: 431)[42]. The result, as the following section explores, is that, after becoming undocumented, these young Brazilian migrants from Alto Paranaiba become besieged in this multicultural city.

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[42] It is important to observe that the political pressure imposed by the British government is not the only factor that jeopardizes the view of migration in the UK. Public opinion also plays an important role. According to the newspaper *The Telegraph*, in 2013, "The Prime Minister [David Cameron] will also blame the welfare state for creating a generation of workshy Britons, leaving the jobs market open for migrants. Figures show that of the 2.5 million extra people in employment since 1997, three quarters were foreign-born workers" (29/05/2013).

Besieged in the city

The British inner borders operate as a "diffuse border, a nebulous entity for the monitoring of mobilities, as well as the management of perceived threat, outside, inside, and on the geopolitical border" (Ceyhan 2008:145). According to the respondents, it produces insecurity for undocumented migrants moving around the streets of London. Gisele, for example, says that everyday activities such as "going to the supermarket, getting public transport or meeting friends in night clubs become scary. You feel that you are being monitored". As a result, they share the belief that a given migrant without documents cannot make deep connections with London. For Aloisio, a 32-year-old migrant from Rio Paranaiba, "Nothing lasts much in London. Nobody knows what might happen as soon as we set foot on the street. That is why I keep my stuff always packed in bags, and my closest friends aware of my movements".

For him, an undocumented migrant who has lived in London for more than 5 years, must have "his life planned every single day. Day by day he works, saving some money and trying as much as possible to enjoy the pleasures that the British capital offers to him". Aloisio himself says that is his aim; because he knows that his undocumented status makes him vulnerable to deportation. "I know…we can be caught at any time. I have mates who suddenly left London. Not because they planned it, but because the immigration policy found them. They left everything behind….computers, clothes, shoes, money, jobs". This uncertainty caused by the lack of documentation has transformed the way Aloisio carries on his life in London. He says that the best way to deal with this is not to get attached to anything. "I mean, even people. Look we are all together around this table. Having a beer,

discussing football and so on, but tomorrow anyone can be arrested. So…let's enjoy London while it lasts! (laughing and proposing a toast)".

Due to these harsh conditions imposed by the UK's inner borders, Aloisio says that the best way to overcome "the feeling of being besieged is living among people who share the same conditions…I mean, other migrants who do not have papers". He explains that it enables migrants not only to share the anguish caused by the inner borders, but also to learn ways to negotiate the risk of deportability.

> […] sharing a house, working together or just having friends…it helps. I mean, when you live with other Brazilians who are in the same situation as you [without papers], you help each other. You learn shortcuts to move through the city and access places; but also teach the ones that you know. The idea is to ease the difficulty over here…to have a better life and enjoy what London has to offer. That is why we are here.

According to him, these shared experiences also give migrants the chance to keep one step ahead of the immigration authorities in London. "People who have lived for more time in London are used to the way the immigration [authorities] work here. So, for someone who has just arrived in London, living in a house with other Brazilians like that is the best way to learn how to move and behave in the city". Therefore, for undocumented migrants, staying closer to friends and relatives becomes a vital way to cope with the adversity of living in London.

Anderson emphasizes the initial support provided by Denise. He says that at the beginning he depended exclusively on the initial help given by his eldest sister. According to him, that was 'vital help for me to start my life in London. You do not have a clear idea of what you are

going to meet here. So…my sister as someone who was living in London and knew all the tricks was quite essential at the beginning". He also observes that arriving at a house where "there is a bedroom and a wardrobe waiting for you" put him in a comfortable position.

Having undocumented status is the way these Brazilians live and perceive, albeit more or less keenly, the contradictions of the globalized world in which they desire to take part, in London. The multiplication of borders invades the city on different scales and in different social spaces. Therefore, the more time they spend in London, the more they have to acquire the skills to live and safely navigate its streets. For that reason, the *connaissance* of this multicultural city is acquired through daily experiences in which the undocumented have to deal with and struggle against the inner borders imposed by UK law in public places. So they have to learn how to navigate through the streets of London, what is the best time to access certain types of public transport, where to work, as well as how to recognize quickly any potential immigration raids aimed at catching passers-by where they are allowed to handcuff suspects as potential criminals. As a way of counteracting these social contradictions, Brazilians create what I call the tactics of border-crossing the inner borders. They are tactics of movement through social/spatial mobility with a certain cohesiveness, but this does not mean that they are coherent.

Tactics of border-crossing the UK inner borders

The sense of ever-present vulnerability forces undocumented migrants to design behavioural tactics of dealing with the constant policing of public spaces and the legal environment in which they are placed (Bloch et al. 2009; Khosravi 2010; Kubal 2014). Similar to the tactics designed by travel agents and used by migrants to travel from Brazil to London, these

behavioural tactics are also identified in this thesis as *tactics of border crossing*, but here, they are in order to negotiate with the UK's border controls in the inner territory.

Young Brazilian migrants from Alto Paranaiba try to keep a low profile in order to avoid getting any attention from potential monitoring that may happen while they are navigating the streets of London, working or shopping. According to Valeria, "living without papers in a city like this demands constantly hiding yourself. You cannot stay for so long in gathering places, you must pay attention to the movement around you…sometimes it is better to meet friends at home, or pretend to be another nationality". That is their response to the blurred inner borders that silently follow them through the public spaces of London. Every precaution must be taken as they do not have a clear idea when it can be triggered. Therefore they develop tactics to hide their undocumented status.

While conducting fieldwork in London, I identified three main tactics of border-crossing the inner borders that enabled these young migrants to navigate through the streets, live and work in London. In the following sections I will discuss each of these in turn, to show how they enable undocumented migrants to avoid the risk of deportation and continue living in London. However, far from presenting the struggle from a romantic point of view, I show how tense it is for my respondents to constantly be dodging the blurred borders in their everyday lives.

Navigating the city

Having an undocumented status requires the migrants not only to understand a series of possibilities and interdictions that the urban architecture imposes on them (de Certeau 1989), but also the limited rights they have due to the burden of their migration position. According

to Pedro, "there are places and streets in London that…depending on the time or the movement occurring there, it is not very wise to be there…it is better to find shortcuts". For him, the possible presence of 'the Men in Black' in the streets is enough for "migrants without papers to avoid that place". Therefore, walking through the streets of London requires the undocumented migrants to develop tactics to avoid being identified, and the act of navigating the urban fabric means negotiation. They have to negotiate their existence in that social space with the flow of pedestrians, but also with those who monitor their comings and goings. They claim that these public spaces demand calculated and fast movement in order to avoid getting lost and, thus, having to depend on the help of others or risk being stopped by the police.[43]

Any potential mundane inspection of "documents, accompanied always by the interlocking threats of detection, interception, detention and deportation, may similarly generate a proliferation of spaces for the production of the Border Spectacle" (de Genova 2013: 04). This surveillance practice transforms multicultural London into a place composed of tricky social spaces for undocumented migrants where the chances of being caught by the 'Men in Black' – the police or Home Office agents – are unpredictable. The Brazilians consider that safe navigation through the streets of London requires a particular strategy: accessing open

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[43] Apart from avoiding busy public areas, another tactic of these migrants in keeping their Brazilian nationality hidden was to try to find a job that required little public contact. Among my respondents, the main job which provided such security was that of housekeeper. As stated by my respondents it enabled them not to be in constant contact with workmates with the same undocumented status or even clients and, therefore, prevent conflicts that could attract the attention of the authorities. However, this option is closely connected to gender. It is a job that only females can do, revealing that female Brazilian labour migrants are frequently confined to domestic or care work, among other jobs. Paula has worked as a housekeeper since 2006, when she arrived. She explains that working as a housekeeper enables undocumented women "to spend a whole shift inside a house, working quietly, without speaking a single word. It is the type of work that you can finish in less than four hours". She adds that normally the employer leaves a note with the duties, "then you have only to follow it and get the cash they usually leave beside the note…" In fact, this enables them to adopt an invisible position, but one also on the margins of social and civil entitlements. They are far from being prospective full citizens in the countries of destination (Marchetti and Salih 2015).

places. According to Gisele, "you never move in crowded places where it is difficult to escape in case you see an immigration officer. I think that, like me, most of the people who have no papers prefer to access places with different exits and open areas. You never know where they are…" For these Brazilians, the fact of being undocumented clearly means being in a vulnerable position that demands artful movements through the streets of London.

They are 'tactical walkers' who prefer to access places where they have more autonomy, and cannot be easy controlled. Considering the fact that London is heavily monitored by the law and the Home Office agents, the undocumented migrant have to find alternative ways to scape from this control. The tactic of avoiding closed public places is an act of creative resistance by these undocumented migrants against the risk of being monitored, and to avoid unwanted contact with the Home Office agents.

Buses

The use of public transport also demands certain skills. Although London is a global city known worldwide for the quality of this service, for undocumented migrants bus and underground routes are blurred borders that can be triggered at any time. As Manuela says, accessing the underground system of transport is a risky way to navigate from one place to another in London. "I have heard many cases of Brazilians who were in a hurry to get home or get to work and decided on the underground, rather than a bus. What happened? As soon as they got off the train and reached the exit area there was a police cordon checking the documents…" She believes that systems of transport such as trains where there is only "one entry and one exit gives no option to a person without papers. You have to join the queue to be interrogated….then is too later. What are you gonna say?!" Considering this, the respondents and most of the undocumented Brazilians I met in London used buses instead.

Gisele explains that "buses move in open areas where you can see what is going on" and furthermore "you can jump off at any bus stop and easily access the street. You do not have to cross a guarded turnstile…believe me, it does make a difference!" In that sense, buses are important for the young Brazilian migrants accessing different places in London once they become undocumented.

In fact, as well as being a transport system that enables these undocumented Brazilians to get on and off quickly, it is also more affordable. Along with accommodation, transport in London was considered very expensive by the group in the research. Pedro recalls that part of his salary went on his weekly Oyster travel card. "At the beginning I tried to use the Underground. It was quicker to move from my house to work or other places, but then there is this neurosis about immigration officers, and also the price. The remaining option is the bus. It is safer, much cheaper and I can save some good money". It was interesting to note that some bus routes were very well known among the interviewees. Among them, the N29 was often mentioned. That was the bus connecting Little Park Gardens (in Enfield) to Trafalgar Square/Charing Cross station[44]. Claudio observes that it was easy to travel for free on this bus as there were no controls. "You can save some pocket money. At the end of the week it does make a difference".

It was interesting to observe that the tactics for navigating round the city not only showed that the undocumented Brazilians opted for open places for getting around where they could, for instance, avoid the barriers of the turnstiles at tube stations; they also determined some of the places that featured in the everyday lives of these young migrants. Parks, tourist streets and private spaces were some of the places they more readily frequented.

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[44] On this articulated bus the Oyster Card readers are not controlled by the driver. Instead they are located in different parts of the bus where the traveller can touch his/her card on them.

Public places

Frequenting public parks and tourist areas such as Oxford Street and other regions of Westminster was also considered by the research respondents as a good tactic in avoiding closed public spaces. Adriano explains that walking along Oxford Street was not too scary. "It is a place with thousands and thousands of tourists. There is no control to monitor who has papers and who hasn't. You can just say that you left them in the hotel and you are a tourist buying goods…" Being in places well-known for having a high number of tourists gives them a better chance of hiding their undocumented status. As Adriano shows, these young Brazilians can temporarily assume again the identity of tourists, among other tourists who are constantly moving in and out of the shops on busy London streets. Public parks are also important in this respect. Denise, for instance, comments that in London these places are not like in Brazil.

> In Brazil, public parks are rare. We do not spend much time in public parks…I think. Well, in Alto Paranaiba we do not have any. But I remember that in Belo Horizonte there were a few parks, and they were not always full of people. It means that we need police walking around… And they are not open like these in London, where you find grassed areas and lots of people resting, having picnics, practising sports, or dating…They are not monitored.

Because of that, Denise tells me that she likes to spend her free days with friends in places such as Green Park or Finsbury Park. In the same vein, Roberto says "it gives you protection…you can have a good view of what is going on around you. Better than going to Trafalgar Square or staying in an enclosed place like a restaurant or pub where everyone is going to listen to you".

This also leads us to understand why the undocumented Brazilian migrants tended to avoid gathering with friends in places outside their homes. "I preferred to have beer at home. Pubs can be tricky places…you know fights, police, arrests and so on…", Roberto recalls. He says that friends and workmates were arrested by the Home Office while they "were enjoying a beer in their break time. I remember two workmates who decided to go to a pub close to our restaurant. They did not even change their clothes. The police entered the place and saw the two guys. Days later they were back in Brazil…." It shows how certain leisure places such as pubs, for instance, have significance for undocumented migrants. They are places where potential conflicts can reveal their fragile undocumented status. Therefore, stories such as this populate the minds of the Brazilians. I found many similar cases to the one above in which the outcome was always the same: deportation. Working as a kind of moral tale, these stories circulate by word of mouth among these young Brazilians, and serve to constantly remind them of possible sites where border agents may materialize unexpectedly. Because of this, the research respondents preferred to gather with friends in the privacy of their homes. Following them for more than 5 years provided me a good insight into this social practice.

For social events such as barbecues, watching football matches and celebration of special dates these young Brazilian migrants preferred to have them at their homes. They were in fact important events where friends from Alto Paranaiba and workmates had the opportunity to spend time together without being scared. Claudio explains "it is important for these gatherings. I think we leave the pressure outside. You do not need to look around while drinking your beer. You can laugh out loud and speak Portuguese without paying attention to whether someone is staring at you". Moreover, this is also the time when homesickness appears in the conversation. They are reminded of their lives, adventures, people and places that marked their lives. It was through these gatherings, for instance, that I learned about Alto

Paranaiba and their friends and other returned migrants whom I would meet later while conducting fieldwork in Brazil.

In fact, the role played by the accommodation of these Brazilians is important. Therefore, another tactic of border crossing identified was housing mobility. Although Claudio stated above that gathering in houses was considered a safe activity, the risk of deportation still exists in these places as well. According to them, the risk of being caught by the Home Office agents is not only restricted to the public spaces and streets of London, but can also happen in the private space of the house. Claudio himself says that most of his friends and colleagues who were deported "were at home! The police [Home Office agents] have no mercy. If they know that you have no papers, they come and catch you". Therefore, being always ready to move from one house to another is another tactic of border-crossing the inner borders utilized by these undocumented migrant Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba.

Housing mobility

Following Adriano and Claudio and other migrants for 5 years allowed me to observe how the young Brazilian migrants showed a high degree of housing mobility in London. According to those in the research it is related to two main facts: the cost of living in London and the unpleasant visits of border agents. In Adriano's words it should be understood that

> These [two main facts] are points that anyone who wants to live in London has to take into account…if, of course, they want to stay for longer than the visa allows. You know how expensive this city is, especially to live. We pay a high price in rent and it does not mean that you will get a good place to live. On the contrary, these mafia [people who buy houses to exclusively

rent bedrooms to migrants][45] know that there is a demand for places and 'stick in the knife' without mercy. […] Because of that you have to find cheap places. The other point is the immigration…living with other people without papers always draws attention to them. So, at some point you have to move to other places, because they [Home Office] will come…and you can be the next.

This temporary accommodation is normally chosen based on the basic amenities that a migrant needs in his/her everyday life. Nonetheless, it seems that location and access to public transport are factors they take into account. Pedro observes this when mentioning the elements he considered important when renting a room, "access to the internet, rent with a reasonable price, and proximity to public transport and their jobs". He says, however, that due to the fact that life in London is very unstable, they can swap jobs very easily and, depending on the distance, it can be better to change to residences closer to the new workplace. Rather than settling in one place, Pedro and other Brazilians moved from one house to another following their workplace. In a city such as London where public transport is expensive and travelling daily from one place to another can be risky, living close to the workplace "is a matter of saving money, gaining a few more hours of sleep during the week" and not exposing yourself too much in the streets, as Gisele says.

So these houses are temporary dwellings in which 'unattached' immigrants can change residence relatively easily according to their priorities. Another fact that explains the intense housing mobility is the fear of detection and deportation.

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[45] This will be discussed further shortly

Housing mobility as a tactic to avoid the unpleasant "knock, knock" at the door

Tensions are present in overcrowded houses. Sigona and Hughes (2012) state that the poor housing conditions and overcrowding can result in conflict among fellow tenants. In fact, they say that it is a familiar experience among residents who lack regular immigration status. Roberto, a 27-year-old returned migrant, says that undocumented Brazilian migrants tend to denounce other compatriots with the same undocumented status for foolish reasons. Among the reasons listed he mentions 'influential position' in the house. He believes that people incorporate a stressful lifestyle in London. Working 'illegally' long shifts under risky conditions, spending money on rent and public transport and still trying to save 'puts people on the edge'. Thus, disputes in overcrowded houses are often solved through threats such as calling the Home Office.

In fact, in the same way that the UK border agency officers may stop a passer-by in the street and request proof of identity when there is reason to assume that the person in question is a foreign national and the time, place and situation give grounds for such a check, "these officers are also authorised to enter, without the consent of the occupant, their home or place of dwelling if there is 'a reasonable suspicion' or 'reasonable grounds' that point to the person not being lawfully resident" (Kubal 2013:08). Kubal observes that the immigration officers' power was given by the British Immigration and Asylum Act 1999. It is very similar to the powers of the police in the investigation of crime and the apprehension of suspects.

As some of the respondents told me, sharing a house with residents with a lack of legal immigration status affects the whole internal dynamic. They say that it is always a very delicate situation, which demands attention and precautions. For that reason, "[...] keeping

one step ahead of immigration authorities necessitates being on the move" (Bloch et al. 2009:47). Gisele comments that "sometimes the Home Office catch one of us and you have to move quickly to another house". After interrogating the migrant, the officers discover the residential address and go there in order to check if there are more migrants without legal immigration status. Gisele recalls one of the times that immigration officers suddenly knocked at her door early in the morning:

> You know, they [Home Office agents] come and knock at the door, because they are looking for somebody. So we have to leave quickly [the house] if we do not want to leave the country. I have struggled a lot with this kind of pressure. It is very traumatic...when I was pregnant with my only child; they [Home Office agents] came to my house. We had to leave wearing pyjamas in the early morning....it was quite traumatic.

In cases like that, the house 'is burned' as Adriano describes it. In other words, houses investigated by the Home Office become subject to unexpected visits during the night or the very early morning, when migrants are arriving from work or sleeping. Moreover, he explains that trying to use a 'burned' address to open a bank account or sign a mobile contract can be very tricky as "it announces who you are", in terms of immigration status. Therefore, once somebody is caught, the best option is to move out immediately from that residence to a 'clean one'. According to Gisele, it is just a matter of time before the immigration officers arrive at the door.

The tactic of moving from one house to another in order to avoid the UK Border Agents knocking on their doors reinforces my argument about how the feeling of fear and living on the move shapes the everyday lives of these young undocumented Brazilians in London, and forces them to develop tactical strategies not only to move through its streets, but also to live.

It therefore dramatically affects the relationship between the migrants and the city. London, for them, becomes a place where there is no "deep connection although it is sometimes held in considerable affection" (Knowles and Harper 2010:240). The UK inner borders are crucial in shaping people's everyday experiences such as the type of dwelling. This intense mobility from house to house suggests that Brazilian migrants in general are not clustered in particular London areas.

"People are always moving in search of a better location"

Studies by Angela Torresan (1994, 1995), for instance, outlined that there were initially two small Brazilian clusters localized in the London areas of Bayswater (known within the community as *Brazilwater*) and Paddington at the beginning of the 1980s. According to her, these clusters consisted mainly of Brazilian workers and students who wanted to be in touch with each other while abroad. However, apart from Brazilian restaurants, hairdressers and shops, these areas are no longer exclusively inhabited by this nationality. The findings rather suggest that Brazilians – including the group explored in this thesis – are spread over the city in places such as Bayswater, Paddington and Willesden Junction representing the high housing mobility of Brazilians in general in London. Rather than being gathered in one area, they are rather located in various regions of London. It seems that some of these areas gained preference among Brazilians at particular times. In fact, the interviews and the literature support the evidence of the map below, which shows how Brazilians are spread out around the city of London:
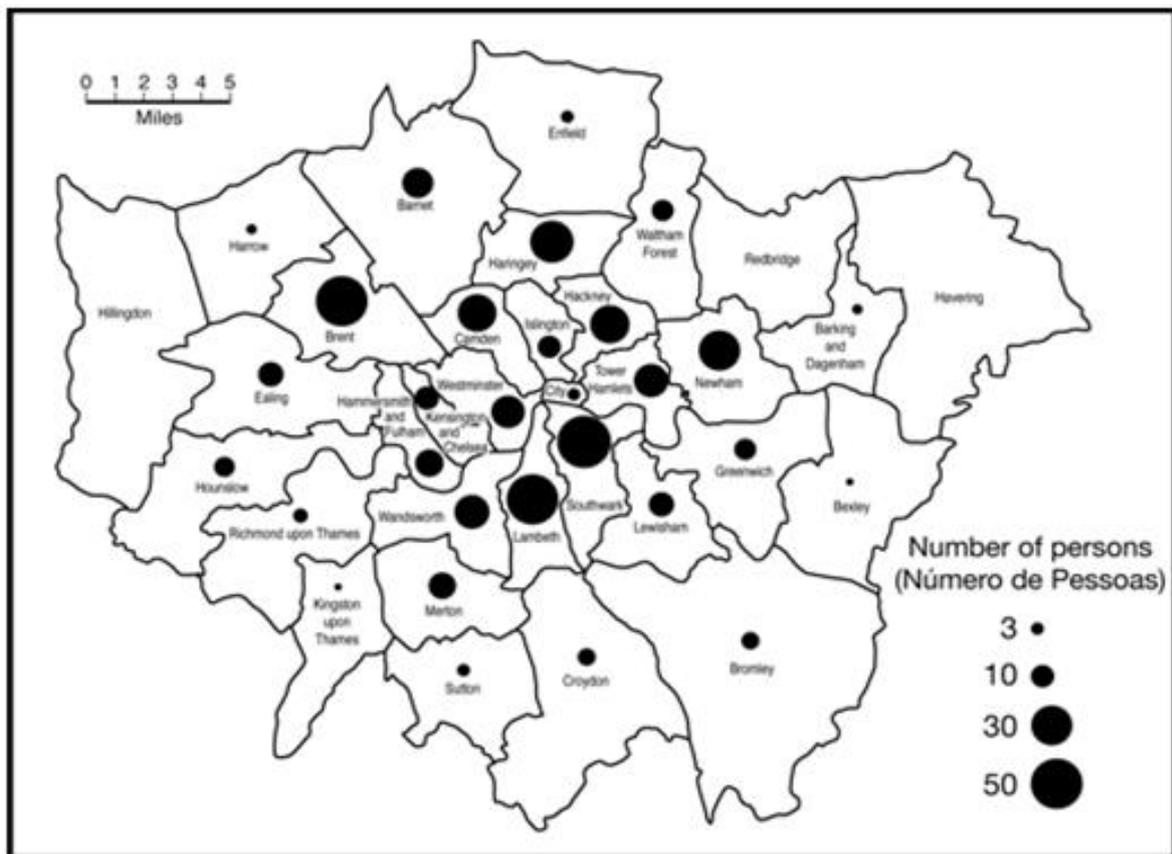
Map 3 – Presence of Brazilians in London (Evans et al. 2011).

Nonetheless, North London still plays an important role for Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba. Valéria says that due to the fact that "real estate speculation makes the life of undocumented migrants with precarious jobs into a hell, North London is full of people from Alto Paranaiba because it is the region where the cheapest rents can be found in the whole city". Reflecting on the particular case of Willesden Junction, she observes:

> There is a [high concentration of Brazilians in that ward]. But it is not as strong as the African one. Because it is a new migration and it is very volatile. I mean, people are always moving in search of a better location. So, I can say that there is no settlement of Brazilians from there [Alto Paranaiba], but they are still very present in Willesden. There are money transfers, advocacies, associations, and so on. It gives us the feeling of a

> presence of Brazilians there [Willesden Junction]. If you go there, you will find butchers, hairdressers, cafes and restaurants…

Similarly, Laerte tells me that Willesden Junction is currently one of the areas where Brazilians tend to live, including migrants from Alto Paranaiba. He recalls how he and some fellow citizens moved to that area in the early 2000s.

> When I arrived in London, there was a friend waiting for us in Victoria [coach station], then he took us to Paddington. In Paddington we [4 people] all shared the same bedroom in the beginning, but we could not stay there. So, he took us to a flat in Chamberlain Road. There were two free beds there. The owners were travelling to Greece. When they returned, we had to find a new place. After that we moved to Bayswater, we were constantly moving...Paddington, Bayswater...we used to live with 10 people in Bayswater. After that we moved to...I do not remember... [pause] Holland Park! Then we moved to Harlesden. There were no Brazilians living in Harlesden.

So, the cost of living and the risk of deportation forces Brazilians to live on the move while in London. Some regions of London gain prominence among them at certain times. That is currently the case with Willesden Junction. Young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba choose that region as a way to escape not only expensive rents, but the inevitable presence of border agents at their door. As Lucio stresses, "Living in regions where you find many Brazilians can attract the attention of the authorities, but the news spreads fast and it can tactically work in our favour. […] I mean if the Men in Black appear, people share the information quickly!" However, housing mobility strongly shapes the lives of these Brazilians. It forces them to live unattached from housing and that, as the next section shows, produces *temporariness*.

Poor housing conditions as a characteristic of temporariness

I visited eight people's accommodation in the Boroughs of Haringey, Brent and Hackney during the fieldwork in London between 2010 and 2012, and that provided me with a good insight into how constantly living on the move was a sign of the precarious housing conditions. The houses were often overcrowded and in poor condition. Bed bugs and mice infections, water leaks, temporary lack of electricity and gas were just some of the precarious living conditions found in these homes. As noted by the research respondents, sorting out these issues are actually some of the responsibilities of the landlord but sometimes the tenants had to sort out such issues themselves, as was the case for Lucio.

He was renting a room which once had a bed bug infestation. "Our landlord was more concerned about the rent than our living conditions. And we had to do something quickly because of Douglas [2-year-old boy, the son of another Brazilian]". The tenants had to find and pay for a pest control company to come and eradicate the insects from the house. The whole process took a week and the cost was shared by the residents. Since then, the problem has disappeared, but "the house management has not improved". One year later the landlord passed on the house to another Brazilian, as he was returning to Brazil. Lucio remembers that the first thing the new landlord did was to install a prepayment electricity meter. "He did not even introduce himself to us". Since then, "we have struggled with days with no credit in the meter as he does not give us the key. That is not fair. You come home tired after a long shift and are looking forward to having a hot bath and that damned shower does not have hot water".

In fact, most of the time I could sense disappointment in the voices of my respondents. Gisele, like many others, recalled her first impressions on arriving in East Acton. It was the

first time Gisele had left her parents' house when she landed in London. She had recently turned 18 years old. As mentioned earlier, she was welcomed by her cousin who allocated her a bedroom with three people. It was a house shared by nine people altogether from Alto Paranaiba and one from the Brazilian state of Paraná. She remembers, "I felt that I was arriving in a hole. The house was horrible. You had to enter through a door behind...It was rubbish... oh my...it was disgusting. It all looked weird and old. I remember there were mice, because there was a restaurant on the ground floor".

These residences tend to be places organized by landlords – who are often migrants themselves – to accommodate the largest number of dwellers as possible[46]. Common social areas such as the living room are often transformed into bedrooms, leaving the bathroom and the kitchen as the only common areas to be shared by all the residents. Each bedroom and its wardrobes are shared by two or three people. Therefore it is not uncommon to find Brazilians crammed in with twelve other people of both sexes in a house with one or two bathrooms and one fridge.

However, I also identified signs indicating not just the precariousness as described above, but also temporariness. Since the migrants do not have attachment to the houses and, as explored above, most of the time it does not provide them with a feeling of being at home, the group in the research stressed that they could move any time they wanted or needed to. The presence of bags on the top of wardrobes or even behind them was noticeable when you entered their

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[46] Lucio reveals that in London there is "a profitable trade around the rental homes for Brazilians. Many landlords are Brazilians, who are settled and documented in the city, and explore this economic practice as a way to live and also make money. Thus, they use mortgage loans to purchase houses or then rent one [...] This is the case with several houses located in the northwest and north of London, specifically in Finsbury Park' (Dias 2010: 48)

bedrooms, supporting their assertion. Some clothes remain packed after arriving in a new place. Shoes are kept together in boxes or under beds. Technological equipment such as laptops, CD players and speakers share the tiny space left next to the beds and wardrobes. Piles of CDs are beside their belongings. Most of this equipment is bought as soon as they find their first job in London. The sense of being ready to leave is always present in their everyday lives. In weeks or days they could be moving again. Therefore their belongings assume a position of constant readiness. Claudio, for instance, says,

> We were looking for a house, as in the same morning we got notice to leave the one we were living in. Notice is quick like that. The next morning you can be notified. A friend of mine told us about a Brazilian landlady. I just called her and that night we were moving in.

Thus the notion of temporariness is very much associated with a feeling of readiness. In other words, clothes packed up not only means that the migrant is ready to move to a house close to the new job, it also means s/he is ready to depart in case immigration officers knock at the door. It seems that, despite the precariousness, small rooms without communal spaces facilitate their mobility in case of emergency situations. There is not much left behind in case of sudden moves, which enables them to assume a peripatetic migratory status.

Living on the move is not the only way that Brazilians hide their undocumented status. The last tactic of border crossing that I identified in London was regarding documentation. The young Brazilian migrants explained that one of the first things to do after finding accommodation is to get a job. Pedro, for instance, says "it is essential to work, if you want to live and enjoy the life that London can offer". Otherwise, they have to return to Brazil. Therefore, accessing the migration industry specializing in producing bogus documents is

usual practice among the Brazilians. "These papers [bogus ID and passports] open the door for us. We can work and keep alive our plan to live in London….simple as that", Adriano reveals. So, in this last section I explain how fake documents not only enable these Brazilians to work in London, but also conceal their nationality in order to make it difficult for border agents to find them.

Becoming Southern Europeans

Claudio tells me that the Brazilian passport must be discarded after the visitor visa expires. "No, I do not have a Brazilian passport. I left it in my trouser pocket and by mistake I washed it... [Laughing]". He observes that once this document loses its visa, it automatically starts playing against the migrant. "There is no reason to carry it. Any place you go it can prove that you are illegal in this country. Who is going to employ you? So, better to move without it. At least you can negotiate with the police [Home Office] in the event of being stopped". However, they know that a bank account along with an ID card, passport and National Insurance Number card are documents that can substitute for it and improve access to employment opportunities. And the only way to obtain them is by accessing Brazilians specialized in forging these documents.

So, hiding or throwing away their Brazilian passport and buying a bogus EEA ID or passport is the alternative way for undocumented Brazilians to enter the labour market in the United Kingdom, and circumvent the legal distinctions between EEA citizens and non-EEA citizens imposed by the UKBA/Home Office. I noted that Portuguese, Italian and Spanish were the main nationalities sought by these Brazilians. It is not for nothing. These are the Southern European countries that Brazil has historical ties with – due to the colonial past and the massive wave of worker immigrants who moved to Brazil in the last two centuries – and so a

large number of its citizens claim dual nationality. Therefore, becoming a Southern European is another tactic used by the respondents to hide their presence in the public spaces of London. [47]

Accessing the migration industry specializing in forging documents

To cross the 'legal borders' imposed by British law which does not permit citizens of a country other than in the EEA zone or Switzerland to live and work in the UK, a large invisible market of bogus documents which covers areas beyond the UK territory has come into operation. The migration industry through which undocumented migrants can subsist emerge and thrive, enhances the existing informal dimensions of the state's economy (King 2001, Khosravi 2010, Amaya-Castro 2011, Martins Jr 2012). In an identity-controlled society such as the British one, where ID cards and passports are essential to find a job, access a GP, or rent a house, the production of bogus documents gains significant importance.

> The more important IDs become, the more lucrative the market for their falsification. The more difficult the access to social services, such as health, education, and housing becomes, the more lucrative (or morally compelling) it will be to provide them. In short, the more elaborate and forceful the illegality regime, the more autonomous and complex the 'gray' society and the illegal realm of the state will become. (Amaya-Castro 2011: 144)

Following the same argument, Martins Junior (2012) accurately observes that the price of

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[47] In fact, race plays a key role in this tactical manoeuvre. I noted that Portuguese and Italian were the main nationalities 'bought' by these Brazilians. There is good reason for this; as Chapter 4 explored, Alto Paranaiba is a Brazilian region that received a considerable number of migrants from these two countries during the first half of the twentieth century. Although I cannot reveal the real names or surnames of my respondents, I can confirm that most of them, if not all, have a Portuguese and/or Italian surname. Thus, my respondents try to take advantage of this historical tie connecting Alto Paranaiba to these two Southern European countries by using their Italian/Portuguese surname as well as their Mediterranean skin tone.

bogus documents is directly related to their authenticity. By authenticity he means the place where such documents are produced and the number of people involved in their distribution until they reach the client. Some documents come directly from Portugal, Italy or Spain. While in Lisbon, I learnt a little about the tracking of biometric Portuguese passports from their production, smuggling and commercialization on the black market.

According to Margarida, a Portuguese staff member from *Alto Comissário para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas* (High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities) interviewed in Lisbon, the Portuguese government sector focusing on migration issues in Portuguese territory, some of these documents are originally made by staff inside the Department of Immigration in Portugal. She explains that both the material and the stamps used in a false document are exactly the same as used in the original one, making "the process of investigating the originality of such a document almost impossible". The only difference is the identity photo which will be added in the last stage of the process. However, it does not make much difference as the passport is biometrically eligible to be checked by any migration officer across the EU. In this way, "the state is also complicit in, and profits from, the production of this form of irregular labor" (Johnson and Wilcke 2015: 146). Through this example based on the Portuguese case, this thesis reveals how the migration industry focused on bogus documents is spread over key public sectors connected to migration policies.

Afterwards the bogus documents are smuggled from there to their final destination through people connected to a large network specializing in this sort of service. In this case, it is a business that focuses on commercializing EEA nationalities. They are classified as "hot documents", because in a sense they are originals and almost impossible to detect. The price

is high and can vary between 2,000 and 5,000 euros (Martins Junior 2012). Nevertheless, when conducting the fieldwork in London I observed that there were other forms of documents which were more accessible as they were cheaper and locally commercialized in London. This was the case with ID cards.

In many cases, these cheaper documents are made and commercialized by other Brazilians who see this risky service as a very profitable business. Bogus ID cards are also copied from Southern European countries – Portugal, Italy and Spain. In the case of my respondents, it seemed to be the most reasonable document, as they could afford it and it was enough to get a job position. Murilo, a 35-year-old male migrant, tells me that "papers have different prices according to the quality". Thus, they can "vary between 300 and 400 pounds". The order is made essentially by mobile phone.

He observes that the transaction consists of a quick agreement between the buyer and seller. "You call the person and tell him what kind of document you want. Then we arrange a good place and time to meet, but it is not the person who makes up the papers [bogus document] who comes to collect your personal information and a photo...it is somebody else". After collecting the photo and personal information such as the name, date of birth and biometric measures which will be registered on the bogus documents the person leaves the meeting point immediately. An hour later he returns with the bogus ID and collects the money. "That is it", concludes Murilo. "Look at my Portuguese ID card. My surname is different, but I kept the same name, as everybody in the restaurant knows it. According to my ID I was born in Leça do Balio... [staring at the document and thinking] I have no clue where this place is, but I am Portuguese... [laughing]". The most similar the document is to the real one, the more clients the forger gets. The "advertisement" for the forger's service is informally distributed

among undocumented migrants who pass on his mobile number.

Aware of the high demand among Brazilians for Portuguese, Spanish or Italian nationality, there is a thriving informal migratory industry exploring this economic niche. It seems to be a large and shady business spread over European countries with obscure branches located in governmental departments as described in the Portuguese case. According to the investigated group, documentation is the key to finding a job considered profitable in London. An undocumented Brazilian with these documents in their hands is empowered to become anonymous and, therefore, acceptable to access those social spaces reserved for the select 'citizenship of the borders' (Balibar 2003). Citizenship, in its material expression, serves to protect subjects from suspicion and prevents deportability. With 'Europeness' they attempt to become as invisible as any other EEA citizen. Although it may be a temporary and limited access, they can still undertake this border-crossing through the UK's inner borders.

Concluding remarks

As this chapter started to explore, the United Kingdom border controls are not limited to filtering and deporting migrants who are moving through airports or seaports. This country has actually become specialized in mapping unwanted citizenship in a much wider spectrum, including the ordinary places where everyday life happens (Khosravi 2010, de Genova 2013, Kubal 2014). Those are the inner borders and, as stated by the group researched in this study, they materialize through the British immigration law and its bureaucracy as well as the 'Men in Black'. London and its celebrated 'superdiversity' imposes serious constraints on those without papers. As my respondents showed, the city is not an open place where the walker can move around with a blasé attitude.

An undocumented migrant living or working in London or navigating its streets should not only have knowledge about the local customs or the geographical location of its facilities, but also who watches and controls them. There is a right time and way to frequent certain social spaces. In that sense, undocumented migrants have to use particular tactics of border crossing which enable them to move invisibly through the urban fabric. As with the tactic of travelling as a tourist discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, the knowledge and skills to overcome the inner borders come from the relationship established between the migrant and the social spaces that they move through daily. While travelling as a tourist demands a constant negotiation in which the migrant has to interact with border officers at international airports, the relationship between Brazilians and the UK inner borders explored in this chapter reveals that the undocumented migrant must be always ready to escape. They must anticipate any potential unpleasant meetings. For the undocumented migrant, there is no dialogue with the 'Men in Black'. In that sense, London is a city whose tricky social spaces demand from them constant physical movement as well as the incorporation of nationality. Those are the tactics that allow them to move around London without being challenged by the 'blurred borders' which label them as 'abnormal invaders'. Being invisible gives them the 'right' to share the space. It is tactical protection to overcome the UK' inner borders that cordons off large areas of public life (Amaya-Castro 2011).

Chapter 8

Conclusion:

migration as the ability to negotiate mobility with borders

> *"I also learned that, in a high sea, big ships were inclined to plunge bow or stern into the waves, so that tons of water would rush on board and twist steel tubes like wire, while a small boat, in the same sea, often made good weather because she could find room between the lines of waves and dance freely over them like a gull." (Thor Heyerdahl, 2010: 15)*

When I started my research project I was very keen to explore and answer a number of questions, which I raised in my introduction chapter, that would help me to create another layer of knowledge about how overseas migrants undertake their particular mobility with contemporary border regimes to live in the Global North. Analysing the mobility of young Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba moving to London, my study has argued that these migrants use tactical border crossing movements to get through the Schengen and UK borders. Initially, I wanted to unpack the reasons for these Brazilians choosing particular forms of migration as a way of fulfilling their expectations of a global lifestyle. Then, I explored who the border people were and what sort of border controls were involved in these routes connecting Alto Paranaiba to London. Finally, I unfolded how these migrants negotiated with

the external borders of the EU border regimes and with the UK's inner borders while living in London.

This thesis responds to recent calls among scholars for studies of migration, and indeed of borders, to incorporate the negotiation established between migrants and border controls into their fields of inquiry (see for example, Mezzadra 2012). In order to pursue this aim I worked with the idea of border-crossing movement (Vila 2000, Mezzadra and Neilson 2013) along with the concepts of tactics (de Certeau 1997) and performance (Goffman 1969) as a way of interpreting and understanding the mobility practised by the Brazilians to overcome the border controls. I specifically coined the notion of the *tactics of border crossing* as a tool that would enable me to unpack how they conducted such negotiations through a more grounded perspective, where their practical knowledge and points of view could bring together a multiplicity of narratives to redefine the relationship between migration and borders. In this final chapter, I bring together the principal themes and arguments of my research in relation to my original research questions, and I outline the conceptual and empirical findings of the study, pointing to some pathways for future research.

Unpacking the negotiation

This thesis makes important empirical contributions to studies of migration through its focus on how migrants negotiate their particular mobility with contemporary border regimes of which there is still not enough research. Migrants are skilled travellers, who perform tactical manoeuvres to overcome smart barriers. To defend this argument, I examined the mobility of Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba to London and explored their different tactics of border crossing in the Schengen area and in the UK.

As I outlined at the beginning (Chapter 2), migrants do not flow from the departure place to the arrival one, they rather negotiate their movement through different social spaces, and that includes border controls. These negotiations are mainly based on the way they present themselves at the places where the mobility occurs. Migration is often a cunning movement that depends essentially on the ability of the traveller. Therefore, it does not follow a linear path and is not the same for every traveller. As my respondents shared, each migrant has a particular story that results in routes that are probably never repeated. This, in turn, makes it confusing for the border regimes looking for patterns of movement. Collecting and analysing each of these personal stories reveals the ingenuity of this movement between Brazil and the UK.

Although borders are improved daily to try and detect and remove migrants from the edges and inner territories, my study has revealed that migrants are still empowered social actors. The findings concur with studies which recognize that 'borderlands' are not impenetrable territories (Balibar 2010, Papadopoulos et al. 2008, Biao 2005; see also Perera 2009 and Khosravi 2010). They are rather composed of porosities that enable the mobility of overseas migrants into the countries. By porosities, I mean loosely patrolled borders such as the domestic flight connections between the Schengen area and UK airspace. They are gaps that give migrants the chance of playing certain characters with border agents. I also revealed that the negotiation between migrants and border officers is more personal and, in some cases, informal in these social spaces.

In turn, I have explored how Brazilians create these *tactics of border crossing* to provide mobility through the porosities of the Schengen area and the UK's inner borders. I have argued that these particular performances show us how migrants position themselves in the

negotiations with the border regimes. Each of these tactics empowers the migrant in the face of uncertainty. The aim is to convince the border agency that the particular traveller is in fact a tourist or an EU citizen, so the tactics of border crossing are essentially designed to mislead the border controls.

Skills and knowledge

My research has shown that the tactics of border crossing result from particular skills, practical knowledge about border policies, the way that border controls operate and how Brazilian migrants are treated abroad. The skills come from the personal experiences of long-term migrants who have lived abroad, and their exchange of knowledge with other migrants. Those people were defined in this study as the *border people*, key actors in the negotiation between migrants and borders. They sell these tactics of border crossing to migrants as their source of livelihood. I have shown that capturing the skills of border people is essential to migration studies in understanding how and why migrants use particular tactical border-crossing movements in order to disorient border controls.

Moreover, I revealed that migrants are skilled travellers who manipulate borders for their own sake. This study explored one type of border people in particular: travel agents, finding that in Alto Paranaiba some of the first returned migrants saw the opportunity to become travel agents and capitalize on their knowledge about how to travel abroad without being deported. The findings showed that these travel agents used the fact that countries in the Global North tend to welcome Brazilian tourists as they are seen as good consumers. Hence, travelling as a tourist became the main strategy for border-crossing designed by these border people, with tour packages being the main service provided by these travel agents.

In order to do this, travel agents have two particular skills that I defined as *technical skills* and *tactical skills* to cross the airport passport controls. *Technical skill* is the know-how that results from their business: knowledge about migration laws, ticket promotions, types of visas, passport and flight ticket issuing. The *tactical skills*, on the other hand, are understood in this study as being those resulting from the experiences these subjects had while living abroad.

Although the travel agents are crucial to the migration process performed by Brazilians from Alto Paranaiba, this study stresses that the migrants are still responsible for negotiating their own mobility with border controls in their day-to-day lives. My findings showed that the act of incorporating and acting-out characters is one of the tactical ways these Brazilians move through the border regimes. The migrants are the players who give life to the tactics developed by the skilled border people to explore border porosities.

Another point raised in this study is how both joyful and tragic episodes experienced by long-term migrants also feed the knowledge and skills explored in this thesis. In various parts of this thesis, I have shown how different personal stories of migration journeys are propagated among residents in both Alto Paranaiba and London. Among these, I highlighted those whose journeys brought material wealth and life experience or, in other cases, misery, deportation and even death. All these stories have gained life in the different countries where migration has taken place over the years. My interviews and casual conversations enabled me to detect how these oral vagaries and stories were very much present in the speech and, in some cases, the behavior of my respondents. Often I came across phrases such as "people always tell that story" or "everyone says that UKBA tackle illegal migrants in this way" used to elucidate the harsh border measures. It led me to wonder to what extent they had become legendary

'migration tales' with a strong capacity to shape the experiences of those getting ready to initiate their own journey or even the way respondents navigated around London.

Performance and improvisation

A migrant's ability to improvise can also make a difference in the negotiation with border controls. Unpredictable risks exist in the journey between Alto Paranaiba and London, and the Brazilians have to be ready to confront such difficulties. This shows that migration is not a type of mobility whose negotiation is based only on tactics prepared in advance or calculated risks. The ability to improvise also becomes important in the negotiation with border controls.

My study therefore emphasizes that the skills, along with the incorporation and performance of characters, and improvisation are important elements behind the tactics of border crossing to assure successful negotiation. The migrant is "always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized 'on the wing' [and…] must constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into 'opportunities'. The weak must continually turn to their own ends forces alien to them" (de Certeau 1997: xix). The particular tactics of border crossing behind the negotiation between Brazilians and the EU border regime – the Schengen Agreement and UK immigration policies – reveal in this study how migrants can be defined as genuine border choreographers.

However, such choreography is not only produced by premeditated or improvised actions. My findings also suggest that Brazilian migrants may not be fully aware of the types of surveillance technology or immigration policies employed at the border controls involved in

their negotiations. In this I also include the travel agents. Although EU borders have updated their mechanisms of control with high technology, which explores profiles through genetic factors such as fingerprints and eye scanning, and strict policies to manage net migration; the *modus operandi* of my respondents is still based on face-to-face negotiation (Curry 2004, Côté-Boucher 2008). My study reveals that the borders, their constraints, prohibitions and deportability in London are understood at a more grounded level among Brazilians. In the conversations and interviews, the borders were directly connected to stories about encounters with the UKBA and Home Office agents. There was little further reflection about UK policymakers and whose interests their political actions represent.

It would be a grave mistake to interpret this more *human relationship* that Brazilians establish with the borders outside the context of Brazil's historic inequalities of class and region in which these Brazilians are situated. Historically, the Brazilian state has largely identified with elite interests. It is ruled by a middle class of government bureaucrats, small business owners, and professionals, tied to the landowning and industrial elite by socialization and patronage (Souza 2010, 2011). One example is the treatment of the underclass in the Brazilian media. "Crime has become a media spectacle, while the violence lying at its roots is not discussed. Poverty has once again become an issue for policing, not for politics. The poor are considered responsible for their own lot" (Souza 2011:76). For these migrants who come from the countryside and have recently become a new consumer class, the state and its policies are part of a distant reality in their everyday lives. Through their social and cultural capital, these young migrants have learned not to depend on social policies, but on informal ties based on family and friendship. Their main contact with the Brazilian state occurs through the police force. It is not surprising, then, that most of the UK border reinforcement policies are ignored by them. For them, deportability and other forms of prohibition are seen as being generated

by the Home Office agents rather than by UK politicians supported by a percentage of the population who are against high immigration.

This thesis thus responds to calls for studies on how migrants negotiate their mobility with external and internal border controls. Migration is not only a matter of arriving in the place, but *how* and *why* such movement is performed, what social places and social actors are entangled in it and *what* type of negotiation they must exercise with the external and internal borders.

How borders work

External and internal borders and their *modus operandi* shape the lives of young Brazilian migrants in London. Negotiation with the borders is part of everyday life for these migrants. An important focus of my research, therefore, was looking at how external and internal borders work in the negotiation with the migrants. This provided the opportunity to understand why certain tactics of border crossing are designed and how the interaction between the Brazilians and the border regime produces a particular form of mobility. Borders produce a spectacle which "conjures up the fetish of transgression at the ever-multiplying points of interception in an amorphous border zone where migrant trajectories may be interrupted" at any time (De Genova 2013:10). It hence shapes migrants' lives as well as their mobility by obstructing, filtering, removing and threatening with the risk of deportability those who do not represent citizenship of the borders (Balibar 2010).

Airports in the Schengen area and UK space

My research showed that airports cannot be understood only through an elitist perspective that defines them as spaces of intense international circulation, and therefore, without deep meaning for those who frequent them (Auge 1995, Urry 2003). Rather, airports work with

predictable and unpredictable border activity. In the Schengen area and the UK, for instance, they are segmented social spaces where migrants have to follow predictable paths that enable surveillance apparatus to follow individuals over multiple lines of displacement, and verify their identities at various points along those lines (Dias 2015). To achieve this, a series of sign boards are strategically positioned to guide the travellers through the different surveillance devices across the airport. These are "seen as part of a practical relationship, as part of an interaction between 'subjects' and their space and surroundings" (Lefebvre 1991:18). The intention is to remove any potential travellers who can be identified as economic migrants.

A *SmartGate system* for passengers with e-passports, where a scanner and a camera check the biometric passports, speeds up the European queue, while the 'All other passports' group are submitted one by one to unpredictable interviews conducted by a border officer. Interviews present a confessionary aspect of the inspection upon arrival at a port of entry, "border apparatuses deploy spaces of examining and interrogating travellers, emphasizing gaze and inciting speech as means of surveillance" (Côté-Boucher, 2008: 145). Meanwhile 3D baggage scanners, metal detectors, and a team of detector dogs carefully check the arrivals luggage. I showed that in the case of Brazilians holding a non-EEA passport, it is necessary to be interviewed at the passport control desks in order to explain the real reasons for their visit and present papers justifying their answers.

The UK's inner borders

My study argued that the process of dealing with borders does not cease for those Brazilian migrants who manage to cross the UK airport border controls. They still have to deal with and struggle against the UK's inner borders, which shape the everyday lives of undocumented migrants. To support this argument I first looked at how the UK's inner borders work and

then the tactics of border-crossing designed and performed by undocumented Brazilian migrants. The literature on borders shows that the inner borders operate as a continuum of a process that starts at the external borders and follows the migrants into the country (Balibar 2010, Mezzadra and Neilson 2008, de Genova 2002). The UK's inner borders indeed permeate the social spaces that make up the everyday lives of undocumented Brazilians in London. Although scholars note that the internal borders are blurred and unpredictable, I have shown how the Brazilians in this research can still sense and identify them. The British immigration policy and its fickle but tough measures are identified in two ways: the British bureaucracy affecting access to public services, work posts or renting accommodation, and the 'Men in Black' patrolling the streets of the city. These two strategic UK immigration measures placed tough restrictions on the everyday lives of my respondents. Undocumented migrants are forced to forgo establishing emotional attachments to their homes or friends. Being without papers means living on the move, where everyone or everything is temporary and can be interrupted at any time

Before concluding the thesis, I want to show how some of the research respondents have evaluated the challenges of living in London. I believe that after the analyses of the migration process, the negotiation between borders and migrants, and the tactics of border crossing and how borders work, it is useful to return to the starting point and show how the journeys to the First World are understood by these travellers.

Weighing up the pros and cons of the 'First World'

Despite the fact that the Brazilians face numerous difficulties in London, these migrants still affirm that the chance of moving to and living in a multicultural metropolis such as London was a worthwhile experience. "That is something you will take with you for the rest of your

life. What I saw, lived and tried definitely shaped my life. I wouldn't be the same person, if I did not travelled to London…And nobody can take it from me", Pedro reflects about his journey to London. He lived in London for almost two years, and in this period he tried to "make some money, but also enjoy what that city could offer. […] pubs, music, different nationalities, the languages, the food and places to be visited". Pedro concludes that moving to and living in the 'First World' is a turning point in the lives of young people from Alto Paranaiba, who are searching "for more than jobs, marriage and the same everyday life that we have here". Sharing the same view, Valeria says that the chance to live in a city such as London where "you can find and co-exist with people from different races and learn about different cultures" is a unique experience that adds something else to people's lives. According to her, "it opens your mind and you start understanding different things, beliefs and customs that you would have never known if you had decided to stay there [in Alto Paranaiba]".

Moreover, the negotiation with the UK's inner borders and all the restrictions caused by them are also taken as learning experiences. Roberto, for instance, says that he considers the difficulties faced in London to be an important episode in his life. "After facing all the restrictions and fear in London, I can say that I am able to live in any other place in the world". For him, "London teaches us to become adults". Roberto adds that the time spent abroad living under tough conditions such as "dealing with the lack of papers, prohibition from accessing GPs or hospitals or working in types of jobs that are occupied only by poor migrants" is a crucial period in the lives of these young Brazilians. Therefore, he says that a migrant has to "watch his own path. Nobody else is going to hold your hand and guide you. You have to do it by yourself". These Brazilians who journey to the Global North not only define the cultural and social environment as elements that can transform their lives, they also

believe the challenges imposed by the UK's inner borders in their everyday lives is also important in this process of maturing while living abroad. As Roberto argues above, it is a maturity that can only be achieved by those who have had the chance to experience the various restrictions that the British inner borders impose on an undocumented migrant.

However, for some of these travellers the migration journey to the First World and the learning process ended tragically before they could return. While conducting my research, I learned stories of a few young Brazilians who had passed away in London. The pressure of working long hours associated with the fear of being caught by the "Men in Black" pushed these Brazilians to the limit. The inner borders can put stress on migrants, and in some cases these travellers are not physically or emotionally strong enough to bear it. Death permeates the migration journey experienced by these Brazilians and that brings us to an often ignored area that evidences the temporality behind migratory mobility. Decease "is a zone in which the very conditions of migration – movement, improvisation and uncertainty – meet the demands of one last journey into the unknown" (Gunaratnam 2013:12). The cemeteries of Tiros and Carmo do Paranaiba have migrants' bodies buried there. According to locals, they were mainly migrants who died abroad after long and exhausting working hours. The bodies are sent back to Alto Paranaiba with money collected by the local parish and fellow citizens living abroad[48].

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[48] The shuttle of the body is not funded by the Ministério das Relações Externas. According to its website, "If the family of the citizen do not have the resources to fund the shuttle (or cremation and transport of ashes), Consulates and Embassies provide the dispatch of death certificates which is free and registration of the burial site" (2012).

In Carmo do Paranaiba, for example, there is a particular case which is tragically highlighted by locals. It is the grave of Jorge, a 22-year-old who died in London in 2006. "You can go to the cemetery to see that. It is easy to find it", Guilherme comments. Jorge's grave is actually different from any other grave there. His parents built an "American House" on it – as my respondents refer to it (photo 7). That unusual grave actually causes confusion among the local inhabitants. Some people say that Jorge was living in the United States, while others suggest that his parents did not know the difference between the US and the UK. Gloria has the funeral letter, which was sent by relatives after Jorge's body was returned to Carmo do Paranaiba. His body returned to Alto Paranaiba and lies in an "American House". Like the American houses which flourish high above the ground level local houses in Tiros, his grave is also above the standard graves in that cemetery.

Close to his grave, there is also one where Marcelo is buried, a Brazilian whom I met in London, in 2008. It was at a farewell party for one of my Brazilian workmates, who was returning to Brazil, at Tiger-Tiger, a club situated close to Leicester Square. Marcelo was a courier. I remember he took a short break between one delivery and another and popped into the gathering. He spent most of his time talking with Claudio and Adriano. Marcelo was very keen to go back to Alto Paranaiba and start working in his garage, which had been built with money sent from London. However, six months later, I was informed that he had suffered a fatal heart attack. According to Claudio, Marcelo was riding his motorcycle when he had a sudden heart attack close to Trafalgar Square. According to Adriano and Claudio, he dropped down dead in the street. The news rapidly spread among Marcelo's fellow citizens in London and in Alto Paranaiba[49].

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[49] Renato, Marcelo's brother-in-law who was also living in London, was the first member of the family to be informed. After hearing the news, Renato himself decided to return to Alto Paranaiba. "That was enough. Seconds later you start measuring what really matters in your life. We had gone too far. It was time to come

Photo 4 – "The American House in the cemetery" as the locals call it.

Material goods, stories about living in a global city, maturing, money, narratives about borders and even the dead are some of the elements that these young Brazilians bring back to Alto Paranaiba, after returning to Brazil. As the first empirical chapter explored, Alto Paranaiba is a region embedded in practices of migration, and it populates the minds of the locals. Migration is visible in the stones of its houses, stores and cemeteries. After ten years of massive migration to London, the UK has become important to this Brazilian region. It not only gave an alternative migratory route for those young travellers who were prevented from migrating to the United States, but also forced them to adjust and improve established tactics of border-crossing movement with new patterns to succeed in the negotiation with different

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back…" he recalls while reflecting on their journey to London. However, going back to Brazil was a painful experience that took a while to complete. Renato had to face the challenge of sending his brother-in-law's body back to Brazil. Without any support from the Brazilian government, Marcelo's family had to count on help from the Catholic Parish in their home town as well as financial help from fellow citizens living in London and New Jersey, in the United States. After some weeks his family managed to bring Marcelo's body back to Alto Paranaiba, where it is buried.

border regimes. And this keeps migrants attuned to the utilization of new technologies employed at border controls. The tricky dialogue between border crossers and border regimes is constantly being updated.

Avenues for future research

My research constitutes a specific case study of border crossing within a particular migratory movement, between Alto Paranaiba and London. However, it also provides some important insights for the study of migration and borders, and illuminates a number of potential areas for research in a wider context. I briefly outline below some of the ways in which the insights from my study could be taken further, with implications for future academic researchers.

First, the Brazilians who were the focus of my study represent a small group of migrants from Alto Paranaiba who did not manage to enter the United States but neither wanted to migrate to Móstoles, in Spain. Future research could take a wider, comparative approach to these different migrant groups. Such studies could explore, for example, the characteristics of the Brazilian migrants who moved to the United States and Móstoles, what type of tactics of border crossing were created by these migrants to negotiate with different border regimes. A comparative approach that examines the role of Alto Paranaiba in relation to those three places would also be a fruitful direction for further research. It could examine, for instance, if there is any sort of exchange of subjects, goods and information between these three groups, without depending on Alto Paranaiba as a connection or redistribution place.

A second significant avenue for future research into migration and borders would be to explore the possible connections between the travel agents in Alto Paranaiba and travel agencies in other regions of Minas Gerais, where the migration industry is much more developed. In this thesis I argue that the first migrants from Alto Paranaiba, including those

who became travel agents, travelled to Europe and the United States through tour packages sold in Governador Valadares and Uberlandia. They are places which have sent Brazilians abroad from different parts of the country. Drawing on these insights, further inquiries could explore why the tactic of travelling as a tourist is the only tactic appropriated by travel agents in this thesis, and what are the other tactics of border crossing designed in Governador Valadares or Uberlandia. In this regard, future research could also explore in more depth if there is an exchange of knowledge and skills between Alto Paranaiba and these cities to improve such tactics. It certainly would contribute to an understanding of how tactics of border crossing are mutable and adjusted over the time.

Third, future studies could examine in more depth how the tactics of border crossing designed to negotiate with the UK's inner borders were developed, and if other strategies have been formulated to live and work in London. In the fieldwork conducted in London, I had the chance to live alongside migrants from different Brazilian regions who were also familiar with the three tactics of border crossing explored in this thesis. Some of them even mentioned that they had heard about such tactics before moving to the United Kingdom. Such research could, for instance, track and interview the first Brazilians of Alto Paranaiba who lived, or still live, in London, to examine how they learned about and acquired bogus documents in London, who were the sellers and the main buyers, and if such documents pursued EU citizenship from the beginning. Studies along such lines would also be important for a better understanding of the role of bogus documents for undocumented migrants to live and work in London in the 1990s, the period when Brazilians started to arrive.

My thesis reveals how migration is a process of negotiation. Thus it is a movement that cannot be simplified by hydraulic metaphors or focusing only on the departure and arrival

places, although this can form an important part of it. Rather, migration is closely related to how migrants cope with borders, and furthermore, how they employ skilled tactics to negotiate with them. In this regard, the skills, the tactics of border crossing and, therefore, the capacity to negotiate need to be seen as integral to, rather than separate from, the migrants' mobility. Borders and migrants, separately and in combination, represent multi-faceted elements of migration movement. A consideration of how migrants negotiate with borders in their everyday lives and in the places they move to has a wider scope than the migration itself, stretching far beyond what may be perceived as merely a movement, and the lives of the Brazilians in London.

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Appendix:

Short social biography of my main respondents:

name	age	gender	education qualification	occupation	period and place lived in abroad
Claudio	29	Male	Ensino Primário*	kitchen porter/ cleaner	2007-2014 (London/UK)
Lucio	35	Male	Ensino Médio**	bricklayer	2006-onwards (London/UK)
Rafael	24	Male	Ensino Médio	Mechanic	---------
Guilherme	34	Male	Ensino Médio	Journalist	---------
Gloria	50s	Female	Ensino Médio	saleswoman	---------
Adriano	30	Male	Ensino Médio	sous-chef /cleaner	2006-2013 (London/UK)
Denise	32	Female	Ensino Médio	house cleaner	2005-onwards (London/UK)
Valéria	34	Female	Ensino Superior***	unemployed	2003-onwards (London/UK)
Carolina	36	Female	Ensino Médio	house cleaner	2008-2012 (Charlotte/US)
Sara	31	Female	Ensino Médio	house cleaner	2000-2006 (Denver/US)
Milton	50s	Male	Ensino Médio	shop owner	---------
Gisele	32	Female	Ensino Médio	kitchen porter/ cleaner	2006-onwards (London/UK)
Pedro	28	Male	Ensino Médio	kitchen porter/ sous-chef	2008-2011 (London/UK)
Clarice	32	Female	Ensino Superior	travel agent	1995-1999 (Long Branch/US)
Romulo	36	Male	Ensino Médio	travel agent	1997-2000 (New York/US)
Laerte	42	Male	Ensino Médio	travel agent	1995-2000 (London/UK)
Paula	33	Female	Ensino Médio	house cleaner	1995-2000 (London/UK)
Mauro	36	Male	Ensino Médio	kitchen porter/ sous-chef	2006-2008 (London/UK)
Murilo	35	Male	Ensino Médio	cleaner	2007-2010 (London/UK)
Roberto	27	Male	Ensino Médio	kitchen porter	2007-2010 (London/UK)
Marcelo	30s	Male	Ensino Médio	courier	2005-2008† (London/UK)

Ensino Primário equivalent to Key Stages 1, 2 and 3
Ensino Médio equivalent to IGCSE
Ensino Superior equivalent to undergraduate degree level