

**Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Systems
(THEMIS)**

**The Evolution of Brazilian
Migration to the UK**

Scoping Study Report



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The quantitative picture was provided by the analysis of UK census data between 1901 and 2001, and Annual Population Surveys (2001–2007) using the country of birth variable.

Despite the widely available longitudinal quantitative data, there is not much research on Brazilians in the UK. **Mapping exercises** have so far been attempted by IOM in 2005, by Evans et al. in 2007 for the *Strangers into Citizens* campaign, and again by Evans in 2010 on the current sociological profile of Brazilian immigrants in London.¹ The surveys were not random. A monograph like that of Margolis (1998) *An Invisible Minority: Brazilians in New York City*, presenting the history and the presence of Brazilian migration in a particular destination locality is still non-existent for the UK context.

There have been a few studies which looked at Brazilian migrants via the **anthropological lens**; they looked into how Brazilian migrants perceive and structure their time (Cwerner 2001, and PhD Thesis); their language and identity (Souza 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010a,b); ethnic food and culinary culture (Aguiar 2009; Barcellos et al. 2009; Brightwell 2011); and psychological and psychoanalytical understandings of the Brazilian migration experience (Garcia 2000; 2002). Sheringham is currently looking into the role of religion in the everyday lives and imaginations of Brazilian migrants in London, and the ways in which it enables them to create or maintain links with ‘back home’ in Brazil within the paradigm of everyday transnationalism (PhD project, Queen Mary University, London).

The research on **undocumented Brazilian migrants** in the UK (London) was pioneered by Jordan and Düvell (2002) in *Irregular Migration: The Dilemmas of Transnational Mobility*. Their book compares the experiences of Brazilian, Polish and Turkish migrants – with the first group being particularly understudied in Britain. The authors try to understand why these migrants came to the UK, how they survive here, and the role of support organisations. More recently the topic of irregular Brazilian migration to London has been attempted by Bloch et al. (2009) in *No Right to Dream: The Social and Economic Lives of Young Undocumented Migrants in Britain*. The most recent mapping study by Evans et al. revealed that 53 per cent of all those Brazilian respondents who took part in their study shared the ‘visa expired’ immigration status (2007, p. 11). With no doubt therefore the topic of undocumented Brazilian migration to London is an important one, with some empirical attempts at its exploration, but significantly lacking any coherent theoretical analysis.

Due to the fact that the phenomenon of Brazilian migration to the UK is understudied, we primarily relied on first-hand experiences and interviews with community workers and Brazilian media experts during the scoping study. We interviewed: Carlos Mellinger from *Casa do Brasil* (a non-profit

¹ The data on the Profile of Brazilians in London A.D. 2010 based on the survey conducted by Dr. Yara Evans, Queen Mary University London, were not available at the time of publishing this report. An updated version is expected in March 2011.

immigration advice centre); Roberto Alves and Milena Alves, who run a website for Brazilians in the UK *Cha com Leite*; Rodrigo Lopes, an author and developer of *Lista Brazil* (a website where Brazilian entrepreneurs in London can advertise their businesses for free in English and Portuguese); Carmen Caberlon (*Dialogo Brasil* – a platform where different Brazilian organisations can meet and talk to each other – Carmen represents Naz Project London, which looks after sexual health and education); Marcello Mortimer (chief editor of *Brazilian News*, the second most popular Brazilian newspaper in London); and Francini Mendonça (Executive Director of *London Help 4 U*, a business establishment for immigration matters). We also contacted researchers on Brazilian immigration to the UK, Saul Cwerner, Olivia Sheringham, and Ana Souza (Dr Souza is a convener of the Brazilian Migration to the UK Research Group at Goldsmiths College in London), and they expressed their interest in and availability to help with our project. We did not manage to speak to the director of ABRAS, the largest Brazilian organisation in London (however, we did manage to make some links), or the Chief Editor and owner of *Leros* (the oldest Brazilian magazine in London). However, these organisations were included in the mapping exercise, and contacts for further potential research have been established.

1. Theoretical Framework of THEMIS

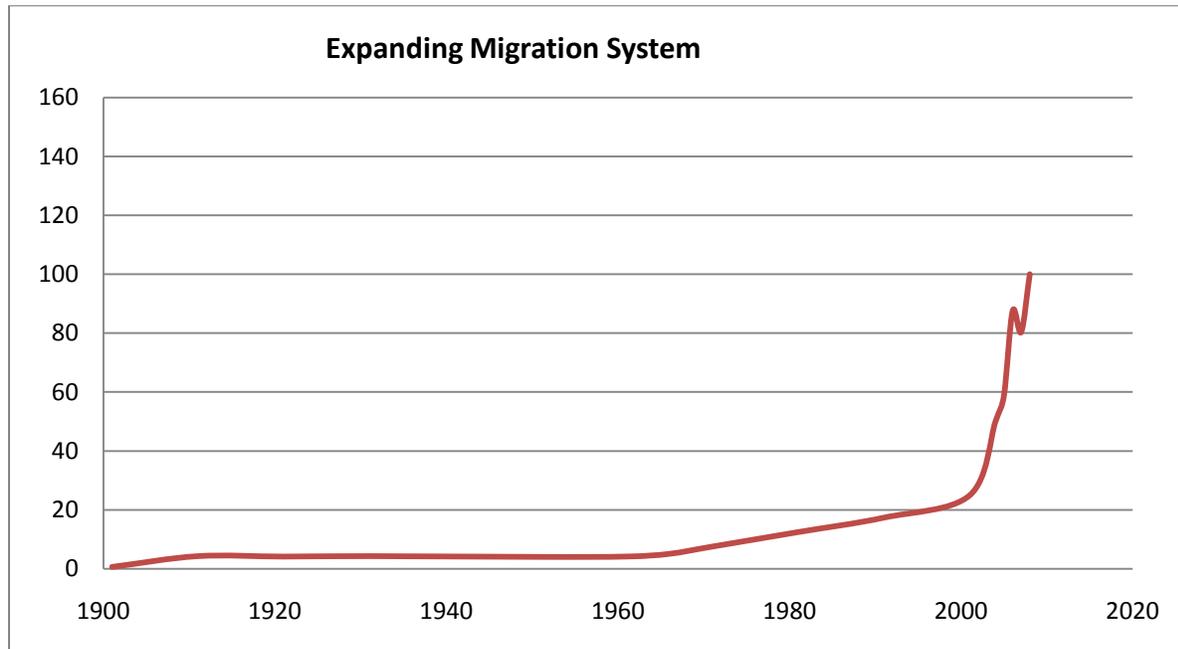
Unlike the other THEMIS Scoping Study countries (e.g. Ukraine or Morocco), where the available census data starts from a particular year and does not tell us anything about the history of migration prior to this date (suggesting that migration was non-existent and making us rely on qualitative or historical accounts), the data with regard to Brazil is longitudinal. It dates back to 1901.

There is however another problem, concerning the reliability of the data. The census and Annual Population Surveys give the figures for Brazilians who are legally resident in the UK (born in Brazil); however, with such a large scale of irregular or undocumented migration (cf. Cwerner 2001, Evans et al. 2007; Bloch et al. 2009; and Scoping Study Interviews 2010), the data seriously misrepresent the actual numbers of Brazilians in the UK.

One thing is however worth noting: while the numbers might be wrong, the general migration trend curve (with acceleration of migration from the 1990s onwards) might still hold true (and has been largely confirmed in the interviews, and other qualitative sources).

As we can see from Chart 1 overleaf, Brazilian migration to the UK has been expanding since the 1990s and particularly accelerated in the 2000s. The most recent official figures reveal that in 2008 the number of Brazilian-born persons in the UK was estimated at around 56,000 (Annual Population Survey).

Various other sources demonstrate how highly inaccurate this picture may actually be. While the census of 2001 enumerated just over 8,000 Brazilians in London, the unofficial estimates at that time indicated that they might number anything from 15,000 to 50,000 people (Cwerner 2001).

Chart 1: Brazilians in the UK, Source: Census Data, Annual Population Survey (Indexed, 2008 = 100, 2008 = ~56,000)

In 2007 UK-based Brazilian organisations and analysts estimated the community size to be around 200,000 in the whole of the UK. The majority of these people (between 130,000 and 160,000) were based in London (Evans et al. 2007, p. 5). Out of this number 30,000 Brazilians lived in the London borough of Brent.

Three years on (2010), and the figures we received are as follows: 150,000–200,000 Brazilians in Greater London; 250,000 Brazilians in the whole of the UK (interviews 2010). The most recent UK figures on flows (2007–2010) reveal that Brazilians continue to come to the UK, yet at a lower rate (decline). In 2007 and 2008, there were 7,040 and 7,715 entry clearances granted, respectively. In 2009 only 5,880 Brazilians were allowed to enter the UK, and in the first quarter of 2010 only 1,275 Brazilians were admitted (Office for National Statistics 2010).²

The clustering of Brazilians in London has also undergone some changes. Brazilians once popular around Seven Sisters in North London moved in the 1980s to Bayswater in Central London (then referred to as *Brazilwater*).

As of the first decade of the 2000s, Brazilians could be found everywhere in London (interview with Ana Souza): Hammersmith houses many Brazilian students; in Islington, Euston, Brent, Haringey, Hackney, Harrow, Lambeth and Hounslow³ Brazilian economic migrants and their ethnic businesses are particularly visible. Whitechapel may not have a big Brazilian presence in terms of businesses and

² This last figure is the lowest, in terms of the first quarter, during the last three years. The numbers for the first quarter are: 2007 – 1,590, 2008 – 1,940, 2009 – 1,605 (Source: Office for National Statistics 2010).

³ Hounslow due to its proximity to Heathrow airport, and an availability of jobs in services (interview 1, 2010).

schools, but the religious life takes place predominantly there. Stockwell in South London is thought to have another sizeable population of Brazilians (Evans et al. 2007, p. 5)

Trends and Types of Migration

While conducting the Scoping Studies for all shortlisted countries, we discovered a certain paradox. The lack of quantitative data on the migratory movements between e.g. Bangladesh and the UK, and between Morocco and the UK beyond a certain date, was usually compensated by the availability of historical and other resources which helped to cast some light on the past trends and types of migration. With respect to Brazil, we have an almost complete series of quantitative data; however there is no written evidence on the history of Brazilian migration to the UK.

This section of the Brazilian Scoping Study report is therefore solely based on the information received during the interviews.⁴ As a result it is incomplete and, due to heavy reliance on personal memories, it takes us back only to the 1960s.

Our interviewees could recall that the period of military dictatorship in Brazil (1964–1985) resulted in thousands of Brazilians being deported, imprisoned or tortured. Official censorship also led many artists into exile. Some of those émigrés who left (or were forced to leave) Brazil have sought asylum in the UK. One of them was Caetano Veloso, a composer, singer, guitarist, writer, and political activist whose leftist political stance earned him the enmity of Brazil's military dictatorship. He was forced to seek refuge in London between 1969 and 1972. When Caetano was asked about his experience there he said: 'London felt dark, and I felt far away from myself' (Pareles 1992). Nonetheless among the present-day Brazilians in London he is remembered for his famous song 'London, London' describing the serenity of the city in the late 1960s, its calmness, politeness, as well as strangeness and isolation due to the lack of any fellow Brazilians:

I'm wandering round and round nowhere to go

I'm lonely in London and London is lonely so

I cross the streets without fear

Everybody keeps the way clear

I know, I know no one here to say hello

(Veloso, London London)

This source, although peculiar, and non-academic in its nature, nevertheless enables us to observe that in the late 1960s and early 1970s there were very few Brazilians in London. They mainly consisted of political asylum seekers who fled Brazil during the times of its authoritarian regime. Their numbers, according to the available census data, oscillated between 2,000 and 4,000 in the whole of the UK. The

⁴ More research into the historical aspects of immigration from Brazil to the UK is definitely needed. Many may therefore consider this section as incomplete, and we acknowledge this.

accounts of loneliness and isolation found in the works of Veloso might well suggest that the Brazilians were dispersed all over England, with few personal links, and no organisations which could represent their interests and respond to their needs.

This is very different from the contemporary presence of Brazilians in London. Common knowledge has it that a Brazilian can be 'found' in every coffee shop, in every office (during the cleaning hours), in every kitchen, in every restaurant. One of our interviewees, who due to her company profile has first-hand experience of many contemporary Brazilian migrants in London, recalls: *'Out of all the places I recently went to dine in the Ivy, one of the most exclusive and expensive restaurants in London. And fair enough, I found three Brazilians working there. Go to the kitchens, you will definitely find Brazilians there'* (interview 2, 2010).

The situation as remembered by Veloso changed in the 1980s, but the number of migrants did not increase at that time to the scale that is observable today. One of the interviewees, Patricia⁵ (female, 40 years old), who lived in London in the second half of the 1980s, remembers that there was a sizeable Brazilian community, yet the ties were stronger and 'everybody seemed to know everybody' (interview 6, 2010). This characteristic, stressing personal ties and face-to-face contacts, suggests that the Brazilian community in London could not have been particularly large. The official figures of the 1980s record numbers between 7,000 and 9,500.

At that time the Brazilian migrant community mostly consisted of students, or young people who came to the UK for a couple of years to learn English and 'to see the world'. *'It was part of our growing up experience. Money was important, but not to the extent it is now. Now everybody seems to work, work and work'* (interview 6, 2010). This was also confirmed by other female interviewee experiences of London in the 1990s: *'There were mostly students coming here, for a short period. They would stay in London, learn English, and then perhaps travel a bit around Europe. Then go home, to Brazil'* (interview 2, 2010).

When Patricia returned to the UK in the early 2000s she remembers how everything, including the size of the Brazilian community, had changed: *'you could hear Brazilian everywhere. There are Brazilians everywhere. The personal close ties are no longer there. But nowadays there are many more organisations where Brazilians can turn for institutional help'* (interview 6, 2010). Another female interviewee, who works with the Brazilian community in London, estimates that the numbers of Brazilians increased 1000 per cent throughout the 2000s (interview 2, 2010).

The change in the scale and the profile of migration became particularly noticeable from 2002 onwards. It was a time of economic crisis in Brazil (interview 2, 2010); many Brazilians were therefore emigrating. They came to the UK to find work and earn money. They worked on farms but also in services (restaurants, bars, coffee shops, cleaning).

Many of the interviewees pointed to the change in US immigration policy after 9/11 to explain why there was such an increase in Brazilian immigration to the UK over the course of the 2000s. The USA has

⁵ Name changed.

been the traditional destination for economic migration from Brazil (cf. Margolis 1998), and it has restricted its immigration policies resulting in greater securitisation and criminalisation of migration (being an 'illegal' immigrant in the USA is a felony according to US immigration law).

As the channel of economic (largely irregular, cf. Margolis 1998) migration to the USA became severely restricted, many Brazilians might have well decided to embark on the journey across the Atlantic in order to fulfill their economic needs. Many sources (Jordan and Düvell 2002; Evans et al. 2007; Margolis 1998; as well as the interviews) indeed point to the fact that the nature of Brazilian migration has changed. **Most recent migration of Brazilians to the UK is economically driven** (cf. the data on labour force status below). Nonetheless the **major legal channels of entry have remained student and tourist visas** (invariably throughout the 1990s and 2000s – interview 2, 2010).

The most recent economic downturn (the 2007–2009 recession) on the one hand saw many Brazilians leaving the UK (interview 2, 7, 2010). Those who had been living in the UK for the last five or six years, often with expired visas and undocumented immigration status, saw their return to Brazil as the only response to the tightening of immigration controls (i.e. the introduction of the Points-Based System and the 2006 Immigration and Nationality Act) and to the frequent deportations, which they learned about by word of mouth.

On the other hand, the reduction of the value of the British pound in relation to the Brazilian Real might have made many other Brazilians more determined to stay longer in order to achieve their economically driven aims of migration. Other community workers observed that although indeed there was a decrease in the rate of Brazilian newcomers to the UK, those who 'make it' are more determined to stay: *'Many Brazilians come here with a certain goal – to earn enough to buy a car, to buy a flat, to build a house, to support their families financially – all these back in Brazil. They come with the idea to earn and save money. The fact that the pound is now worth less than it was when they arrived doesn't mean that Brazilians go back. On the contrary, instead of three years they will stay here four, five, seven years. Whatever it takes...'* (interview 1, 2010).

Current Trends – Diversification

The sheer volume of Brazilian migration to London demonstrates that throughout the 1990s and 2000s 'to emigrate' has become a much more accessible and popular livelihood strategy for many Brazilians. It is no longer exclusively the experience of political opposition or artists (1960s, 1970s), nor can it only be pursued by young, independent, single people such as students or business people (1980s). Although it is still predominantly young people who decide to migrate (as the statistics reveal), it is more common to see among them single mothers (with or without their children) or fathers providing for their families back in Brazil (Carlisle 2006), from many different regions of the country, smaller towns and big cities. One of our interviewees observed that with the rise of migration from Brazil since 2002 there were entire Brazilian families who embarked on the decision to migrate to the UK: *'They would have sold their houses, their boats, their flats, and with the help of their friends or immigration brokers moved to the UK.'* (interview 2, 2010).

The diversification of immigration from Brazil is perhaps not that difficult to explain, as Brazil is very diverse. It experienced immigration from Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly to the south of the country (to the states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Parana – see Map 1). Now the descendants of Portuguese, Spanish, Italian and German settlers look back to their roots and many use their European link to come to the UK. There are business establishments in London (such as London Help 4 U) which specialise in documenting the European ancestry of many Brazilian immigrants and help them apply for EU citizenship. Obtaining an EU passport results in legal residence and unrestricted employment in the UK.

However, migration to the UK is also part of a livelihood strategy for many ‘native’ Brazilians. For example, regions in the north-east of Brazil, where between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries slaves were brought from Africa in order to work on sugar-cane plantations, are now also sending migrants to the UK. So is Minas Gerais and the relatively poorer states of the central west region of Brazil, such as Goiás (evidence from the interviews 2010).

This corresponds with recent observations that UK immigration has also become much more diverse. Since the early 1990s the UK has experienced a new immigration flow that – contrary to that of the post-war years – is mostly from non-Commonwealth countries. Vertovec (2006) observed that the UK is increasingly characterised by: a sizeable migrant population from developing countries with no direct colonial link to the UK; a greater linguistic diversity (over 300 languages spoken in London); a proliferation of ‘new’ immigrant groups (e.g. Brazilians, Colombians, etc.) alongside large and longstanding ‘ethnic communities’; a more fluid duration and greater variety of legal statuses; and the sustenance of greater transnational connections (social, religious, political etc.) on the part of migrants.

This emerging scenario suggests that it is no longer appropriate to treat the UK as a ‘post-immigration’ country as much research and policy-making activity has been doing (Pero 2007). The UK is a country of new immigrations – like Italy or Spain – but with a greater pre-existing ethno-cultural heterogeneity. This development in British society has been named by Vertovec as ‘super-diversity’ (2006).

Quantitative Picture

We have already discussed the problems there are with the quality of quantitative data, and whether the figures reflect the real situation (especially when contrasted with ‘on the ground’ evidence from Brazilian community workers and experts). Despite the huge difference in the estimated *number* of Brazilians, the *trend* represented by the data and agreed by the experts, seems to be largely shared.

There is a **consensus that Brazilian immigration to the UK is expanding** (or has been over the last two decades of the 1990s and 2000s). Where the official data significantly differs from the unofficial estimates is on the **speed of that expansion**.

It is therefore possible to assume that the expanding trend – as a largely shared observation – corresponds with the demographic profile of Brazilians represented in the available data. In other words, while the numbers might be wrong, the proportions and relations they indicate might well be representative of the Brazilian community in the UK.

The age structure of Brazilians, according to the census data (2001), revealed that 78 per cent of the Brazilian-born population in the UK was below 44 years old (between 15 and 44 years).

Map 1: Brazil, Administrative Divisions, Source: Wikimedia Commons



Chart 2: Age structure of Brazilian-born persons in the UK, Source: OECD, Census 2001

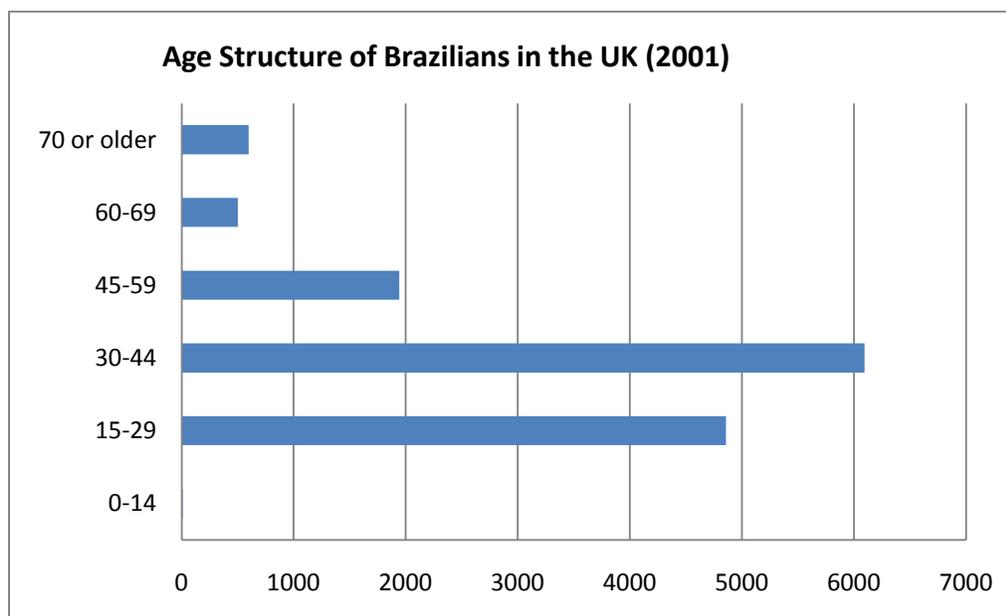


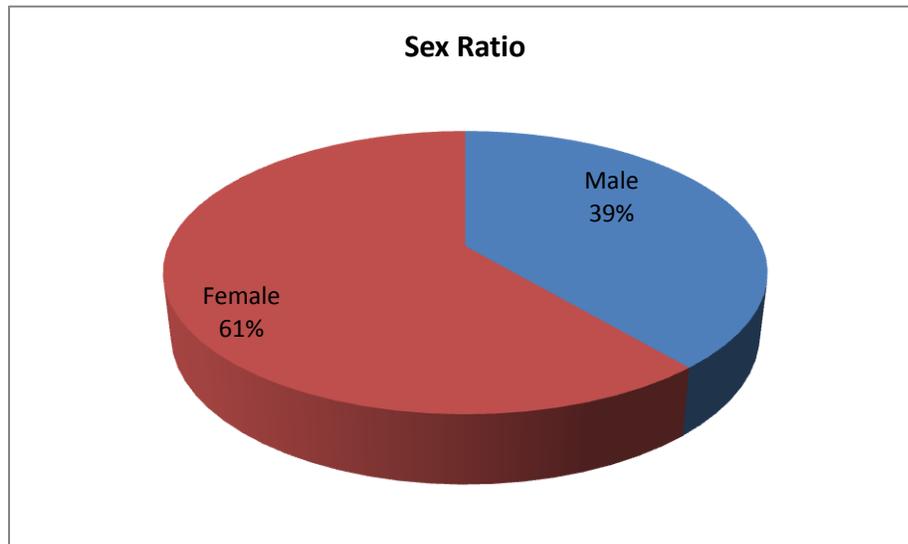
Table 1: Brazilian-born persons in the UK, Source: Census 2001, Annual Population Survey

Year	Number	Source
1901	392	Census Data
1911	2433	Census Data
1921	2353	Census Data
1931	2439	Census Data
1951	2289	Census Data
1961	2361	Census Data
1966	2880	Census Data
1971	4254.6	Census Data
1981	7003.8	Census Data
1991	9753	Census Data
2001	13992	Census Data (OECD)
2004	28000	Annual Population Survey (Estimates)
2005	33000	Annual Population Survey (Estimates)
2006	49000	Annual Population Survey (Estimates)
2007	45000	Annual Population Survey (Estimates)
2008	56000	Annual Population Survey (Estimates)

This was largely confirmed in the mapping exercise prepared by Evans et al. (2007) for the *Strangers into Citizens Campaign*. The survey data they gathered over the course of 2006 revealed that 82 per cent of their respondents were below 40 years old.

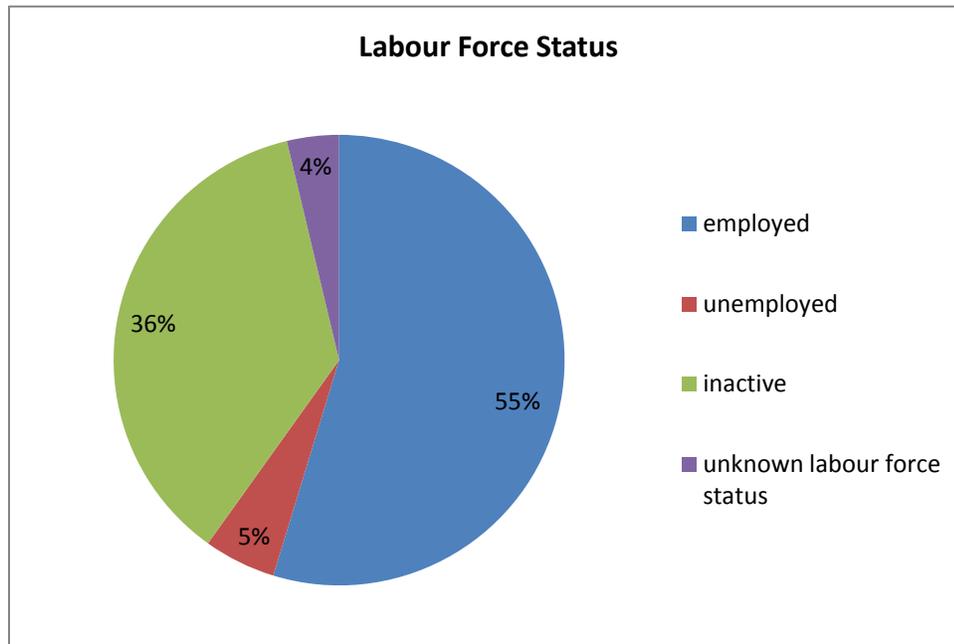
The 2001 census reveals a significant feminisation of immigration from Brazil (61 per cent women, and 39 per cent men). This was again confirmed by Evans et al. (2007), and re-affirmed qualitatively by Carlisle (2006).

Chart 3: Sex ratio of Brazilian-born persons in the UK, Source: OECD, Census 2001



As far as the labour force status is concerned, in 2001 Brazilians came to the UK mostly to find work (55 per cent). This could have been an indicator of the expansion of economic migration throughout the 1990s. This is again in line with what the other sources have suggested. Margolis (1998) reported that economic and professional considerations had motivated some two-thirds of those surveyed to leave Brazil and seek their fortunes in the USA. An uncertain economic future in Brazil, along with the prospect of being able to earn and save abroad had combined to produce what Margolis (1998, p. 12) termed a 'What have I got to lose?' alternative for many Brazilians. For the UK, Jordan and Düvell (2002) found that Brazilians had been motivated to come to London by economic gain, and also the desire to acquire knowledge or to gain experience. In the survey by Evans et al. (2007), 49.4 per cent of the respondents indicated that they came to the UK to study (with the idea of working) or (openly) to work and save money.

With regard to the THEMIS theoretical framework, the numerous sources point to a conclusion that Brazilians in the UK is **an expanding migration**. The picture is however in many places unclear due to the scarcity of empirical evidence (no randomly sampled survey, only small-scale qualitative evidence). THEMIS empirical research tools therefore provide a unique opportunity to gather more data and analyse more in-depth the relatively recent phenomena of Brazilian migration to the UK.

Chart 4: Labour force status of Brazilian-born persons in the UK, Source OECD, Census 2001

2. Policy Changes

As already noted in Section 1, the qualitative evidence gathered from the interviews has it that the few Brazilians who migrated to the UK in the 1960s were asylum seekers. There is limited documentation of the history of refugees and asylum seekers in London, and it is therefore impossible to provide a comprehensive overview of refugee migration to the city, although London was definitely the place where the majority of them would stay. Much of the literature provides a national perspective of the history; London-specific references have been extracted from the national context to provide the basis for much of this piece (Price 2006). Price observes that much of the literature focuses on the settlement of specific national or ethnic groups, and some groups – like Brazilians – are under-researched, if not left out altogether; this is particularly true for newer refugee movements.

1960s: British Asylum Policy

The notion of 'asylum' or 'refuge' has existed in the UK since the Middle Ages, yet those who we would today call 'refugees' were subsumed under the generic term 'alien' well into the twentieth century. The 1905 Aliens Act was the first piece of legislation to enshrine the concept of asylum in British law, although neither this term nor 'refugee' were stated in the statute (Price 2006). The 1914 and 1919 Acts were attempts to control entry, facilitated by the introduction of passports. The coupling of direct and indirect surveillance (customs officials and frontier guards, plus the central co-ordination of passport information) becomes one of the distinctive features of the nation-state.

No legal category of a refugee existed until the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees, and no formalised asylum system was established until 1993; hitherto asylum had been dealt with under immigration laws. Admission of refugees meant in practice that they were 'left alone' and not expelled or forced to leave the country. Nonetheless, the practice of granting refuge was commonplace, although the numbers arriving were relatively few and no well-defined criteria applied to those seeking asylum (Stevens 2004).

The immigration policy of that time stated that when an asylum applicant was successful, the residence permit was issued for an initial period of five years ('leave to remain'). When an applicant was not recognised as a refugee or as in need of humanitarian protection s/he could still be given a temporary residence permit ('discretionary leave to remain'). During this time, s/he could not travel to the country of origin. Limited leaves to remain, if criteria are met, can eventually be translated into an indefinite leave to remain (ILR), which is a permission to stay and settle down permanently in the UK (UKBA 2010a).

Asylum in Britain has always been granted at the discretion of the Home Office, and is therefore susceptible to the whims of the holder of that office and to the government of the day. Shifts in public opinion towards refugees can quickly result in new legislation and influence the implementation of asylum policy. Gradually, the modern practice of asylum, recognising the territorial integrity of states and the right to control entry to one's territory, was recognised as the norm: no state had the right to enter another state in pursuit of a fugitive (cf. Schuster 2002).

1980s: Policy paradox

It was in the 1980s when the profile of Brazilian immigration to the UK changed. From the few political asylum seekers in the 1960s and 1970s, it was now mostly students, entrepreneurs and workers who became more and more visible. The decade of the 1980s (particularly its second half) therefore presents a certain paradox. While **the general trend in British immigration policy was towards restricting immigration** and 'closing the gates' (especially with respect to 'traditional' sending countries), **Brazil made steps towards the liberalisation of emigration policy for its citizens.**

The British focus on New Commonwealth immigration could perhaps be held responsible for the UK's 'ignorance' (in the context of respective immigration policy) of the migration flows from new sending countries, like Brazil. This observation has many important consequences especially in the light of the hypothesis that it was the more intensified flows (of students, and 'economic' pioneers) in the late 1980s which gave rise to the current volumes of Brazilian migrants in Britain.

The developments in immigration law in Britain in the 1980s and 1990s reflected the battle between the exclusionary imperatives of immigration policy regarding the poor countries of the world, on the one hand, and the humanitarian imperatives of international human rights law on the other (Macdonald and Toal 2010). Visa controls (introduced for Commonwealth citizens in 1986) and carrier sanctions (1987

Immigration (Carriers' Liability) Act)⁶ were thus calculated to stop refugees and others arriving in Europe. British immigration policy since the 1980s has severely restricted the legal channels of admittance of refugees and asylum seekers from the 'traditional' refugee sending countries. As a result, the new immigrant groups started becoming more noticeable on the British map.

The work permit system was formalised in the 1980s, with set criteria for gaining a work permit based on local labour market conditions. However, as Somerville observed, it was barely changed from the system that had operated in the period 1948–1976, with the 1971 Immigration Act as the cornerstone of this policy (Somerville 2007, p. 20). A work permit was a strict entry requirement for alien workers. Alien dependent spouses and children had to present proof that they were married or related to the permit holder, and a proof of the primary worker's ability to support them so that they did not become a burden on public funds. Alien dependent spouses had no right of settlement, but could be temporarily admitted for the same period as the primary workers (with no right to work). Alien dependent children were denied the right of settlement, and could be considered only as conditional residents up to the age of 18 if they were joining both parents. Those between the ages of 18 and 21 were only allowed to join their parents in exceptional circumstances. Under the legislation other alien dependants (i.e. parents over 60 and other 'distressed' dependants) could not be admitted to the UK until the head of the family gained full residency rights.

In the 1990s and 2000s the work permit scheme brought with it a strong labour market test, if employers wanted to employ a migrant from outside the resident workforce (UK, or European Economic Area – EEA) for a job that was not on the list of shortage occupations. The job vacancy must have been advertised to settled workers. If the salary was £40,000 or under, the job must be advertised for a minimum of two weeks. If the salary was over £40,000, the job must be advertised for a minimum of one week.⁷

From the Brazilian perspective, the political situation made emigration a more widely accessible experience. During the authoritarian rule in Brazil it was very difficult to obtain a passport and permission to leave the country (interview 1, 2010). Before departure one had to pay a high amount of levy to the state authorities as a 'guarantee' of one's return. There were fewer airlines in operation, therefore the voluntary emigration experience, particularly to Europe, could have been enjoyed only by

⁶ More significantly, the **1987 Immigration (Carriers' Liability) Act** meant that carriers (particularly airlines) were liable to civil penalties if they carried passengers who did not have a valid visa to come to the UK. The strategy behind these Acts was to extend UK borders beyond the existing physical borders of the sea, sharing the responsibility for control with carriers (Somerville 2007, p. 19). As a result, airlines would not sell tickets to those without visas. Thus the trade in false passports and documents began, as well as the trafficking trade, which many of the laws of the 1990s and the early years of the twenty-first century have dealt with.

⁷ The job must be advertised according to the code of practice specific to the sector and job. Each code of practice explains: a/ the skilled jobs at National or Scottish Vocational Qualification (NVQ or SVQ) level 3 or above in each occupation that sponsors are allowed to issue a certificate of sponsorship for; b/ the minimum appropriate salary rates, as defined by the 25th per centile of the Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE) or by an alternative code of practice; c/ the acceptable media and methods for meeting the resident labour market test. If there is no code of practice for the sector or job at the time of advertising, the employer must advertise the job using Jobcentre plus.

a 'chosen' few (usually known to the authorities). On the other side of the coin of emigration were the politically persecuted persons who were forced to go into exile.

In 1985 Brazil returned to civilian rule. In the democratic processes of liberalisation, the state policy towards its citizens who wanted to leave the country also changed. It became easier to emigrate, passports became more popular, and the state no longer required people to leave a substantial financial deposit. Economic liberalisation contributed to the fact that the travel infrastructure improved greatly – the number of airlines, travel agencies, and visa facilitation services has mushroomed since the late 1980s (interview 5, 2010). English, as a language, has an important place in the national educational curriculum; it has also become more widely taught in numerous private schools in bigger towns and cities (interviews 3,4, 2010).

1990s and 2000s: Managed Migration Approach and Points-Based System

With regard to immigrants from Brazil, the last three immigration acts – the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act, the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act, and the 2006 Immigration and Nationality Act – present a compilation of different measures, but have at their heart four main themes:

- a) tidying up measures
- b) removing and restricting rights of appeal (in an event of denial of entry)
- c) creating a new system of employer sanctions to stop illegal working by migrants
- d) monitoring, surveillance, and more co-ordinated policing of migrants old and new on the basis of seeking out crime, people smuggling and terrorism, and collecting vast new databases on all third-country nationals (i.e. those who are not British or European Economic Area [EEA] citizens) (Macdonald and Toal 2010).

In practical terms under the Labour Government (1997–2010) the changes in immigration policy resulted in:

- 1) **tightening of immigration controls**
- 2) **selective admission focused solely on highly skilled migrants and migrants with skills that are in deficit in the UK**
- 3) severe **limitations in legal channels of entry for low-skilled** migrants from outside the EEA
- 4) access to labour market by students limited to 20 hours per week
- 5) **unlimited access** to labour market by spouses of primary workers (usually admitted under the Work Permit or Highly Skilled Migrant Programme [HSMP] schemes, since June 2008 – Tier 1 and Tier 2).

A particularly important aspect of British immigration policy was encapsulated in the White Paper 'Fairer, Faster and Firmer: A Modern Approach to Immigration and Asylum' (Home Office 1998), which led to the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act. Cohen (1997, p. 134) argues that the 1999 Act represents 'what is probably the greatest tightening of controls since 1905', with the significantly extended use of civil and criminal sanctions in immigration matters. This included expanding existing offences of entering

the country by deception, sanctions on carriers, particularly road hauliers, and greater policy powers, including the use of force for immigration officers.

Further changes – departing from a sole focus on restrictions and reattaching economics to migration policy – took place with the 2002 White Paper ‘Secure Borders, Safe Havens: Immigration with Diversity in Modern Britain’ (Home Office 2002). The year 2002 also saw the introduction of the **Highly Skilled Migrant Programme (HSMP)** – an attempt to direct admission for residence with the prospect of settlement only towards highly skilled migrants.

As a result, in the HSMP programme, in contrast to the existing work permit scheme, the applicant did not require a job offer to apply under the highly skilled worker category. Applicants were awarded points based on their qualifications, previous earnings, UK experience, age, English language skills, and available maintenance (funds). The HSMP did not attract a labour market test before the admission of a migrant to the UK. There were also other routes developed to attract skilled labour into the UK (e.g. business people; Fresh Talent: Working in Scotland; innovators; International Graduates Scheme; investors; writers, composers and artists). There were also separate schemes in place for temporary workers (e.g. au pairs, voluntary workers or working holiday makers).

These changes reflected the broader turn in EU migration policy with the decision at the European Council in Tampere, 1999, to develop a common EU migration and asylum policy. In its communication on a Community Immigration Policy (COM (2000) 757) of November 2000, the European Commission explicitly proposed abandoning the zero immigration policies of the past 30 years. Instead, new immigration policies would be devised with which to better regulate migration through orderly and regular channels that were themselves responsive to labour market needs, reflecting the realities of labour market demand for immigrant workers and continuing migration pressures from the developing world and demographic trends in European countries, particularly declining birth rates and ageing populations (Pellegrino 2004, p. 8).

The developments in Labour’s third term continued along the same policy line, with the five-year departmental plan on asylum and immigration entitled ‘Controlling our Borders: Making Migration Work for Britain’ (Home Office 2005a). The five-year plan was followed by a major consultation on the detail of economic migration: ‘Selective Admission: Making Migration Work for Britain’ (Home Office 2005c), and the following year by a policy plan and introduction (since 2008): ‘**A Points-Based System: Making Migration Work for Britain**’ (Home Office 2006). These policy changes are important from the perspective of new Brazilian migrants to the UK. The Highly Skilled Migrant Programme was discontinued on 29 June 2008, and was replaced by Tier 1 (General) Highly Skilled Worker Programme (operating on generally the same bases as the pilot HSMP). The General Work Permit Scheme was suspended on 29 June 2008 and replaced by Tier 2 (General), embracing people coming to the UK with a skilled job offer to fill a gap in the workforce that cannot be filled by a settled worker. Tier 2 also embraces ministers of religion, intra-company transfers and sports persons. For an explanation of further Tiers see Table 2.

Table 2: Explanation of New Points-Based System

New Tier system	Old system	Implementation date
Tier 1: highly skilled workers e.g. professors, scientists and researchers	Highly Skilled Migrant, graduate schemes, business persons and investors	Programme Active from 29 June 2008
Tier 2: skilled workers with a job offer	Work Permit Holder	Programme Active from 29 June 2008
Tier 3: low skilled workers filling specific temporary labour shortages	<i>Working temporarily in the UK undertaking low-skilled work</i>	<i>Currently not in use</i>
Tier 4: students	Student wishing to study in the UK	Scheduled for end of March 2009
Tier 5: youth mobility & temporary worker: people allowed to work in the United Kingdom for a limited period of time to satisfy primarily non-economic objectives	Working holiday makers, training and work experience permits, youth mobility and temporary workers for example musicians coming to play in a concert or sportspersons.	Active from 27 November 2008

The managed migration approach under Labour did not intend any quotas or caps of non-EEA nationals admitted to the UK (including Brazilian nationals). With the change of government in April 2010, the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Government announced the introduction of caps for non-EEA nationals, administered on a monthly basis by the UK Border Agency. The interim cap for Tiers 1 and 2 came into effect on 19 July 2010 and is to last until March 2011. After this, the Government proposes to introduce, following consultation, the final system (UKBA 2010d).

As a result of these new legislations, Brazilians who wish to undertake any forms of paid employment in the UK need to apply for entry clearance (visa) either under the Tier 2 (previously Work Permit Scheme), or the Tier 1 (previously Highly Skilled Migrant Programme).

Another way for Brazilians to come to the UK in the 1990s and 2000s was on a Student Visa. Many would register with the help of a local (to Brazil) agency for an English course in London. The course had to run during the week and involve at least 15 hours of organised daytime study a week (UKBA 2008). It had to be offered either by a publicly funded institution of further or higher education (a university) with maintained records of enrolment and attendance; a genuine private education institution; or an independent fee-paying school. The student had to be registered with the UK awarding body if s/he wanted to pursue a degree at a private education institution. The student also had to be able to demonstrate the ability to pay for the fees and accommodation for him or herself and any dependants, without full-time work or help from public funds (UKBA 2008).

Coming to the UK as a student would allow Brazilians to work for 20 hours a week for the duration of their course. This Student Visa was discontinued in 2008 and replaced by Tier 4 – Students within the Points-Based System. This means tighter immigration checks and the necessity to apply for a Student Visa from Brazil. Under the new system, colleges and universities who wanted to teach non-EEA

nationals must have obtained a licence issued by the UK Border Agency. Only licensed institutions could then sponsor non-EEA students to come to study in the UK (UKBA 2008). This significantly limited the number of institutions which could admit international students to come and pursue a course (e.g. English language tuition).

Other immigration channels, which could lead to temporary employment, and were in operation in the 1990s and 2000s (e.g. the Au Pair or the Working Holidaymakers Scheme), were also discontinued in 2008. They were replaced by the Youth Mobility Scheme within Tier 5 of the Points-Based System for immigration to the UK, and opened to young people from only a few, carefully selected participating countries (Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, Monaco). Brazil is not among the participating countries (UKBA 2010b).

Another popular channel to enter the UK, which stems from the interviews, was the Tourist Visa. The most popular was the six-month tourist visa. This visa category did not however entail people to work in the UK.

The Student-Visitor Category

Nonetheless Brazilian nationals who intend to stay in the UK for **less than six months as a tourist, business visitor or student do not normally need to apply for a visa before travelling**. At the UK border they would need to show a return ticket, as evidence that they intended to leave the UK at the end of their stay. They are also required to submit evidence of sufficient funds (to pay for their stay and accommodation).

Brazilians who wish to enter the UK as student-visitors (for less than six months) need to prove at the UK border that they have enrolled on a course, have adequate accommodation and sufficient funds to pay for their upkeep and university/college fees throughout their stay. **As student-visitors they are not allowed to work in the UK** (UKBA 2010c). Therefore if the course includes a work placement or if they intend to work while in the UK (up to 20 hours a week) or extend their stay for more than six months they will not be eligible to enter as a student-visitor. They would instead need to apply for a **regular student visa** (back in Brazil) **under Tier 4**. Student-visitors must leave the UK upon the completion of their course (within six months of admission), and cannot re-apply for extension within the UK.

The evidence from the interviews seems to suggest that since the Points-Based System has been in operation (2008), it has become more and more difficult to be admitted to the UK under the student-visitor scheme. Tightening of immigration controls resulted in less 'at the border' visa applications being accepted for processing, and many Brazilians wishing to enter the UK in this way were actually turned back at the airports (source: anecdotal, personal evidence, interviews 2, 3, 7, 2010).

The importance of the student-visitor status (less than six months' stay) stems from the fact that – together with tourist visas – it appears to be the main channel through which Brazilians enter the UK and then slip into the irregular, undocumented ('visa-expired') status. Evans et al. in their London survey demonstrated (echoing the findings of Margolis (1998) in the US) that over one half of all Brazilians in London were in fact undocumented, with 'visa expired' status indicated by the majority of the

respondents – 53 per cent (Evans et al. 2007, p. 11). As these findings indicate, Brazilians tend to remain in the UK beyond the time limit on their visas (cf. Bloch et al. 2009, p. 16).

3. Institutions

From Personal Ties to Institutional Structures

The interviews revealed an interesting shift in the types of institutions Brazilians established in the UK over the course of their relatively recent migration (1960s–2000s). The personal ties, informal gatherings, parties, few clubs, and a shop where Brazilians used to hang out with each other in the late 1980s have gradually been transformed into a vibrant and lively network of non-profit organisations, churches, business establishments, and media.

Our interviewee, Patricia⁸, remembers that when she used to live in London in the late 1980s, there was more of ‘a connection’ among Brazilians: *‘We all used to know each other, if not on a personal basis then at least you would recognise different faces. People were much more relaxed, they did not think that much about money as they do now. We all treated London as an interesting experience, as a way to learn English and meet new people.’* (interview 6, 2010). *‘It doesn’t mean however that you do not know fellow Brazilians. We bump into each other all the time. You know people, even if it is just by name, or via somebody else. But from “just friends” fellow Brazilians more seem now as “friends-of-a-friend-of-a-friend”’* (interview 8, 2010). With the intensification of migration movements in the 1990s, and the changes of the migration patterns towards economically driven migration, the face of the Brazilian institutions in the UK has changed.

In the mid 1990s the first Brazilian magazine in the UK was established – **Leros**. It was distributed for free and relied on income solely from advertisers. This would suggest that there was a significant Brazilian population in London already, as the services and goods advertised in **Leros** were primarily targeted towards Brazilians in London. As the magazine developed, new companies were willing to advertise their businesses in its pages. The fact that **Leros** celebrated its 18-year anniversary (in 2009), and is still primarily driven by the will of businesses to advertise in its pages, would seem to indicate that the consumer needs of the Brazilian community in London are also expanding. Since the 2000s **Leros** has not been the sole magazine available for Brazilians in London. It has increasing competition from **Jungle Drums**, **REAL magazine**, **Brazilian News** and others. The main advertisers are: Brazilian travel agencies, money sending companies, flight operators, Brazilian shops, cafes and restaurants in London.

The rate and source of advertisements in the Brazilian media in the UK allows for an observation that the Brazilian migration business is doing well. It increased rapidly from 2002 onwards (interviews 2010). Many Immigration Advice Offices, Recruitment Agencies, and Travel Agencies started their operation in Brazil and in London. They charged money for arranging immigration papers, tourist visas (cf. Bloch et al.

⁸ Name changed.

2009: Case Study – Berenice, p. 71), plane tickets, accommodation upon arrival and jobs in the UK. Others would go further and ‘arrange’ bogus European passports, false documents, or National Insurance Numbers for those already in the UK (interviews 2010). One of our interviewees referred to this phenomenon as the *Immigration Mafia*. Regardless of its origin (migration industry or migrant organisation) the evidence gathered during the Scoping Study seems to suggest that the Brazilian community in the UK throughout the 1990s came a long way from one based on intimate, personal relations to one connected via various institutional structures.

Many Brazilians in London are also gathered around churches (Catholic and Pentecostal). There is a **Brazilian Chaplaincy in East London**. The main Brazilian mapping exercise in London (Evans et al. 2007) relied on churches in East and Central London for the distribution of their survey questionnaires. This exercise resulted in 423 returns,⁹ and although it was not representative of the whole Brazilian community it nevertheless reflected the situation of many Brazilians living in London.

The website of the **Brazilian Embassy in London** has a database of various Brazilian organisations in the UK, subdivided into Academic Institutions and Organizations, Art Organizations, Charities and Community Associations, Sport, Music and Dance, and Cuisine (Brazilian Specialties).

The largest platform of interaction for Brazilians in the UK (London) is **Diálogo Brasil**. This organisation brings together different entities (Brazilian or interacting with Brazilians) and individuals in the UK, with the objective of acting as a platform for discussion of the interests of Brazilians living in the UK, as well as helping to increase the participation of Brazilians in the effort to promote Brazil in the UK in various sectors: political, economic, commercial, religious, academic, cultural and social.

One of the members of Diálogo Brasil is **ABRAS**, the Brazilian Association in the United Kingdom. ABRAS is by far the largest of the community associations. It provides various social services for the Brazilian community in London, targeting the general welfare of Brazilians, and creating a community spirit and union, as well as increasing the sense of citizenship and ‘Brazilianness’ among immigrants. In 2006 ABRAS was successfully registered as a company limited by guarantee, not for profit, according to the status recorded. With the move to new headquarters in 2007, it was possible to increase the number of services offered to members and visitors, such as photocopying, fax transmissions and receptions, scanning, mail boxes and a room for smaller events such as lectures, courses and seminars. As per the information on the website (www.abras.org.uk/) ABRAS has 600 members.

Another member of Diálogo Brasil is **Naz Project London**, which provides sexual health and HIV prevention and support services to targeted Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) communities in London. NPL aims to educate and empower communities to face up to the challenges of sexual health and the AIDS pandemic, and to mobilise the support networks that exist for people living with HIV/AIDS. NPL also provides training services to voluntary, community and statutory organisations, as well as a wide range of free resources.

⁹ As a comparison, a similar exercise by IOM in 2006, which did not rely on churches as the survey distribution points, resulted in 65 returns (IOM 2006).

The major need of Brazilians in the UK (London) is to address matters related to immigration law. The interviews with the community workers revealed that approximately 60 per cent of all the problems that Brazilians seek help with are focused around one question: *How to be legal?* Within ABRAS there is a section responsible for helping Brazilians in this respect. Due to the volume of the phenomenon, this particular service has expanded in recent years. In London there are a couple of organisations dedicated solely to helping with immigration matters. The Scoping Study revealed that these could, in turn, be subdivided into non-profit and business establishments.

Casa do Brasil em Londres (registered in 2009) is a non-profit organisation which provides legal advice from lawyers registered with the Law Society or the Office of the Immigration Services Commissioner (OISC). It also provides psychological counselling; social assistance; help with searching for jobs and accommodation; teaching; and general well-being. According to its website: *'The main purpose of Casa do Brasil em Londres is to unite the Brazilian Community, encouraging them to debate experiences in talks or open chats, as a way to help the newcomers – tourists, students or workers – to understand how life is out of their own country and the best way to live here feeling "at home" just as in Brazil'*. The organisation also promotes cultural events, in a daily space for the community to socialise in, where they will be able to find a coffee shop, internet access, a library, a Brazilian products shop and items of interest to the community.

During the Scoping Study we interviewed Carlos Mellinger, the president of the organisation. He confirmed that attending to immigration-law-related matters is indeed the main concern of the majority of his clients: *'We are busy five, six days a week. You will always find someone waiting to be seen. And this is without any advertising'*.

While not disclosing the credentials of his clients Mr. Mellinger reckoned that since the Liberal Democrats scrapped their earlier ideas of regularisation, the main route to legal immigration status for many of his clients is marriage, either to British or EU nationals. In the majority of cases this is not a bogus marriage. The case work reveals that most of the clients 'slipped' into irregularity – they were cohabiting with their British or European partners for many years but had not regularised their position. This seems to confirm the observation made by Evans et al. (2007) that Brazilians in London generally do not think of themselves as settlers. It is usually serious settlement plans that bring with them questions of legality of one's status and regularisation. Instead of attending to the immigration matters first, Brazilians think of their stay as temporary, one that will take only as long as it is necessary to save money and go back home. In practice, the planned duration of their stay varies over time, and Brazilians who planned to stay abroad for a few months end up staying for many years without attending to immigration matters which would enable them to settle permanently (Evans et al. 2007, p. 11).

An example of an immigration advice business establishment is **London Help 4 U**. It was set up in 2001 by Francini Mendonça, and in 2007 it opened a branch in São Paulo. We interviewed Francini for the Scoping Study. London Help 4 U specialises in visa renewal and visa application under Tier 1, 2, 4 and 5, same-sex partnership visas and family reunification. It offers help relating to setting up a company (self-employment), P45 and P60 tax form-filling in the UK. The legal advisers who work for the company are OISC certified. London Help 4 U also offers help in obtaining British or European (Italian) citizenship. The

services offered have prices attached to them which range from £85 (tax return) to £400 (visa application). Each month the agency is responsible for the renewal of more than 40 study visas for students already living in the UK and 20 travelling in different countries. Currently, many similar agencies are in operation both in London and in Brazil (interviews 3,4, 2010).

The Scoping Study also revealed a thriving niche of various **websites and internet gateways** for Brazilians in the UK (London) aimed at networking, advertising, help with immigration matters and exchange of migration experiences, such as:

- Lista Brasil (www.listabrasil.com/)
- Cha con Leite (www.chacomleite.com/)
- Brazil Link (www.brazilink.org/tiki-index.php)
- Oi Londres (www.oilondres.com.br/)
- Brasileiros em Londres (www.brasileirosemlondres.co.uk/)

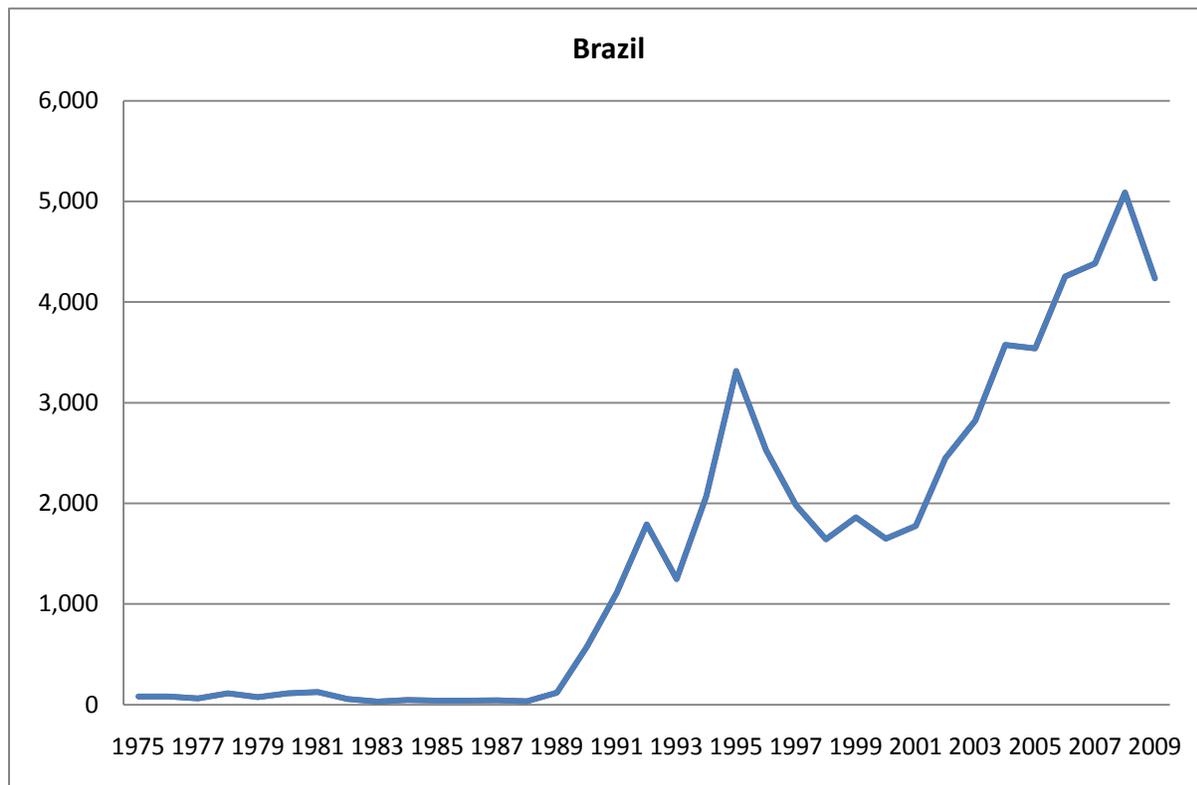
Integral to the migration business of Brazilians in London are the numerous **beauty parlours**, directed both at immigrant and non-immigrant markets. Aside from the regular services they offer, the beauty parlours also play more of role of an institution for the exchange of information and networking (interview 8, 2010).

4. Remittances

For Brazil the data on remittance inflows exists since 1975. The data gathered by the World Bank only capture remittances sent through *formal* channels such as banks and money transfer operators. Currently, no uniform and authoritative historical data on informal flows exist. Given the widespread use of informal remittance channels in many countries (which is particularly true with the high rate of undocumented Brazilian immigrants in the UK), the remittance data presented should be regarded as underestimates of the total flows.

Table 3: Remittance inflows US \$ (millions), Source: World Bank (2009)

Year	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Brazil					82	81	61	113	73	111
Year	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Brazil	124	57	29	46	40	40	42	32	120	573
Year	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Brazil	1,110	1,791	1,247	2,068	3,315	2,527	1,982	1,642	1,862	1,649
Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Brazil	1,775	2,449	2,821	3,575	3,540	4,253	4,382	5,089	4,234	

Chart 5: Remittance inflows US \$ (millions), Source: World Bank (2009)

Brazil experienced a sharp rise in remittances from the late 1980s up to the mid 1990s. This reflects the earlier observations about the rise in the emigration rate among Brazilians, due to re-democratisation and the accessibility of migration as a livelihood experience from 1985. The second half of the 1990s brought with it a decline in remittances, only to be followed by a sharp rise throughout the last decade (2000s).

It is very difficult to find longitudinal, bilateral information on how much of Brazil's remittance inflows is actually contributed by Brazilian migrants in the UK. The World Bank bilateral remittance estimates (see Table 4) using Migrant Stocks, Host Country Incomes, and Origin Country Incomes¹⁰ (in millions of US\$) revealed that in 2005 Brazil received from the UK remittances for the amount of \$59m, which would constitute only 1.7 per cent of all the remittance inflows in 2005. This placed the UK in 11th place among the remittance-sending countries.

According to World Bank remittance estimates for 2005, the largest amount of remittances was sent to Brazil from Japan (\$1,054m), the USA (\$921m), Spain (\$225m), Paraguay (\$161m), Portugal (\$159m), Germany (\$122m), Italy (\$113m), France (\$73m), Argentina (\$72m), and Switzerland (\$64m).

¹⁰ These data are estimated using assumptions and arguments as explained in Ratha and Shaw (2006) 'South-South Migration and Remittances', Development Prospects Group, World Bank (www.worldbank.org/prospects/migrationandremittances).

Table 4: Bilateral Remittance Estimates using Migrant Stocks, Host Country Incomes, and Origin Country Incomes (millions of US\$), Top 10 Remittance Sending Countries and the United Kingdom. Source: World Bank 2005.

Country Sending Remittances	Country Receiving Remittances – Brazil
Japan	1,054
USA	921
Spain	225
Paraguay	161
Portugal	159
Germany	122
Italy	113
France	73
Argentina	72
Switzerland	64
UK	59

5. Individual Migration Histories

Riccardo¹¹ arrived in the UK in the early 2000s as a student. He was a university student back in Brazil. He initially wanted to come to the UK only for a couple of months to better his English. He was therefore advised to choose the student route. With the help of a specialist agency back in Brazil, he enrolled on an English course, and arranged for his travel and immigration documents. He travelled to the UK with another person, also a client of the agency. Although they did not know each other at that point, Riccardo found out later (from the personnel of that specialist agency), that although he was admitted to the UK, the other student was sent back to Brazil. Riccardo used his story to explain the risk and precariousness connected with entering the UK, even then – in the early 2000s: *'You never knew whether they would let you in or not. It was always a mystery to me, why I was allowed in and he was not'*. He and his travel companion used the same agency, had the same papers, were both men and around the same age. But Riccardo was granted entry clearance at the British airport, while the other Brazilian was not.

Riccardo was studying English in London. He also worked. However, unlike the fellow Brazilians he met during his stay, he preferred not to work beyond the 20 hours he was allowed to by law. He remembers that life was hard back then, and the money he earned working four hours per day hardly sufficed to cover his accommodation in London: *'It was hard, it was very hard. You cannot support yourself financially in London if you work only for 20 hours a week.'*

¹¹ Name changed.

Riccardo, although born and brought up in Brazil, has Italian roots. When his visa for the UK was about to expire he moved to Italy in order to arrange for his Italian passport. He spent about a year in Italy, as the process was very bureaucratic, time-consuming and took a lot of effort. Riccardo learnt Italian while in Italy and reconnected with his family.

Upon receiving his Italian passport he decided, now without any fear of immigration officers, to return to London. Riccardo therefore represents a significant proportion of the 'visible' Brazilian population in London, who – in contrast to the undocumented Brazilian immigrants (cf. Bloch et al. 2009) – openly admit their Brazilian nationality, participate in cultural events and engage in community life as they have dual citizenship. The mapping exercise by Evans et al. revealed that Brazilians with European citizenship constituted 11 per cent of all the surveyed immigrants (2007, p. 11).

Riccardo liked being back in the UK: *'You know London has got the thing. And I could speak English better than Italian to look for a job in my profession.'* Changing his legal status – from temporary visa to residency based on his EU citizenship – made a big difference to him and his family. Riccardo has been living in London for five years now. He secured a job in a high-profile company. This year he and his wife are buying a flat in south-west London.

Riccardo does not have serious settlement plans (however the fact that he is buying a flat might actually suggest the opposite); he and his wife think of returning to Brazil at some stage. To what extent these are real plans, and to which extent they seem to reflect the Brazilian 'myth' of return (cf. Evans et al. 2007) – it is difficult to tell. Nevertheless Riccardo observed that many of his friends left London over the last two years: *'Many people went back to Brazil. We don't know whether it is for good or just until they realise that life in Brazil has changed and they would try to come back to London. Like people on a swing, really long swing. We don't have many Brazilian friends who stayed in London; most of them went back over the last two years. They overstayed their visas, and when the economic downturn hit England, they said enough is enough.'*

Where to? – Where from?

There has not been much research in the UK documenting the specific localities accompanying the trends and patterns of Brazilian migration and settlement.

Those Brazilians with European passports and therefore European ancestry are said to come from the south of Brazil, from states such as **Rio Grande do Sul, Parana, Santa Catarina, São Paulo, Goiás and Minas Gerais**. They are the descendants of the many European settlers who arrived in Brazil in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although completely reliable data are not available, Szymanski and Bogus estimate that between 1836 and 1968 the largest contingents of immigrants to Brazil were Portuguese and Italians, totalling 3.38 million people. This group was followed by Spanish, German and Japanese immigrants, who together accounted for 1.22 million, and a third group, comprising Russian, Austrian, Turkish, Polish and French immigrants totalling 400,000 (Szymanski and Bogus 2006, p. 53). It is said that most of these settlers headed for the rich regions of south-eastern and southern Brazil. In the south-eastern states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Rio de Janeiro they were housed on the coffee

farms, where they worked and received salaries. In the southern states – Parana, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul – they typically formed the middle class of landowners (settled on land of their own) (Szymanski and Bogus 2006, p. 53). Their descendants, who invoke the *ius sanguinis*, and claim their European citizenships, mainly therefore come from these southern and south-eastern states of Brazil.

It is also said that the majority of Brazilian immigrants come to the UK (Europe) from the **southern and south-eastern states** because the density of the population there is the highest in the whole of Brazil (interview 1, 2010). The tourist and travel agency infrastructure is well developed there (much better than in the state of Amazonas or Para for example), and numerous schools of English and immigration agencies give the impression that the ‘migration experience’ is within reach of many Brazilians (not only those with European ancestors).

Also, due to the change in US immigration policy after 2001, and the tightening of border controls, people from **Minas Gerais**, who traditionally used to go to the USA, have in the 2000s turned to the UK, instead. *‘These people they have mobility in their blood. If they can no longer go to the USA, they will come to the UK and make others to follow their footsteps.’* (interview 2, 2010). The bottom-up migration industry, consisting of travel agents; informal immigration offices; and immigration brokers charging money for ‘arranging’ a plane ticket, ‘arranging’ immigration papers, or ‘arranging’ a job, with the main focus on the UK, mushroomed in Minas Gerais.

However, as mentioned already Brazil is very diverse (culturally and ethnically). The Brazilian immigrants therefore come from a wide range of localities in Brazil. The ethnic composition of Brazilians in London seems to suggest that a large group of them comes from the **north-eastern** states (interview 1, 2010). They are the descendants of the Africans who were brought there by Portuguese colonisers to work on the sugar-cane plantations. Immigrants coming from these traditionally agricultural states work on farms all over the UK (particularly in Norfolk and Sussex).

Also many of the Brazilian agricultural workers in England come from the Brazilian state of **Goiás** (in the central west region, neighbouring Minas Gerais). Goiás is the Brazilian leader in crop production. Agriculture represents 2 per cent of the GDP of the state, with high production of sugar cane, soybeans, corn, tomato, rice, cotton, manioc and beans.

In the UK the great majority of Brazilians settle in London. As mentioned in Section 1, they can be found in the London boroughs of Hammersmith, Whitechapel, Islington, Euston, Brent, Haringey, Hackney, Lambeth and Hounslow.

Outside London, according to IOM estimates, the other localities where Brazilians cluster are: the Midlands (Birmingham), Norfolk, the north of England (Manchester), and the south coast (Brighton).

Map 3: Geographic spread of the Brazilian community in the UK, 2005, Source: IOM 2005 based on Census 2001 (note: figures are highly underestimated).



6. Assessment and Identification of Issues to be Explored in Phase 2

Out of the six countries shortlisted for the Scoping Study immigration from Brazil (perhaps together with Egypt) is the **most understudied one**. It could be said (with some authority) that the literature review on Brazilian immigration to the UK (London), as presented in the introduction to this report is an exhaustive one. This seems to suggest that the **Brazilian presence has not been properly analysed**.

As for the quantitative data **there are only two surveys on Brazilians in London** (UK). One was carried out by IOM in 2005. It attracted 65 returns, yet the sampling method has not been explained.¹² The second survey was carried out under the auspices of the *Strangers into Citizens* campaign by Evans et al. in 2007. As already mentioned, it attracted 423 returns. The questionnaires were left in several Catholic and Pentecostal churches in Central and East London where Brazilians are known to worship. Again, the sampling was not randomised.

However, there is fairly good information on the evolution of the Brazilian-born community in the UK that stems from the census data (1901–2001) (which, in contrast to the other Scoping Study reports is a rare, yet welcome exception). Nonetheless no publication has officially interpreted or ‘made sense’ of this data. While the most recent figures (1990s, 2000s) might be highly underestimated, some general trends could be discerned and analysed in more depth:

- THEMIS with its research techniques, especially the large-scale survey in Phase 3, might be able to contribute much more to **closing the gap in the current research about the Brazilian population in London** (and the UK in general, due to different survey localities).
- With regard to the **qualitative research**, the sources demonstrated a few ethnographic, anthropological yet rather **fragmented approaches** to researching Brazilians in the UK (London). **None of them however looked at the population holistically to map and explain its history of migration to the UK, trends and patterns of settlement, institutions, or responses to particular immigration policy changes** (as Cherti 2008 did for Morocco, for example).
- With the exception of Jordan and Düvell (2002), who attempted to place irregular Brazilian migration in London (in a comparative perspective with Turkish and Polish populations) in the context of the theories of transnational mobility, the **Brazilian migration processes have also been significantly under-theorised**.

While the evidence of a Brazilian presence in London could be dated back to the 1960s (like the Moroccan migration, cf. Moroccan Scoping Study), there is a **severe discrepancy between the**

¹² IOM reveals that information was gathered using in-depth interviews with multipliers and by asking people to fill in questionnaires. The term ‘multipliers’ has been used to indicate individuals or organisations that were well known among diaspora groups and could therefore play a key role in delivering information (IOM 2005). In other words the term ‘multipliers’ refers to community workers and experts.

availability of academic sources documenting and analysing Brazilian and Moroccan migrations, respectively. This therefore calls for putting the evolution of Brazilian migration in London (as a locality) under greater research scrutiny.

Also, although the timescale of these two migrations (Moroccan and Brazilian) might be fairly similar, there are many striking differences between their types (routes) of migration and settlement in the UK:

- While the Moroccans were admitted in the 1960s as migrant workers, Brazilians of that time were mainly political refugees seeking asylum from the authoritarian rule back home. **The conditions of their admission were therefore different.** While the majority of Moroccans settled in the UK and acquired British citizenship, the **Brazilian population had a more ambiguous legal status.** There is a fraction of Brazilians who hold European citizenship, and therefore enjoy legal residence in the UK; however, the majority of Brazilians (as per the available estimates) are undocumented or irregular. As a result they cannot settle in the UK permanently, nor enjoy the right of stay and abode.
- These two populations are also **vastly different with regard to their migration dynamics.** While the Moroccans started arriving in significant numbers from the 1960s, the Moroccan migration 'lost' its momentum in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Brazilians represent the completely opposite trend. The large-scale Brazilian migration to the UK expanded in the 1990s, with particularly high estimates since 2002.
- As a result, **the Brazilian community profile is different.** The institutions and migrant organisations run by Moroccans have mainly been established by the 1.5 or second generation of migrants. The dynamic mosaic of the Brazilian institutional structures in London has been designed by the most recent arrivals, those who came to the UK in the late 1990s or early 2000s.
- As mentioned above, the **ambiguous legal status of many Brazilians in London** calls for more in-depth insights into their relationship with the law in the UK. The interviews with the community workers point to the desire among many Brazilians to **regularise their stay.** Who are those who attempt legalisation after many years of living in the UK with the 'visa-expired' status? What are their reasons for it? How does law impinge on the lives of Brazilians in the UK, and what are their responses towards the legal state immigration framework?

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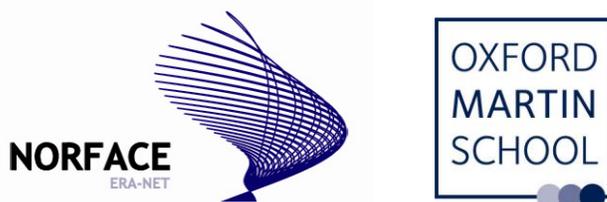
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