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Belonging During a Global Crisis
A qualitative study on Brazilian migrants in Portugal
during the Covid-19 Pandemic

Madeleine Ruokonen

Supervisor: Wasshede, Cathrin
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Abstract

This article analyzes Brazilian migrants' sense of belonging in their country of origin, in Portugal the host country, and the diaspora community during Covid-19 and if these belongings effect the decision to stay or return. The study reveals that this specific group's sense of belonging is connected to their dual social locations as marginalized and privileged. Through Yuval Davis (2006) analytical framework on belonging this study finds that this group's sense of belonging is more affected by the colonial past than the pandemic, which makes them find community through cosmopolitanism and a strong connection to their country of origin. Their privileged social location in the form of well educated, white, and their social networks lay as a base for their decision to stay in the host country.

Key words: Transnational migrant studies, belonging, Covid-19, cosmopolitanism, Brazilians, Portugal

Background

I went to Lisbon in Portugal for my Erasmus exchange in January 2020. During my time in Lisbon, the Covid-19 pandemic spread around the world which affected migrants all over the world in different ways. During March and April of 2020 there was a 66% increase compared to the year before in applications for a programme that help migrants return to their country of origin run by the United Nations' International Organisation for Migration (IOM), and most of the migrants returning were Brazilian (Demony, 2020). Being an EU-member citizen, I always had the option to go back home, but many of my Brazilian friends did not, or chose to stay because they wanted to continue working and living in Europe during and/or after the pandemic. This made me think about belonging and return migration.

During the nineteenth century Brazil was a place for migration from various countries in Europe (Germany, Poland, Italy). People migrated both for settling and temporarily for work. Migration from Brazil to other countries is quite recent, with the 'first big wave' in the 1980's due to economic stagnation and hyperinflation in the country (Cruz et al., 2020) mostly by skilled and highly skilled professionals (van Meeteren & Pereira, 2013). In the late 1990's when the 'second wave' of Brazilian migration occurred, many Brazilian migrants went to Portugal, and this time the migrants were more low skilled laborers that found work in catering, construction and domestic work sectors (ibid).

Today Brazilian migrants are the biggest immigrant group in Portugal with various legal statuses (Padilla 2005). Traditional push and pull factors are found as reasons for the migration from Brazil to Portugal, for example poverty, unemployment and lack of opportunities have been identified as push factors, and Portugal's growing demand for construction workers and service sector laborers as pull factors. Globalization has also played a big role for migration with cheaper travel, and fast circulation of information about tourism and work opportunities with the help of social media (ibid).

Before the history of migration to/from Brazil, Brazil was colonized by Portugal and was part of the Portuguese empire until independence in 1822 (Reichmann, 2010). The colonial past tells the story of how the Brazilian population was racialized and how this lays as a backdrop to contemporary issues of racism and colorism both in Brazil and in Portugal. During the empire there was a distinction made of the empire's population between those born in Brazil and those born in Portugal. Studies have shown that there might be an idea of racial tolerance in Brazil as it is a very diverse country, but other studies have shown that skin color corresponds to purely economic stratifications (Reichmann, 2010) i.e. the whiter (more Portuguese) you are the better your socio-economic position is.

This global crisis that migrants are facing far away from their country of origin and the big increase in Brazilian return migration due to Covid-19 makes a study on migrants sense of belonging and how it relates to thoughts of returning to one's country of origin or staying in the new host country during a time of crisis highly relevant.

Purpose and Research Questions

The overall purpose of this study is to produce knowledge about migrants' sense of belonging in times of crises. In order to do that, the more specific aim is to describe and discuss how Brazilian migrants in Portugal think and feel regarding belonging during the Covid-19 pandemic and how it might be connected to decision making regarding staying in the host country or returning to one's country of origin.

This study aims to answer the following questions:

RQ 1: How do Brazilian migrants in Portugal think and feel about their sense of belonging during the Covid-19 pandemic?

RQ 2:What part does their positions in the social landscape play in their construction of belonging?

RQ 3: What influence has their feelings of belonging/lack of belonging during Covid-19 pandemic on their decision to stay in the host country or return to their country of origin?

Literature Review

Below I will give a brief review of the developments in the field of transnational migration studies, then a short review of the literature in transnational migrations studies involving Brazilians, and after that conclude with research on belonging during/post-crisis.

Transnational migration studies

Transnational migrant scholarship added to migrant studies in the 1990's the perspective of migrants continuous activity and relation to their homelands through participation in familial, political, religious or cultural processes in their countries of origin, broadening the perspective from a linear 'home-to-host-country-relation' in regards to assimilation and integration to a transnational more complex 'back-and-forth-relation' for the migrants (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007).

Through transnational migrant studies researchers have looked at integration and how these transnational ties and engagement in their countries of origin relate to migrants' engagement and integration in the host communities/countries. In Ali (et al., 2002) book one key theme is the different aspects of the construction of 'home' and 'homeland' and migrants' experiences of 'pluri-local-homes' and the narrative of heterogenetic migrant communities. Through the essays in the book the heterogeneity is problematized through describing gender, generational and class differences within different migrant groups showing that there are multiple different identities within migrant groups. They find contradictions between available national identities and alternative identities that migrants may want to construct, I will be looking at these contradictions in this study.

Scholars have also discussed the concept of "transnational social spaces" to highlight the many levels of transnationalism that vary from wider socio-political contexts to people's everyday lives and the changes in these spaces (Faist, 2000). Through this study I want to look at how the global pandemic has affected how the migrants negotiate these social spaces by looking at their thoughts of return, and how it relates to belonging.

Migrant studies involving Brazilians

In recent years scholars have studied the Brazilian migrant groups/diaspora around the world by focusing on the different ties between country of origin and destination, like for example care constellations (Peñas et al., 2020), education (Oliveira & Oliveira, 2020), lifestyle migration and cultural politics (Robins, 2019). Focus of these studies is very much on the new life in the new country, and how people stay in touch with culture and family in the country of origin. Relevant for this study is Robins (2019) research on Brazilian migrants in London where he argues that lifestyle migration studies usually depicts it as a global north feature. He shows that middle class Brazilians have reasons that are in line with lifestyle migration. He argues that social class rather than national origin should determine lifestyle migration. He connects this to Brazilian middle class migrants framing their migration in cosmopolitan terms related to 'world citizenship' rather than economic terms usually used in studies related to migration from the global south as a way to distance themselves from the typical economic migrant.

Research involving Brazilian migrants with Portugal as the host country has in recent years been focused on the migrant lives in Portugal and not so much on belonging and returning. Vieira & Mendes (2010) look at Brazilian migrants' sense of belonging in Portugal but through the lens of 'immigrant culture', and they argue that there is no such thing, but rather different migrant identities (belongings) that travel through different cultures. Other researchers have looked at education by looking at how schools can be an ambivalent place for both inclusion and exclusion for Brazilian immigrant youth (Ribeiro et al., 2019). Ribeiro (et al., 2019) find that Angolan and Portuguese youth recognize the ambiguity of both inclusion and exclusion in schools whereas the Brazilian youth mainly report experiencing exclusion and even calling the Portuguese school a racist institution. Figueiredo (et al., 2018) studied precariousness by looking at workplace abuse and harassment and found that the Brazilian migrant group are the most vulnerable and at risk for abuse and harassment for domestic workers in Portugal.

Belonging during crisis

Disaster literature is often focused on the post-disaster period and recovery, how people rebuild their communities, houses etc. There is not much done on belonging during disaster, or crisis (Marlowe 2015). Jay Marlowe (2015) studied a refugee group in New Zealand after the Canterbury earthquakes in 2010-11 and if their sense of belonging had changed due to the earth quakes. Pre-disaster the informants remembered belonging through a civic lens, like access to education and employment. They also reported a lack of ethno-belonging with the majority society, but ethnic-belonging within their migrant community. Directly after the earthquakes there was more of both civic- and ethno-belonging reported by the group as there were promises of work opportunities, and a sense of coming together in solidarity collectively. But two years after the crisis the group reported that both civic and ethno-belonging had decreased. Many of the refugees had in fact relocated because there were no jobs, and lack of jobs was said to affect their sense of belonging. Marlowe finds that a sense of belonging through civic participation and social connections in the society as a whole post-crisis make the possibility for risk-preventive initiatives and recovery processes more effective.

There is a research gap when it comes to how Brazilian migrants in Portugal think and feel about belonging *during* an ongoing crisis and how their belongings in the host country and country of origin affect the negotiation of staying or returning. This study aims to contribute to fill this gap.

Theoretical Framework

Belonging

Antonsich (2010) claims that some scholars treat belonging as a self-explanatory term/concept and leave it undefined which could be because as Yuval Davis argues (2006) it is about emotional attachment, about feelings of 'safety' and 'home', which can be hard to define and articulate. It could also be because like Antonsich argues (2010) it has at times been used as synonymous to identity, specifically ethnic and national identity.

Yuval Davis (2006) describes belonging as a dynamic process and that it can be an act of self-identification or identification by others. Antonsich (2010) means that sense of self (identification) is related to feelings of what he calls *place-belongingness*. He argues that to belong one often has an emotional feeling of 'home' and rootedness to certain places. These

places do not only have to be a material space, but a place where one feels familiarity, comfort and emotional attachment, and they can vary in geographical scale from a house, to a neighborhood to a country (ibid). In addition to analysing the participants place-belongingness and rootedness I will also be looking at how the digital/virtual space is part of how the groups sense of belonging is maintained. The internet and social media is a space where migrants can sustain inclusion and belonging in their country of origin with people they have a prior relation to, and link people together because of a common interest and identity which is rooted in a common country of origin even if they have never interacted in real life (Hiller & Franz, 2004). One can see the internet as a transnational social space where people can stay connected, as well as a medium to take part of the daily life of family in the country of origin and at the same time be present in the new host country, and how the interplay of these three creates a new space for belonging.

When it comes to belonging for this particular migrant group in this particular host country the concept of diaspora will be helpful in understanding and analyzing the multiple belongings of the group. I will be working from Axel's (2004) definition of diaspora, he argues that locality to 'the homeland' defines a diaspora, or diasporic people, and no matter how distant the group is from the homeland some determining features connected to the homeland (eg. race, language) will endure in the diasporic cultural life. The context of diaspora is the bond to the past, or country of origin, and by this understanding of diaspora we must analytically connect the diaspora to homeland which I hope to do by looking at how this group's sense of belonging in the host country is connected to their country of origin, and how these belongings are intertwined.

According to Yuval Davis (2006) belonging is the emotional attachments we feel relating to people, home, community etc. Whereas the politics of belonging is about political projects that are part of constructing particular belongings for particular people. There are tendencies for naturalizing belonging and its meaning, and Yuval Davis (ibid) argues that mostly through threats toward belonging it is articulated and politicized, and for this reason she argues that there needs to be an analytical differentiation between belonging and the politics of belonging.

I will be using the analytical framework for belonging that Yuval Davis outlines, where she has divided it into three interconnected parts; social locations, identification and emotional attachments, and the politics of belonging. By using her framework, I hope to avoid

a study that only discusses belonging from either a philosophical, emotional or political perspective, but where there is room for a more critical discussion on belonging and how all these three parts are intertwined.

Social Locations

Social, and here Yuval-Davis also includes economic, locations describe how people belong to specific races, classes, nations, or kinship groups etc. and what implications these belongings can have, and how they can point out different power relations in society. These categories have a particular positionality along an axis of power which makes us value certain categories higher/lower than others. These positionalities are not fixed, but depending on historical context; they are fluid and contested (Yuval-Davis, 2006)**.**

It is not clear what the difference is between classic sociological social stratifications and Yuval Davis' social locations and if it is necessary. From what I can discern it seems like she is alluding that through using the 'old' categories one is more likely to miss the intersectional analysis of social locations. Kimberle Crenshaw (Crenshaw, 1990) developed the concept of *intersectionality* as a critique to mainstream white feminism which often missed the multiple forms of oppression that black women faced. She highlighted that various social identities intersect, and these identities affect people's privileges, oppressions and perceptions and can for this reason not be observed separately. Yuval Davis agrees and argues that people might identify just with one identity category but that their social location is built on many differences, like for example stage in life cycle, ability, ethnicity and so on, and that these differences constitute each other. Because I am using Yuval Davis' framework I will be using the concept of 'social locations' and an intersectional analysis as well. Due to the size of the study, and the current situation with Covid-19 which affected the selection of participants in this study I will mainly be focusing on social locations through language, a class perspective and being a white Brazilian migrant in Portugal (the colonial past). Because of the size of the study it is hard to make general conclusions about gender, class, race and other social categories, but it was striking that class and ethnicity/race did play a part in this groups sense of belonging which is why I chose to include these as my intersectional analysis categories.

Identification and Emotional Attachments

Identifications according to Yuval-Davies (2006) are narratives that we tell ourselves and others about who we are and are not. Even though these narratives can be about individual attributes they often relate to our own, or others, perceptions of what it means to be a member of a group or collective, where the collective narrative often can be a resource in forming the individual narrative. These narratives are often changing, they can be contested and several different ones, they can relate to the past, explain the present and work as a projection of future paths (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

When it comes to constructing belonging it is not just rational stories, it is also about emotional investment and desires for attachments. One can understand that identity is intertwined with emotional attachments as it is a process of "being and becoming, and belonging and longing to belong" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 202). Yuval-Davis argues that in people's constructions of themselves the emotional attachments become more important when they are threatened, or if there is a feeling of lack of security. She exemplifies this with diasporic people returning to their kin after threatful situations like war or terrorist attacks. This she argues is a way to keep the narratives of their identities and the attachments connected to them existing.

In this study Yuval-Davis' perspective on the heightened importance of these identifications and attachments during an emergency will be a helpful analytical tool to highlight the threat to belonging of both the explicit threat of the pandemic and also by being a migrant.

The Politics of Belonging

This study is not focused on migrants' legal status, or citizenship, but the politics of belonging is a subject that is inevitable as it relates to the boundaries that divides the world's population into 'us' and 'them' (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Imagination is part of the politics of belonging as it relates to national imaginations which constructs boundaries that include and exclude certain people.

The process of this kind of situated imaginations that construct communities is dependent on different things (nationalism, politics etc.) but Yuval-Davis (ibid) argues that they are mainly dependent on social locations and people's identifications and definitions of themselves and most importantly, people's values - i.e. emotional attachments.

There are also struggles around what it means to be a member of the community, and how social locations and narratives of identity play into this and the determination of belonging. Even if this study is not focusing on people's legal membership in Portugal, this perspective of 'us' and 'them', and how/if it is reproduced is considered in the analysis through the concepts of otherism and othering processes (Canales 2000). I will use Canales (2000) analytical framework on othering processes. Canales definition of othering processes (2000) combines Weis (1995) who argues that othering is the process that names and marks those that are different from oneself and Charon's (1992) who argues that through role taking (imagining the world from someone else's perspective) we can see and define ourselves through others. Canales means that the self is known through others, and how the other is interpreted depends on the role taking of the self. I will use this perspective on othering processes to highlight how it can be a way to avoid marginalization and at the same time create distance to one's country of origin. Further, otherism and othering processes involved in the politics of belonging will be used to highlight how the hierarchical social locations between Brazilians and Portugueses are acted out in the migrants day to day life and lay as a base to the lack of belonging.

Cosmopolitanism

The idea of belonging to more than one's own localities has been discussed by scholars for a long time, and some argue that through globalisation 'the local' and 'the global' have become jointly constructed social processes (Savage et al., 2004). There has been focus on the role of 'global cities' and their role for global mobility (ibid). Maybe today it is not about being in a global(ized) city, but more about people having the idea that "the world is open for me, I can live wherever I want". Focusing on just one city as a melting pot for different people, cultures etc. misses the point that a part of globalisation today is happening through people's connectedness online.

This type of global connectedness has for example been theorized through the concept of *cosmopolitanism* (Sobre-Denton, Bardhan, 2013). Cosmopolitanism has been critiqued for being elitist, eurocentric and imperialistic, but in the last two decades there has been a critical, postcolonial turn in the field (ibid: 22). This turn has encouraged vocalizing subnational, transnational and translocal voices to resist inequities and marginalization by fueling

globalization from below to critique neoliberal globalization and the hegemony of the nation-state (ibid: 6).

Cosmopolitanism according to Sobre-Denton and Bardhan (2013) emphasizes the exchange between the self and the other and I will be using their concept of *cosmopolitan peoplehood* in my analysis which is connected to imagination and strangers - two key aspects in the construction of belonging that I will elaborate on in the following section.

Through globalisation, and technical advancements in the last century, one could argue that belonging has been able to become more fluent than before. The interdependency of people, processes and institutions worldwide has made it possible to envision the world as one, which has led to Sobre-Denton and Bardhan (2013) claims that we can imagine and feel belonging to a 'cosmopolitan peoplehood'. They argue that imagination is a big part of a cosmopolitan view of the world, and ourselves as cosmopolitan citizens because it can carry us beyond our localities and form connections between the strange and the familiar. They claim that one can understand imagining as social labor which helps us create different scripts for the possible lives we can live (Ibid: 82).

Through globality and cosmopolitanism there has also been development in the notion of the stranger. Bauman (2013) discusses how strangerhood has become an experience that is not only reserved for cultural others, but also to the self as we move through diverse cultural spaces. The stranger is in this way entangled with the self, there is a sense of us in the stranger, and the stranger being in us, and with this realization Sobre-Denton and Bardhan argue that there has been a shift from "the 'I' of personhood to the 'We' of cosmopolitan peoplehood" (Sobre-Denton & Bardhan, 2013, p. 81). Even if Bauman argues that this strangerhood is not reserved for cultural others, I wonder if it can be analyzed as a coping mechanism for cultural others to move from this stranger 'I', to a common 'We' when that cultural other is not let into the majority society and community threatening their position to belong. The distance between 'us' and 'them' is not as decreased as Sobre-Denton and Bardhan make it seem through this utopian cosmopolitan view of the world.

Method and Material

 I chose to do a qualitative interview study with a phenomenological approach, meaning interviewing people that had experienced the phenomenon that I was interested in. I wanted to explore, describe and analyze how people make sense of their lived experiences. One of the

assumptions of phenomenological approaches is that there is an essence to experiences that people share, they might have unique expressions of these experiences, but through analysis one can find a shared essence to the same/similar experience/phenomenon (Marshall & Rossman, 2014).

I chose an interviewing technique that few researchers in this area have explored as their main method, namely written correspondence. Usually, it is used as a supportive method (Harris, 2002), but in this study it has been the primary data collection strategy for reasons developed further down.

There is little literature on this method, which made it both exciting and challenging trying to navigate through the research process. Kralik, Kroch and Brady (2000) stumbled upon this method when Kralik's sister who was diagnosed with leukemia was suggested pen paling with other people with the same diagnosis to find support. Through these letters Kralik found that this way of coping and support generated full written down life stories between the pen pals about how it is to live with chronic illness. Kralik, Kroch and Brady chose the method for a study about life with chronic illness because they could reach a wide geographical area, people of different social classes and be able to interview the women in their study over a longer period of time through correspondence.

Harris (2002) had trouble finding participants for a study on women who self-harm because of the stigmatization and shame/embarrassment associated with self-harming. Through a pen-pal network for women who self-harm she found people that were willing to participate and tell their stories. This non-intrusive way for people to tell their life stories on their terms to someone that is not a part of the group, felt appropriate also in my study as it relates to topics of belonging, lack of belonging and staying or returning for a migrant group that historically has been (and still is) marginalized in the host country.

With correspondence you expect to get a reply, and response to what you are writing. But unlike a conversation, writing offers the "author" to shape and reshape the stories before they are told. It is a way to put one's thoughts on paper, which Kralik (2000) argues makes the essentially internal external, by making the person who is writing reflectively aware of his or her experiences.

As mentioned above Kralik (et al. 2000) found correspondence to be advantageous because it can run over a longer period of time, giving a fuller picture of the subjects that can be developed during the process of the correspondence. This is an aspect that can be explored

due to the 'interviews' being in motion for a couple of weeks, instead of an hour or two at a date that is convenient for both the researcher and the participant. During the time of the correspondence, we were all living through lockdown and we were advised not to leave our houses, so the pandemic was brought up in relation to the other topics.

Participants can choose when they have time and feel inspired to answer questions, and write on the topics that are being covered, which Kralik et al. (2000, p. 915) argue makes participation in research more available for a larger number of people. But they also discuss that it might not be accessible for everyone as it requires for the participant to be able to write their thoughts down. For this study it turned out participation required access to a computer, I had one person drop out because he was not comfortable writing longer texts through his phone, and he had no access to a computer. The method also requires the participant to be comfortable with writing which in itself can be problematic, and I will discuss it further in the ethics section.

Selection

I reached out to 15 people through social media platforms. First everyone accepted, and said they would gladly participate in this study, but at the end I had seven people that agreed to be interviewed. I cannot say why so many people decided to drop off, but I know this time of the pandemic has been difficult for all of us to find motivation to study and work, so I did not want to question their decision to not respond.

I have chosen to call them IP (Interview Person) and then the number (between 1-7) in order from who I contacted first in the excerpts presented in the results section:

IP1 is a 32-year old female that came to Portugal in 2018 to do her masters, today she works as an office manager and lives with her European boyfriend.

IP2 is a 25-year old male that chose to come to Europe because of lack of safety, poverty and to enhance overall quality of life in 2018. He was recommended Lisbon because here he could live comfortably, maybe not get rich, but have a good balance between work and leisure time. He works as an English teacher, and is single.

IP3 is a 23 year old female that came to Lisbon in 2018 to study at the university of Lisbon which she is still doing. She has a European boyfriend, and lives in an apartment with multiple roommates.

IP4 chose not to disclose their gender or age. IP4 chose to move to Portugal in 2018 because they could not stand the violence and chaos in Brazil. IP4 came to Lisbon with their father after having lived in the US for five years, and the ultimate goal is to apply for an American visa. Right now, IP4 is working with tele marketing, and is single and choosing not to date because of the pandemic.

IP5 is a 28 year old male that came to Lisbon in 2019, his reasons for leaving Brazil was the financial and political situation. His brother was already living in Lisbon, so he applied for residency from Brazil, and when he got it, he came and lived with his brother. He has since moved out to his own place, is single, and working as a banker.

IP6 is a 25 year old male that came to Lisbon to finish his master in 2020. He did not have plans of leaving Brazil, but was given this opportunity through his studies, so he took it and came. Currently he is single, and working with accounting.

IP7 is a 33 year old female that came to Lisbon in 2019 to finish her master degree. She is single, and is working with telemarketing from home. She got the job during the pandemic, and has been doing it all remotely, from the interview until today she has not met anyone from the workplace in person.

Because of Covid-19, and language barriers the range of participants (background, age, profession etc.) for this study has not been as big as I had hoped for. The people that chose to participate have similar backgrounds and reasonings for coming to Portugal and Europe. I reached out to some people that work with construction and have a different class affiliation but I did not get a response. The homogeneity of the group (well-educated, middle class, white-passing) will of course affect the results of this study and is not representative for the Brazilian migrant group as a whole. It would have been easier to have a wider selection if life was "normal" and I could have met people in natural settings like in parks, bars, and in the streets. And from that face-to-face meeting start to create the relations and trust that is needed between researcher and the person one wants to interview.

I understand quite a bit of Portuguese, but I am in no means fluent which makes this method appropriate. If I were to only choose people who were fluent in English, this would narrow down my selection dramatically. All of the participants had the choice to answer in either English or Portuguese, and I used google translate for the ones that replied in portuguese. Out of the seven, two answered in Portuguese, and the other five in English.

Google translate is not 100% accurate but I did find it sufficient enough because the aim for the study was not a discourse analysis on specific use of words, but rather on the research participants' thoughts, and reasonings. I considered using a professional translator, but with a third party involved an interpreting process starts. I felt like if there is going to be some language bias, google translate would have the same bias, and one could argue that it is more "neutral" than a traditional (human) translator as it does not interpret, only translates.

Lastly I want to make a note on gender and how it might have affected the data through the chosen method. I got longer answers from women compared to men. The selection and range is however too small to be able to argue that this is in fact because of gender, and not personal preference, coincidence or something else. Kralik, Koch and Brady (2000) note that some of the women they interviewed reported that they found it difficult to reflect and self-disclose which suggests that it goes beyond gender. But it is worth noting, and had I had more time, and a bigger selection I would have explored the gender aspect more.

The correspondence

Most of the correspondence was done through email, I had one participant that wanted to do it through a messaging app, so it was in 'chat form'. I found it harder to maintain the conversation through the chat form, and I think this is because most of us use this type of communication for shorter, instant replies, so the correspondence aspect was a bit lost in that particular interview. I planned for three weeks for the correspondence but this time frame did not hold. I tried to answer the emails within 24 hours of getting a reply, and most of the participants replied within a day or two. It was hard to find a balance between giving the participants the time they needed to reply, and reminding them and thus putting pressure on them to reply because of the time frame. After being reminded one of the participants had shorter answers, one of the others wrote in the same manner, so it affected them in different ways, but I would argue that this method requires a generous time frame to be able to reap all the benefits.

The correspondence was semi-structured. I had a set of questions relating to belonging, diaspora, covid-19 and home that I wanted to cover, but I wanted there to be room to ask about subjects that the participants brought up, and do de-tours in the conversations. I was inspired to do more interactive interviews, commonly used in autoethnography (Ellis

2004) to be able to do more in-depth interviews despite the fact that we could not sit in the same room and converse. I tried to send emails topic by topic, but sometimes the answers lead to another topic. I tried to be flexible to cover what I wanted to cover, but not be repetitive and formal, and instead cover the topics where it fit.

It is a time-consuming method and requires an emotional investment, because of the interactive nature of correspondence. To keep the "conversation" flowing, and to keep the participants' interest and trust throughout the process one must be genuinely interested in the responses from them which means you need time to read, and reflect before you send your reply. I shared pieces of my own story to relate to what they were telling me about living in a forreign country during the pandemic, so the roles of researcher and respondent were a bit blurred. To get to the deeper layers of every person's story, which I argue is the aim of this study, there had to be a sense of giving and taking – a sense of co-constructing the dialogue common in interactive interviews (Ellis, 2004). With this type of co-constructing reflexivity was essential to keep in mind what part I had in the conversations, how it effected the dialogue, and in the end how I reached the interpretations of our conversations that I later analyzed.

One important aspect of this type of interviewing I argue is the way the researcher writes and communicates with the people she is interviewing. I noticed that the first reply was often a bit more strict and formal, and when I replied back in a more relaxed manner and included my own thoughts, anecdotes and more feelings the second reply from the participants was also more casual and relaxed and had more in depth thoughts.

Some examples of this "relaxed" form of writing could be writing out "haha" to indicate humor, and using some emojis/smiley faces to get a more nuanced and "alive" correspondence. This is a pretty common way for us that have grown up with the internet to communicate, and it was important to be able to have deeper conversations through text. There is always a risk of misunderstandings through text because of the lack of facial expressions, and body language. This missing aspect of social interaction can be seen as a disadvantage with this method, and I argue that it is a valid critique, but one can also argue that it gives an emotional safe zone (Kralik et al., 2000) because the interviewee will not risk feeling scrutinized over what they are wearing, their facial expressions, their response, or even how they are sitting which can be common feelings in these types of settings when the interviewee is face to face with the researcher.

Coding/Analysis

When it comes to the research process, I used an abductive approach (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017). By using this approach, I could through previous theory narrow down the topics I wanted to discuss with the research participants, and also discover patterns in the initial coding of the empirical findings, but also be open to new perspectives and themes that came up during the process. There was a back and forth movement between theory and empirical material. Once I was done with the interviews, I started reading through all the material and coding in both theory-generated-themes, and other themes that I found interesting to see if there were common topics brought up by the different participants. Initially I was working from a loose theoretical framework based on emotions, but after the first coding I found more data that aligned with belonging, lack of belonging and the concept of world citizen. This led me to Yuval Davis' analytical framework on belonging, and the analytical concept cosmopolitanism which then guided me through a number of re-codings, and re-reading of the empirical findings.

Ethical considerations

Everyone received a document with information about the study and about consent in both english and portuguese. I assured the participants that I would be following The Swedish Research council's ethical guidelines throughout the research process (Vetenskapsrådet, 2017).

By starting the correspondence one agreed to the information shared being used in research. Everyone was also informed that they could at any moment choose to end their participation, and that would mean that I would delete all of our conversations. All of the conversations were saved on my password protected university email. I copied the conversation, without any personal information, to documents on my password protected computer. All of the emails have now been deleted, all I have saved is the raw data in the form of our email conversations, without personal information.

I had met all of the participants prior to the study, but they were not part of my day to day life. My familiarity/friendliness with the participants could have made them share parts that they at a later date would not feel comfortable sharing. But having this conversation in an

email, meaning the participants can go back and read every word that has been said, I hope will make them feel at ease that nothing can be twisted and used out of context. Anonymity is also something that I hope makes everyone feel like whatever they did share, will never be associated with them personally. Because the number of people interviewed is quite small, and because they can all be found through my social media, I have chosen to not disclose which research participant said what in the analysis to ensure that any quotes used cannot be traced to any particular person.

Due to the timeframe of this study, it was valuable that the people I interviewed were not complete strangers, but that we already had some sort of relation, and a base of trust to stand on. I noticed with one of the participants that I had only briefly met once that the answers were not as detailed and personal. And I think this is why both Harris and Kralik (2002) and Koch and Brady (2000) used this method over a long period of time because then there was time to form a relationship and trust over time.

Kralik (et al 2000) argue that social class affiliation boundaries were not an issue with the correspondence method, whereas I argue that diversity, and especially when it comes to social class has been an issue in this study. Being comfortable in expressing oneself in writing, and having the confidence that what one is sharing is both relevant, interesting and important enough to write down can be tied to class. To reach groups outside of the middle class, that might not have higher education has proven to be difficult during this time due to the pandemic and the method I chose because of it.

Both Harris (2002) and Kralik (et. al 2000) discuss the difficulty with finding a balance between the role of objective researcher and giving advice/help or the aspect of reciprocity. Harris (2002) writes that the humane elements of research were impossible to act out, like expressing concern, empathy or consideration for the participants. Here I have to disagree, Harris topic is a sensitive one, so I can understand that there is a sort of frustration that she could not offer support immediately, but I argue that one can offer concern and empathy through correspondence. It requires the researcher to write in a more relaxed, non-official way, to write like we talk, and not like most of us are used to writing in other professional communications through text.

Analysis

In this section I will analyze the collected data from three levels of belonging: social locations, identification and emotional attachment, and the politics of belonging (Yuval Davis 2006), with the addition of the concept cosmopolitanism (Sobre-Denton, Bardhan, 2013) and otherism/othering processes (Canales, 2000).

Belonging, language and privilege

When it comes to belonging in a forreign country, the reason one migrated is an important aspect to weigh in, as is people's socio-economic status.

      The colonial history between Portugal and Brazil is important to remember as it puts Brazilians in a disadvantageous hierarchical position to the Portuguese. The social location as a Brazilian migrant is very different from for example mine as a Swedish migrant in Portugal. There are clear differences between Brazilian and Portuguese culture and it came up in all of the interviews in different ways, but common for most was the first contact with portuguese people and a sense of rudeness and maybe even feelings of not being welcome.

> Although there are a lot of Brazilians in Lisbon and this greatly reduces the cultural shock, for me at first it was strange because the Portuguese, at least initially and comparatively with the Brazilian, is very rude, tough, frontal. Often the "dry" way they talk sounds like rudeness. When I went to stores, restaurant, supermarket, etc. I was kind of scared by their service, which, most of the time, treats you like - I don't want you to be there.

> They way the portuguese talk, sounds like they are always arguing with you it's boring, I hate this, but i already get used to it, so.. Uhm.. it was hard to get used to it but now it's kind of ok. But, [...] but I miss that brazilians behaviours.

> [...]and also the interaction with the portuguese people. At the beginning I could not understand them very well because of the accent, so I found them a bit arrogant, especially when they realized I was brazilian. But it got better after a while living here.

In line with Antonsich (2010) I found language to be one of the most important cultural factors when it comes to this aspect of belonging (social locations). Many of the research participants said that the language was one of the reasons why they chose to come to Portugal, but as we can see from above quotes it can also be a reason for feeling disbelonging because there was a disconnect in how the Portuguese and the Brazilians convey and construct

meaning. One can also see that this is part of an othering process (Canales 2000) the majority society is othering the 'Brazilian accent' and it is seen as less Portuguese i.e. hierarchically lower than the 'Portuguese accent' which is tied to the colonial past.

Even if language can be seen as one of the reasons the research participants' felt a lack of belonging which could have motivated them to return to Brazil, through an intersectional analysis one can argue that their other social location regarding class and race developed below helped them in feeling belonging making the decision to stay 'easier'.

The majority of the participants are white, or white-passing, and are in privileged positions in society. They came to Lisbon to study, or work, they have friends and a social life, some even have partners. During Covid-19 most of them could continue working and/or studying online, meaning they had computers and access to the internet to be able to work from home. Their social locations allowed them to continue living a pretty comfortable life during lockdowns and the restrictions set in place because of the pandemic. This influenced some of the participant's decisions to stay:

> Of course, the Covid issue has hindered everyone's life. What if I had run out of a job and had no love bond here in Portugal, certainly would have returned to Brazil, as I saw some people return. But thank goodness, that is not my case.

> However, I think it's no solution to go back and give this dream up in my case because I'm still in a comfortable situation. If I weren't, I would try to find an alternative, so I wouldn't lose the progress I've made so far.

Others were waiting out the pandemic to see how they would move forward when things go back to normal:

> If I can get a job in my area, I'll stay here, if I can't, I think of going back to Brazil.

There is not a clear line between staying in Lisbon during this time and class affiliation, it should be mentioned that for example construction workers have been able to keep their jobs through lockdowns in Lisbon. One of the research participants mentioned that the people that returned did so because they lost their jobs and did not have support networks. So the connection is employment/studying more than class as a general concept when it comes to staying versus returning. She also mentioned that coming to Europe is very expensive, so just to be able to come to Europe is a privilege that not everyone can afford. This is in contrast with what Van Meeteren and Pereira (2013) has shown, the research participants belong to a

group of highly skilled migrants (like the first wave in the 80:s) in line with Robins (2019) argument that lifestyle migration is not solely a feature of the global north.

Despite the first sense of lack of belonging most of the research participants have found some sort of community and sense of belonging in Lisbon. This can be related to belonging being socially constructed, and that the place one stays in (or belongs to) is influenced by people's social trajectory (Savage et al., 2004). Possibilities for a positive social trajectory one could argue is linked to peoples' social locations. So, the more privileged one is, the easier to have a positive trajectory which enhances possibilities to belong in the host country. For the research participants their social locations have helped them to get through Covid-19 as they could continue working and studying online which I argue is crucial in their decision to stay in the host country even after finishing their initial incentives to leave Brazil.

Their dual social locations are an important background when I will now discuss identification, emotional attachment, and the politics of belonging. The participant's privileged social localities made it possible for them to work and/or study, build a social network and go from feelings of otherness to feelings of belonging, but as we will see below, this belonging is somewhat complex, intertwined and still strongly connected to Brazil and Brazilian culture.

Importance of country of origin and diaspora

It was quite clear that for most of the research participants the main reason they wanted to return to Brazil was to see their family, and this was heightened during Covid-19 as most of them expressed that they worried about their family and wanted to be close to them:

> The main reason you wanted to return was to be closer to family?
> Yes, [...], my father is a bit old so I was very worried about him, [...] It is very frustrating when you want to be back to have the support from your family and you can't be close to them. I'm lucky cause I have good friends here who always support me, but it's not the same thing.

> I didn't think twice to buy the ticket. I was very afraid of something happening to my family. I wanted to be close to them right now.

> The reason I went to Brazil was to kill the longing for my family! I WAS SO much with "saudades" [longing]! [...] I had been without seeing my family for a long time and was difficult for me.

> I was just afraid that flights would be canceled again, but I wasn't afraid of getting sick from Covid. This applies both to going to Brazil and returning to Portugal. Fear only of flight cancellations and not of Covid itself.

From the seven research participants three returned to Brazil during the pandemic, mainly to visit family. During the pandemic the sense of belonging to their country of origin was connected to worrying about family and wanting to be present to be able to take care of them, or to find support and safety for themselves. Even if one can see that this was heightened during the pandemic and that the emotional attachment to family was more important than the risk of being infected, they still only wanted to return temporarily.

As mentioned in the section about social locations most of the research participants have friends, co-workers and some even partners in Portugal, one even talked about how her partner's family is a vital part of her everyday life and that her partner's parents are the only people that she kept seeing through the lockdown and the social distancing recommendations. Something that struck me was that even with these new social relations here in Portugal most of them had daily contact with their family and friends in Brazil. They were keeping up with each others' day-to-day-life through videocalls and sending pictures of what they were doing. This can be understood as a way to keep the emotional attachment to family, friends and place of origin, and to cope with missing and worrying about them they use this transnational virtual social space. The importance of family was expressed by most of the research participants:

> In my view, family is the basis of everything: it is where we learn our values, where we are loved, where we are corrected, where we feel belonging and something bigger. I think having a loving family is the greatest gift we have in life.

> What does home and family mean to you?
> Everything! I would give my life for anyone of them.

One can see how the family ties are a big part of their identity, and even if some expressed doubts about their sense of 'Brazilianess' (developed further down), their contact with family was still central in their everyday life and by this they are upholding a daily relation to Brazil. One can understand this daily contact aided by the technologization of communication relating to home and belonging, where home can be a virtual and rhetorical transnational space with the people that you share your life with (Morley, 2001). It is not restricted to the same shared material space/place and physical presence of the people that you share home

with. It can also be understood as a way to uphold their roots in Brazil by taking part of their family and friends' everyday life by for example taking part in social gatherings in Brazil through hour-long video calls making belonging at the same time very much connected to their identity as Brazilians and place-belongingness (Antonisch, 2010) even if it is from a far. And by this active and frequent upholding of this sense of belonging to their country of origin from afar one can argue that it is easier to stay in the host country even during a time of crisis, because the persons are present, even if not in person.

I asked all of the research participants if they were a part of a Brazilian community in Lisbon, to which all said that they were to varying degrees but they expressed different feelings towards the diaspora:

> This group of my Brazilian friends who live here in Portugal means a lot to me! It is like having a piece of home, being away from home. It is a kind of refuge.

> Yes, I do feel that we, Brazilians, are a strong community who are proud to be Brazilian
> I said earlier that we are always going to feel like foreigners whenever we face a Portuguese person, but at the same time, it feels just like another city in Brazil for the contact and support we find in each other. It makes Portugal feel very Brazilian.

It's clear that some of the participants are part of the diaspora as a way to keep the bond to their homeland. The emotional attachment to their country of origin has connected the diaspora in Portugal and several of the participants express that the hardest part of the pandemic has been not being able to see friends and socialize. The diaspora has helped them feel belonging in Portugal too because of their common identity as Brazilian migrants, making the transition to live their life comfortably and stay in a forreign country easier. Some also expressed the importance of taking part of Brazilian culture in Portugal in their sense of belonging by going to Brazilian bars and restaurants, and listening to Brazilian music which they could not do during lockdowns making them feel isolated or as one research participant said 'suffocated'. This can be understood as emotional attachments and the narrative of being Brazilian that relates to the past life in Brazil, which explains the present disbelonging through seeking out the Brazilian community (Yuval-Davis 2006).

Other participants were more critical towards the diaspora:

> I don't trust much the Brazilians outside Brazil. Most are not trustable. [common friend] is the only Brazilian I had connection here. But most are hard to trust. I do give a chance but I analyze it a lot before I can trust.

> Yes, I believe that I'm part of brazilian community but I'm gradually losing some contact [...]
> Also, brazilians here don't look like to support each other like we normally do in our country [...]
> I mean that in Brazil the great majority is brazilians so there's more sense of brotherhood. I feel that the environment, the weather, the society here make some brazilians less brazilians, you know?

Even if the research participants express different feelings toward the diaspora, and the importance of being a part of it, there seems to be a clear picture of what it means to be Brazilian, and some expectations that one can see relates to the emotional attachment of the 'homeland identity'. Either it can evoke a sense of 'feeling home', or it can evoke the opposite, a sense of being very different from 'home'. Either way there is a strong emotional attachment to what it means to identify as Brazilian and to belong to the Brazilian diaspora which can be understood as the emotional investment that takes place alongside with social construction when it comes to sense of place and it's connection to belonging (Qian & Zhu, 2014). Even if no one says directly that the diaspora is a part of the reason why they chose to stay in Portugal, I argue that being part of it is connected to belonging, and had there been a total lack of belonging in the host country there would be more reason to return to their country of origin during the pandemic, especially because as many expressed worry for their families, a heightened longing to see them and to take care of them in case something happened.

Citizen of the world

When asked about belonging during Covid-19 most of the participants said that the pandemic had not affected their sense of belonging. Some said that belonging was more about the social connections than about a certain place, others said that belonging is about being able to be free to be one's authentic self, but most agreed that it was something bigger than ties to different countries. The fluency of belonging through globalization and a connection to the 'cosmopolitan peoplehood' (Sobre-Denton & Bardhan, 2013, p. 76) means that for many privileged people career, education and other life choices is no longer restricted to where one was born or grew up as it might have been when travelling was both expensive and took days instead of hours. Even with daily contact with Brazil, and keeping in touch with the brazilian diaspora in Lisbon, many of the interviewees expressed this sense of cosmopolitan peoplehood.

It may seem like a cliché, but I feel like I'm a citizen of the world and I want to belong to many places at the same time.

I consider myself a free spirit. I can belong anywhere that gives me chance to do so. I'm not too attached to material goods and a specific place. I think that the beautiful challenge is to be able to live and get to know your houses to be along the way

[...] but working online I can be an Earth citizen kkkk [same as "hahaha"] does it makes sense?

I prefer experiencing new cultures instead of my own who I am really tired of lol.

I found it interesting that many of the research participants expressed this sense of cosmopolitan peoplehood, and at the same time had a very strong connection to the Brazilian diaspora, and daily contact with their country of origin through family and friends. In a utopian 'cosmopolitan peoplehood' one could argue that there would not be any feelings of lack of belonging, or a need/want to keep a strong connection to one's country of origin as one belongs everywhere, right? So why is the brazilian diaspora and the brazilian community in Portugal so important? My interpretation is that the importance of the bond to Brazil is an expression for the emotional attachment to their families and their country of origin, and that the familiarity that they felt through the diaspora is connected to the othering processes that they first encountered in Portugal. Another explanation might be that connecting to the cosmopolitan peoplehood can be understood as a way to cope with lack of belonging. Instead of being (or seeing oneself) as a stranger/foreigner, one identifies with the "We of cosmopolitan peoplehood" (Sobre-Denton & Bardhan, 2013, p. 81). These things do not have to be in opposition to one another, but I find it interesting that many of the interviewees have felt a lack of belonging (even if briefly in the beginning) and still view themselves as world citizens. Even if they express a sense of cosmopolitanism one can see that a part of their identity or sense of self is strongly associated to place-belongingness (Antonsich, 2010) through this connection to their country of origin. Through an intersectional analysis one can see that all these things co-exist because even if they as migrants from a former colonized country are part of a marginalized group, they are at the same time part of a privileged group through class positions and passing as whites, making their sense of belonging complex. So, marginalization leads to a longing to belong, and the privileged position leads to the identity of the world citizen - the free cosmopolitan where they can find community and belonging

disconnected from the hierarchical identities of Brazilian and Portuguese and this is not affected by a global pandemic.

Othering processes

Identification of self and 'the other' are key differences when it comes to citizenship and belonging. Yuval Davis (2007) argues that people that are part of (constructed) other ethnic, racial and/or national groups are considered to not belong to the nation state community even if they are entitled to citizenship. Boundaries are drawn and maintained through social interaction between minorities and the majority society to point out hierarchical relations between the two groups, and also to show who belongs and who does not:

> Portugal is a difficult country to live for BR [Brazilians], it's a fucking xenophobic country, the [people] over 30 yo are terrible! They don't want us here, I had to deal with such many things during this year, it's hard and honestly I don't know how to deal correctly yet. I don't feel bad anymore, I feel sorry for them but it still bothering me.

> Also, in my first University, [...] I remember about two professors that I had, one of them were always making jokes about Brazil and the people, and about the president etc, and the other one used to say that we don't know how to speak English and when we do know how to speak. We speak like people from the countryside [...] Also, I've already heard from some people that we don't speak Portuguese correctly, and our language should be called "Brazilian" and not "Portuguese".

Above we can see examples of the otherism (Canales 2000) that the Brazilians face by explicit racist remarks that again show how the majority society point out the hierarchical social locations between Brazilians and Portuguese. Some of the research participants also expressed that they had developed different ways to adapt and deal with being othered, or facing racism:

> Brazilians usually attract and interact with Brazilians, and Portuguese do the same with other Portuguese people. It's noticeable in the crowd of some restaurants how we don't always mix. [...] I do believe that Brazilians feel more comfortable being with each other, and even with some interaction, I feel like we are always going to be outsiders, even because that's how my friends who have been here for years feel. Our behavior, our energy, our kindness are different, and that's acceptable.

> I had some contact in Brazil with portuguese and I know how they "work" so I know what to do to avoid it.
> - Can you give examples on how to avoid it?

> Probably this was just an asshole portuguese. Ask less, be more direct, try to adapt the language. A lot of brazilians come here thinking they're still in Brazil, but although it's a similar place, they have a different way to live and act and we have to adapt.

The emotional aspects of politics of belonging are crucial when it comes to the division of 'us' and 'them', it is connected to people loving their country and people, and the fear of pollution of their culture and tradition (Yuval-Davis, 2007). The excerpts above show how Portuguese people in daily life express these fears and anxieties towards the Brazilian migrants by a hierarchical positioning between the two groups which I interpret as being connected to the national imaginations by the majority population (Yuval-Davis, 2006) being violated by this migrant group. Leading the migrant group to look for belonging through the diaspora and not mixing with the locals. Another way to understand this is that the cosmopolitan peoplehood that many of the research participants identify with is a way to cope with this 'postcolonial luggage' that they have to carry when they chose to live in the former colonizer country. Again, through an intersectional analysis we can see that it points to their dual social location as both marginalized, and privileged; instead of seeing themselves as victims, or marginalized in this hierarchical position with the majority society, they see themselves as world citizens which one can argue gives them (or at least a feeling of) a righteous place in the country where they are marginalized making it easier to stay. Their belonging to this country is under threat because of their position as migrants, and instead of identifying as the cultural other - by their longing to belong (Yuval-Davis, 2006) they find community and belonging in cosmopolitan peoplehood and the diaspora making the decision to stay easier.

The role-taking (Canales 2000) involved in othering processes that makes people define themselves in relation to others, to avoid conflict, marginalization and being othered, have made the Brazilian migrants take on a role that is adapted after their interactions with the portuguese and more in line of how the portuguese expect them to behave. This might explain why some of the research participants expressed that Brazilians in Portugal cannot be trusted, or are perceived as 'less'brazilian' in the section about emotional attachments. Because of the threats towards Brazilian identity in Portugal they have constructed a new identity that can be understood as showing some sort of lack of loyalty to 'real brazilianess' making them seem untrustworthy which keeps recreating the hierarchical position between Brazil and Portugal internally in the migrant group as well. Creating an interesting tension between

assimilating/integrating fully into Portuguese society and the importance of the Brazilian connection through the diaspora. If this otherism and racism has worsened during Covid-19 is too early to say, but we know that it is not uncommon for migrants to be treated worse and scapegoated when the economy is failing and the majority population is struggling - which indeed has been an effect of the pandemic.

Results and discussion

In conclusion, Brazilian migrants' sense of belonging in Portugal is highly tied to their sense of belonging to Brazil. In line with Marlowes' (2015) previous research on belonging post-crisis one can see how ethno-belonging to country of origin, family, the diaspora and civic-belonging through work and study opportunities in the host country are important for this group too. I argue that these belongings are part of why the research participants chose to stay in the host country. It seems like the Covid-19 pandemic was not a huge factor in their sense of belonging and their decision to stay. But their privileged social location during the pandemic I argue is the reason why the pandemic did not really matter. Their social locations factored into their possibility to construct multiple belongings making their decision to stay stand in contrast to the increased number of migrants that had to return due to the effects of the pandemic (Demony 2020). Had they been in a more precarious position I am sure that the effects of the pandemic had affected their day to day life more and maybe even forced them to return.

Even if they were in a privileged position through the pandemic for example through being able to keep their jobs study etc this study reveals some of the social issues that this migrant group face in the host country. In line with findings in earlier research (Ribeiro et, al. 2019) the Brazilian diaspora has been shown to be marginalized, and experience xenophobia. The results from this study contribute to highlight the complexity of a both marginalized and privileged group of migrants' sense of belonging. This gives a better understanding of how the colonial past affects Brazilian migrants' life in Portugal through othering processes which, I argue, leads them to seek belonging and community through the diaspora, cosmopolitanism, and by upholding their place-belongingness to the homeland. Even though some reported feeling more longing and worry about their family members in their country of origin during the global pandemic they decided to stay in the host country with no plans of returning to Brazil because of these belongings. One can also see connections between the Brazilian

migrant group's dual social location, as both marginalized and privileged, as an example of the contradictions that Ali et. al. (2002) highlight of migrants' hardship to be able to define their identity as something other than what is accepted by the majority society that migrants face. It is also in line with Robins (2019) research that shows how middle class Brazilian migrants differentiate themselves from economic migrants by identifying with cosmopolitanism.

Furthermore, one of the contributions of this study is the method used and my in-depth thoughts and discussions about correspondence as the primary data collection strategy, which I hope can both inspire and motivate other researchers to develop this method even more. As mentioned it is time consuming and not ideal for all studies, but if the time frame allows it I argue that it is a great way to interview over a long period of time to be able to follow a topic and developments related to it as time passes.

Further research is needed in order to get a broader understanding of the Brazilian diaspora group's sense of belonging, and on the long term effects of the Covid-19 pandemic that we are living in/through. We need to have a better understanding of how this has affected return migrants' lives, if people from different stratifications construct belonging in the same ways, and how belonging to the diaspora and community in the diaspora has been affected by people's forced relocations. One big question for future research is, how are migrants' social locations affected by the long term effects of the pandemic on the majority population?

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Appendix

Interview Questions:
Gender:
Age:

Why did you come to Lisbon? - When?

Can you tell me about your first day in Europe? (what did you do, how did you feel, do you remember the weather, smells, interactions?)

What do you do here? (Occupation - if this has changed due to the pandemic - what did you do before?)

Were you here during the outbreak of covid?
How have you dealt with the social distancing recommendations and restrictions?
How do you feel about the current restrictions?
Is there any difference between the "first wave"/lockdown and the second/third one? (How you feel about it, coping, following restrictions etc)
Do you think you would have made the same decisions regarding recommendations/restrictions if you were in Brazil as here? Why/Why not?
Is your professional life affected by the restrictions? How?
Is your social life affected by the restrictions? How?

Do you meet people here in Lisbon (or your current location) during lockdown?
if yes - why?
if no - why not?
Do you meet new people?

Diaspora/belonging:
Would you say you are (or were) a part of a "brazilian community/family/friend group" in Portugal?
If yes, what does this mean to you? Has it changed during the pandemic?
How did you meet or get in contact?
Can you see if this relates to feelings of belonging at all?
If no, why not? Has it changed during the pandemic?

What does it mean for you to belong to a community?
Has the need/want to belong to something been influenced by Covid?
How do you keep in touch with Brazilian culture (music, shows, news, politics, podcasts etc) from a far?
Is this important to you? why? why not?

Home and returning to Brazil:

How long are you planning to stay? - Has covid influenced this at all?
Did you go back to Brazil before the pandemic to visit?
Are you planning on returning to Brazil in the future to live?
If yes, why?
If no, why not?
Have you returned to Brazil during the pandemic?
if yes, why? and why did you return to Portugal after?
if no, why not? Did you consider it at any time? Why?
Did your family want you to go back?
Do you think about going back to Brazil in the same way as before the pandemic?
What does home mean to you?
Has this changed during the pandemic?
Do you think about where you belong?
If yes what factors are important for you to feel like you belong?
Do you feel like you belong here in Portugal and/or Brazil? Why/why not? Has this changed during the pandemic?
What does family mean to you?
Tell me more about your background, what do your parents do for a living? How did you grow up?
Has this changed during the pandemic?
Do you keep in contact with your family and friends in Brazil?
How?
How often?
If you had covid (or would get covid), did (would) you tell them? why/why not?
If someone in your family had covid, did they tell you?
Do you talk about covid generally with your family? Do they worry about you?