



Kent Academic Repository

Franks, Lisa Victoria (2021) 'Living the Dream' Cosmopolitan Post-Austerity Portuguese Migrants in London and the Desire for a Good Life. Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of Kent,.

Downloaded from

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/89728/> The University of Kent's Academic Repository KAR

The version of record is available from

<https://doi.org/10.22024/UniKent/01.02.89728>

This document version

UNSPECIFIED

DOI for this version

Licence for this version

CC BY (Attribution)

Additional information

Versions of research works

Versions of Record

If this version is the version of record, it is the same as the published version available on the publisher's web site. Cite as the published version.

Author Accepted Manuscripts

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding. Cite as Surname, Initial. (Year) 'Title of article'. To be published in *Title of Journal*, Volume and issue numbers [peer-reviewed accepted version]. Available at: DOI or URL (Accessed: date).

Enquiries

If you have questions about this document contact ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk. Please include the URL of the record in KAR. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our [Take Down policy](https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies) (available from <https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies>).

'Living the Dream'
Cosmopolitan Post-Austerity Portuguese
Migrants in London and the Desire for a
Good Life

Lisa Victoria Franks

University of Kent
School of Anthropology and Conservation
February 2021

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Social Anthropology

Word Count: 85,793

To Boxy,

You've always believed in me.

I couldn't have done this without you.

Thank you

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis wouldn't have been possible without the support and encouragement of friends, family and colleagues along the way.

To all my wonderful research participants who let me into their lives and their homes and instilled a love of Portugal and its people in me, thank you. For your stories, for sharing your homes with me and treating me like a member of the family, and for your enduring friendship and wisdom.

Thank you to my colleagues and friends at the University of Kent for their advice and support over the years, especially Ilektra, Boana, Avi, Tom and Keira. To Nicola who helped me with all my admin woes through the years and to Lucy for getting me over the final hurdles. A heartfelt thank you to Matt and Nando for making my Viva into a positive and memorable experience and calming my nerves. Most of all, to my supervisors. To João for his unique insights and knowledge on everything Portuguese. To Judith for stepping in at the last minute and giving me the boost and encouragement to get it done. And most of all to Dimitrios, who always believed in me and made me feel nothing was impossible, despite the various crises along the way.

Finally, to my family. My mum Ana, the original adventurer who inspired my wanderlust and my curiosity about the world. My dad Steve, who, despite remaining bewildered as to what exactly I'm doing, gave me a love of reading, bonhomie and knowledge. My sister Moira, who's always been there for me no matter what. To Jennie, David and Kate, thank you for all your encouragement and positivity over the years.

And the most important of all. Thank you to Boxy with all my heart, whose love has kept me fed and watered for nearly two decades and who has never allowed me to doubt myself. And to Temi and Frida, my babies, who make everything worth it.

ABSTRACT

This thesis asks how highly educated Portuguese migrants in London experience and embody the desire to live a 'good life'. In answering this question, I also explore the effect this desire has on the way my research participants relate to others in the context of social and economic changes wrought by the 2008 financial crisis and the years leading up to it. Drawing on nearly three years of anthropological fieldwork in London and Portugal, the conceptual basis of my thesis rests on a differentiation outlined by my research participants between 'old' (working class) and 'new' (cosmopolitan) Portuguese migrants. I conceptualise this conflict as a contradiction in orientations, which I address via a tri-faceted theoretical framework that interweaves theories of cosmopolitanism, temporality and 'good life'.

In defining cosmopolitanism as an emerging sense of global commonality, underscored by inherent conflict (Vertovec and Cohen 2002), my analysis asks how migrant cosmopolitan identities are lived and understood within the desire for freedom/a 'good life', and ongoing relationships with kin and wider social and laboral networks. The temporal aspect of my analysis is inspired by a Deleuzian understanding of desire as a human condition, which links the individual and the collective, through what Deleuze and Guatarri (2003) refer to as 'assemblages'—the meeting of bodies, things and ideas across time and space. By taking into account an emerging set of local and global conditions as a backdrop to the transformative potential of migration (conceived as an ongoing process of becoming), I ask how my research participants' experiences of the world are lived and felt in temporal and spatial terms. Building on the anthropology of Self and personhood in the context of crisis in Southern Europe, my research offers a unique contribution—focusing on a 'Southern' problem which is felt and transformed in the 'Northern' context in which it takes place.

I confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own, unless otherwise stated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
ABSTRACT	4
LIST OF FIGURES	7
SECTION ONE: SETTING THE SCENE	
PROLOGUE	8
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	
1.1 Objectives, Argument and Research Questions	13
1.2 Significance of Research	14
1.3 Ethnographic Context	17
1.4 Theoretical Framework	20
1.5 Thesis Outline	31
CHAPTER TWO: ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT, METHODOLOGY AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	
2.1 Ethnographic Context: 'New' Portuguese migrants in London—a Global Middle Class?	33
2.2 Ethnographic Context: Portugal	35
2.3 Ethnographic Context: London	38
2.4 A note on my position as a researcher	40
2.5 Fieldwork with Children	42
2.6 Anthropology at Home	43
2.7 Methods used	44
2.8 Urban Ethnography and the Narrative Approach	46
2.9 Learning the language and language capital	48
2.10 Ethical Considerations	49
SECTION TWO: ETHNOGRAPHY AND ANALYSIS	
CHAPTER 3: HOPE AND GENERATIONS	
3.1 Introduction	50
3.2 Opportunities, Generations and Personhood: Maria	53
3.3 A New Theory of Generations: Hope	60
3.4 Opportunities, Lies and a Good Life: Sofia and José	63
3.5 From Arrested Expectations to Freedom	71
3.6 Cross-Generational Perceptions	73
3.7 Conclusion	76
CHAPTER 4: CLASS, SOCIAL MOBILITY AND BELONGING	
4.1 What is Class?	79
4.2 Is Class Relevant?	83
4.3 Class, Education and Symbolic Capital	85
4.4 Good Life	89
4.5 'Traditional' Middle Classes, Status and Family Support	92
4.6 Migratory Habitus and the New Middle Classes	97
4.7 Moving Beyond Materiality and Status as Categories of Difference in Discussions of the New Middle Class- Post-Colonialism and Gender	101
4.8 Conclusion	109

CHAPTER 5: FOUR CHILDREN OF THE BEIRA. STATUS, A DIVIDED COMMUNITY AND COSMOPOLITANS		
5.1	Introduction	113
5.2	Four children of the Beira from a multi-scalar perspective	117
5.3	Paulo and Guilherme- ‘Embedded in the land’: family, memory and status	119
5.4	Stockwell: Us and Them: Two communities, one city and everyone in between....	122
5.5	Illustrious Ancestors, Retornados and Migratory Habitus	131
5.6	Cosmopolitans, Migratory Habitus and ‘it’s different now’	138
5.7	Conclusion	145
CHAPTER 6: OLD AND NEW NETWORKS		
6.1	Introduction	149
6.2	Networks in Anthropology	150
6.3	<i>Cunha</i> Vs Weak Ties	152
6.4	Settling in for the Long Haul	155
6.5	Cosmopolitan Identities	160
6.6	The Digital Age- What is Real?	167
6.7	Digital Kinship Networks	170
6.8	Conclusion	176
SECTION THREE- CONCLUSION		
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION		
7.1	A Reflective Vignette	182
7.2	Summary of Arguments	184
7.3	Bringing Everything Together	199
EPILOGUE		201
BIBLIOGRAPHY		203

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig 1: Coming down from the <i>Sé</i> during <i>São João</i>	11
Fig 2: South and South-East London	18
Fig 3: Little Portugal	19
Fig 4: ‘The Portuguese Migrant’	36
Fig 5: Blenheim Tower and New Cross	82
Fig 6: Nuno’s drawing of his family tree	128
Fig 7: Ze Pedro’s Bar	153
Fig 8: Pop Brixton	156
Fig 9: Casa Madeira in South London	161
Fig 10: A poster advertising English classes for Portuguese speakers at Stockwell Library	164
Fig 11: Diogo’s favourite <i>francesinha</i> restaurant	171
Fig 12: The <i>Monumento Tragedia no Mar</i> on Matosinhos beach.	172

PROLOGUE

Music was blaring out of every street corner as Beatriz called out ‘*boa São João, boa São João*¹!’ and darted to and fro, tapping people over the head with her plastic hammer. The sound of horns tooting vibrated through the air as the brightly coloured hammers bobbed on a sea of partygoers. It was June 2017 and Porto, Portugal’s second city, was holding its annual midsummer festival in honour of St John the Baptist. Known as the *feira de São João* in Portuguese, the Christian element of this local adaptation of the pagan summer solstice seemed to me to be overshadowed by the raucous atmosphere in a city whose people I had always thought of as quite reserved. ‘This way!’ cried Beatriz, and we followed her up a hill and into a bar that was rammed full and smelled very strongly of sardines. Tânia appeared at my shoulder and put her hand on my arm. ‘This is it’, she announced, and leaned over the bar to ask the barman about the table she had reserved for ten people. I looked at her with alarm and was relieved when she turned back shrugging her shoulders, ‘it looks like there is no table available’. We ducked back outside into the crowded street which was deliciously cool compared to the sweaty bar and leaned against a car which was covered in plates of *caldo verde* (Portuguese kale soup) and *bifana* (marinated pork sandwiches). From the top of the hill I could see the *Sé*, Porto’s cathedral, lit up below us and hear the sounds of merriment echoing through the city. I had come to Portugal especially for the carnival and been invited out for the evening with Tânia, who I knew from London. The gregarious Beatriz was Tânia’s friend from secondary school. They were both from a small town an hour south, although Beatriz, as she would later inform me, had been born in Germany and her family had migrated back to her parents’ hometown in Portugal when she was thirteen. We had started the evening in the flat Beatriz shared with her boyfriend António in central Porto. ‘Welcome to the shoebox!’ Beatriz had said to me as we walked in, before she and Tânia disappeared to the bedroom to get ready and catch up on a years’ worth of news. António passed me a beer as we waited for them in the living room and asked me how I knew Tânia. I told him we both lived in London and I had met her there a few months earlier. I asked him if he knew the city. He did, he replied, he had visited about four years ago to stay with some friends who’d been living in Maida Vale, in the affluent western suburbs. He told me about them. A Portuguese couple, he worked for the World Bank, she worked in a high flying IT job. ‘They’re back here now though. They made a, how shall we say it, “lifestyle choice”’ and he laughed. I raised my eyebrows and he continued. ‘Yes, well, the sun,

¹ Happy Saint John’s Day

the good life. They came back about four years ago. The guy, he is working with me now. We have a business running food tours.'

Tânia had also told me earlier that day that she had decided to leave London and return to Portugal. Breaking up with her Hungarian boyfriend of six months had been the catalyst, she admitted, but she had been thinking about it for a while. 'Originally I had the idea of going to Spain, remember?' I had nodded and she continued, wrinkling her nose and shrugging. 'Jobs though, starting again, it's not something easy I can just do.' I asked her why, as one of the first things she had said to me when we first met was that she loved to travel and her dream was to see the world. She made a face at that. 'I'm fed up, I'm scared all the time, I think, why am I here just to live in fear? My objective was to learn English and that's what I did and now I've realised, life in Portugal, it's actually really good!' There was an element of performance in the way the speech came out and I wondered how many times she had explained her plan to others. It was true though that it had been a hard year for residents of London. The divisive nature of the Brexit vote the previous summer had been followed by a series of high profile terror attacks, with many of those killed foreign nationals who lived and worked in the UK capital. Tânia had arrived there in the spring of the year before and I had met her shortly afterwards. Throughout the year I had seen her fairly regularly and had noticed that as the weather had cooled, so had her initial enthusiasm for living in the UK.

Tânia and Beatriz were both nurses. Whilst Beatriz still worked at the Sao João hospital in Porto, where both women had started their careers, Tânia was one of approximately 5000 Portuguese nurses who had arrived in the UK between 2012 and 2016 (Pereira 2019: 106). She had been enlisted by NHS recruitment teams whose job over the last few years had been to scout the universities and hospitals of Southern Europe in an attempt to find staff to fill the UK's huge nursing shortage. Describing her decision to emigrate, she had told me that 'I was working at the main hospital in Porto. I had a good life, I didn't earn much but I had an apartment just for me, tiny but I used to go out, meet friends. I could get anywhere in just ten minutes! Not like here (in London), you try to meet someone and they live at the opposite end of the city and it's cold and raining.' She had made a face and her shoulders slumped. 'Yes, there a nurse who works in the day makes 800 euros a month. If you do nights, weekend, you can make 1100 euros. But it's enough to live! But I needed a change, an adventure. So that's why I decided to come here!' She held up a hand and smiled. 'Just to learn English though, not because of the crisis or anything like that. Lots of my friends who came after me, well they are here because they can earn double the salary. Not me though.' She was different, she said, and had shown a touch of pride on describing

how she came alone. 'I arrived and didn't know anyone. Now, I'm sorry to say though, all my friends are Portuguese. They came here for the money. Not like me, but they saw they could earn double and have a good life'. I asked what her friends did for work. 'They're all nurses!' she giggled then held her hands up. 'It's so hard to make friends with British people. They are cold like the weather. I find them very closed. The attitude to work is: work is everything! Everything is about work and consumption. In Portugal, we can go out, have a coffee or one beer and make it last for hours and just talk and talk. London is so different.'

Nevertheless, Tânia had always referred to herself as an outsider in Portugal. The first time we met she had said to me that 'in Portugal, there is a set way to be, you go to school go to university, get married, have a baby, die.' Her view of marriage did not tempt her down this path. Recalling the patients she had worked with in her previous job as a gastric nurse in Porto, she had commented that obesity was quite common and 'they were mostly women. I'd say about 80% were depressed. One remarked to me "at least my husband will look at me now".' Divorce, though, she informed me, was 'not that well seen. I mean, you can tell people you're divorced and they won't be shocked but you can tell they're thinking, how sad, the poor children, if there are any. They'd rather see you sad and married than happy and divorced.' Her own mother was a widow and Tânia described her as a somewhat gloomy, religious presence.

She wasn't planning on going back just yet though. Her *São João* trip was just for fun as it was 'one of the best nights of the year in Porto'. Linking her arm through mine, she offered me some of the strong sweet wine she was sipping out of a miniature bottle as the boisterous group around us started to descend to the next bar. We reached the *Sé* and headed down into a neighbourhood of winding cobbled alleyways. The houses were draped with decorations and everyone was sitting at long tables in the street finishing their dinner or dancing to traditional music, waving their hammers and singing. Old people were hanging out of windows, with some at street level selling bottles of beer. We stopped and Beatriz pointed at me. 'Beer?' she said, and I rubbed my tummy and made a face, shaking my head. It had been a long night. She shrugged and she and António got their bottles and ascended down the hill a little more. Turning a corner, they both whooped and embraced an old lady sitting on a table in the alley. 'This is my grandmother in Porto' announced António, to the group in general. She was smiling at them as they gently pressed their hammers to her forehead and said '*boa São João*'.



Fig. 1: Coming down from the Sé during São João

Getting to the bar, we stood outside. There were people everywhere and Tânia leaned against a post and started chatting to those around us as Beatriz and António flitted around in social whirl. A sweatily grinning man in his early 40s approached and started talking to Tânia and she beckoned me over, introducing me as her friend from London who was learning Portuguese. He asked why and I told him I was doing a PhD on the effect of the 2008 financial crisis on people's lives in Portugal and he laughed and gestured, 'Portugal is perfect then, *Portugal é crise*²!' His companion, a blonde girl, who'd tottered over looking slightly worse for wear, nodded in agreement. She added 'London, you've got to be careful, eh? We hear about things here' and she aimed a finger at me, saying darkly, 'the attacks'. She asked how I knew Tânia and when I said she also lived in London they both reacted with surprise. The girl asked what she was doing there and on hearing 'nurse' beamed drunkenly. 'If you hadn't said nurse I'd have known anyway! You all go there!' Talking to her later, in between her skipping dance and downing of sangria, she told me she worked in IT systems. It was stable, 'enough for a good life', she said, 'although I live with my parents!' and she chortled before whirling off into the dancing again.

It felt like several hours later when we started walking back towards the waterfront. On the way we lost Beatriz and António. After various phone calls Tânia told me that the couple had argued and that perhaps they were better on their own for a while anyway. 'They always argue when they're drunk', she told me, 'but what can you do, they love each other'. We walked a bit more slowly down to the river. It was about 2 AM by now but I wasn't feeling tired anymore. We sat on a wall overlooking the quay and looked out at the thinning crowds of the riverside. She told me more about her afternoon, about the friend she was with and to whom 'she was very close, she's

² Portugal is crisis

one of those people I can talk about anything. I don't know if you know this about me but I believe in past lives and future lives. I really believe that. So we were talking about what the bad thing in this life might mean for the future.' I must have looked sceptical as she smiled and shrugged her shoulders. 'Well, it's what I believe. My mother, she is a very depressive, negative person. And me, I have to choose to let her get on with it, don't let it contaminate me.' I had an idea of this from what she had previously told me about her relationship with her mother but she had never said it outright before. I felt an insight into her need for change and to be as independent as possible.

At that moment some of the girls we had been with earlier recognised us and came over. They were friends of Beatriz who Tânia had never met before that evening. One of them chinked her mini bottle of wine against Tânia's and said 'You're a nurse right, so am I!' and they hugged and patted each other. They left and Tânia smiled at me. 'They're so nice, aren't they? Sometimes I feel it wouldn't be so bad to work at the hospital here again.' She suggested we go back to the main square and try and find Beatriz. Beatriz wasn't answering her phone and Tânia shrugged good naturedly. 'Beatriz, you see, I help calm her down and she helps liven me up. She is always saying to me, you have to be more out there! And I tell her hey, Beatriz, shhh calm down. We are good for each other. Opposites.' We stood for a while in the square, Tânia explaining the various music and dance around us. There was a lot of traditional *fado*, Brazilian music and a genre called *kizomba*, from Angola. This latter music was very popular with the crowd, who were mostly white. I'd been struck by how few black faces I had seen in Porto compared to my earlier visits to Lisbon. Tânia approached some black teenagers, who she said she had overheard speaking Portuguese with Angolan accents, and asked one of the boys if he danced *kizomba* and whether he would 'show her', pointing to me, 'as she is English and wants to know.' He shyly said no, he didn't know how, although she nudged me a few minutes later when two of his female companions got up and started dancing. I was struck by the sight of the Angolan boy sitting on the fountain whilst the majority white crowd around us danced to African rhythms around the square and thought about how much I still had to unravel about Portugal's colonial past. By 4 AM Tânia suggested going to find Beatriz again but, being near the metro, I told her I'd rather go home to bed. She nodded, and hugged me, saying 'I'll take just another wander around the square. See you in London!'

1.1 Objectives, Argument and Research Questions

My first objective in this thesis is to explore how the choices and outlooks of individuals such as Tânia, António and Beatriz regarding the desire for a 'good life' relate to local and global processes at the individual and household levels at a specific point in history. My second objective is to examine the expression of these changing desires from a temporal perspective, asking what this tells us about how migratory processes to and out of Portugal in the years leading up to and following the debt crisis of 2008/2009 are understood across space and time. To achieve these two objectives, I scrutinise the role of social and economic changes wrought by the financial crisis, and the years leading up to it, in bringing a conflict between 'old' and 'new' to the fore, as is seen in Tânia's understanding of her choice to migrate for 'adventure'. By examining this conflict in the context of a historically specific migratory process, I explore how globalisation and cosmopolitanism have contributed to my interlocutors' aspirations towards a 'good life'.

Drawing on almost three years of ethnographic research with university-educated Portuguese migrants in London, this thesis therefore addresses the following question:

How do highly educated Portuguese migrants in London experience and embody the desire to live a 'good life'? What effect does this desire have on the way they relate to others in the context of wider shifts in economic and social historical processes?

I answer this question through a conceptual framework which interweaves theories of cosmopolitanism, temporality and 'good life'. In defining cosmopolitanism as an emerging sense of global commonality, which is underscored by inherent conflict (Vertovec and Cohen 2002), I explore how it is lived and understood within the desire for freedom/a 'good life' and ongoing relationships with kin and wider social and laboral networks. The temporal aspect comes from a Deleuzian understanding of desire as a human condition, which links the individual and the collective, through what Deleuze and Guatarri (2003) refer to as 'assemblages'—the meeting of bodies, things and ideas across time and space. By taking into account an emerging set of local and global conditions as a backdrop to the transformative potential of migration as an ongoing process of becoming, I ask how my research participants' experiences of the world around are lived and felt in temporal and spatial terms. Those factors which influence variances are the focus

of individual chapters and include educational capital, ethnicity, household status and material considerations, migratory habitus and use of different networks.

1.2 Significance of Research

My research explores how distinct assemblages and temporal understandings of what constitutes a 'good life' lead to a historical consciousness (historicity), which I suggest is culturally mediated (Hirsch and Stewart 2005; Hodges 2010) as cosmopolitan. These assemblages include not only individual experiences and the conditions of history, but also certain universal aspects of the human condition, such as the need to relate to others, the desire to pursue a life worth living and the aspiration towards a sense of permanence in the face of constant change. In defining temporality as a consciousness of time rather than a linear progression of past, present and future, my research can be located within a body of literature, which emerged in the early 2000s and focuses on temporality in the context of austerity in Southern Europe following the 2008 financial crisis (Knight 2012; Knight 2015; Knight and Stewart 2016; Alexandrakis 2016; Bryant 2016; Gray 2016; Narotzky 2016; Palumbo 2016; Pipyrrou 2016; Sabate 2016; Vournelis 2016; Bryant and Knight 2019). This body of literature has two major strands. Whilst both strands attempt to chart the effects of austerity by emphasising the new adaptations of living in the Southern European countries where it has hit hardest, their approaches are distinct.

The first strand is based on a conceptual framework that focuses on political and moral economy and is employed in ethnographies of social movements and anti-system community initiatives as responses to falling social standards (Narotzky 2011, 2016, 2020; Rakopoulos 2014; Orlando 2015; Theodossopoulos 2009, 2013, 2014, 2020a, 2020b). The second is a growing, parallel research on the anthropology of self and personhood with a strong focus on cognitive processes, such as affectiveness, temporality and memory as unique conceptual tools to analyse the changes in inner worlds wrought by shifts in grand historical narratives (Knight 2016; Bryant 2016; Jansen 2014; Alexandrakis 2016). Although I mainly refer to the latter strand, within it there is a distinctive lack of anthropological research on the specific demographic I propose—a 'Southern' problem which is felt, transformed and transforming in the 'Northern' context in which it takes place, which means my thesis contributes to this literature in a unique way. Drawing on Bryant and Knight's (2019) concept of different temporal orientations, I offer a new perspective—that of those Portuguese migrants who have the social or economic means to migrate.

I build on this literature by firstly digging deeper into the nature of Portuguese post-colonial migration to London. Specifically, by using cosmopolitanism as a conceptual framework which draws on the notion of a culturally open disposition as a state of mind as a result of the growth of opportunities provided by globalisation, but one which is also conflictive in its nature for the same reason (Vertovec and Cohen 2002; Beck 2002; Hannerz 1990; Theodossopoulos 2009). I focus on this conflict on both an individual/ household level (as the conflict between 'old' and 'new') as well as on a more global level, positing the nationalist narratives within debates on the Brexit vote and the London terror attacks as 'counter-cosmopolitan' (Theodossopoulos 2009). This is lacking in previous ethnographies on Portuguese outward migration, which mainly focus on analysing the historical factors, which have established Portugal as one of Europe's chief exporters of people and emphasise how transnationalism and the separation of families is deeply embedded into national identities (Brettell 1986). Most of these ethnographies focus on Portuguese communities in France, Canada and the US (Brettell 1979, 1981; Caspari and Giles 1986; Lamphere 1986; Giles 2002), with much less written about the Portuguese in Germany (such as Beatriz's family) and the UK. Indeed, the last relevant anthropological research on Portuguese migrant communities in London was published at the beginning of the 1990s (Giles 1991, 1992). Conceptually, much of this literature now reads as dated, with a modernist analysis of bounded cultures and the struggles of second generation migrants in straddling them. Nevertheless, it is useful in establishing the distinct demographic of these past migratory communities compared to today's, with rural, ethnically homogeneous Portuguese migrating groups having been joined by urban and second migration groups who had come to Portugal from around the former empire during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Using theoretical inspiration from the anthropology of cosmopolitanism, I explore how the 'new migrant' group perceive the divisions and continuities between the two groups and their outlooks. I also consider contemporary globalising influences and how they interweave with notions and performances of Portugueseness within the ongoing construction of Portuguese postcolonial discourses on race, ethnicity and citizenship (Vale de Almeida 2008a, 2008b; Challinor 2012; Drotbohm 2010; Saravaia 2008; Trovão 2012).

Following on from this, I suggest that emerging understandings of how the contemporary world is lived and felt by my research participants necessitate a further conceptual framing which can be found in the literature on Good Life. As a conceptual framework, many theories on Good Life overlap with those found in the literature on temporality and cosmopolitanism cited above, as well as the emerging field of Lifestyle Migration between European countries (O'Reilly and Benson 2009). As we have just seen in António's story in the Prologue, 'lifestyle choice' was commonly cited as part of the Good Life considerations by my research participants. Many of them, such as

the high-powered couple cited by António, shared cosmopolitan practices, narratives and aspirations with the affluent Northern European and North American ‘lifestyle migrants’ residing in France and Spain featured in O’Reilly and Benson’s study, such as a focus on self-actualisation and escape from structural conditions that were perceived to be restricting them from reaching their own potential.

However, the conceptual framework of the lifestyle migration body of literature runs into limits when taking into consideration Portugal’s context of being a periphery country within the EU. Following King’s (2000) model of Southern European migration, my research participants can be considered as part of a ‘fourth wave’ of migrants from Southern Europe, a “‘new emigration” of young, well-educated people seeking employment and new lifestyle experiences in North Europe, since the nineties, accelerating after 2008’ (King 2015: 139). Within this fourth phase, King describes the coinciding of two crises, one conjunctural and one structural. The former is the result of the 2008 financial crisis, whilst the latter is indicative of a deeper crisis since the mid-1990s—that of graduate unemployment. King’s model of Southern European migration draws on a centre-periphery framework wherein the overlapping geographic and economic peripherality of European countries such as Portugal and Spain (King 2015) emphasises the fragility and structural dependence of their economies on those of the ‘centre’ (i.e., Northern and Western European countries). This model can be considered as one face of cosmopolitanism in the sense suggested by Bauman (2013). Bauman proposes that the centre-periphery model combined with the weakening of the welfare state in Europe has led to the emergence of a new global cosmopolitan elite who seek ‘safety in an insecure world through the idea of mobility’ (Bauman 2013: 104). For this reason, the ‘good life’ part of my conceptual framework integrates the emphasis on narrative shared by the Lifestyle Migration literature, but mostly draws on a specific focus on Aristotelian ethical ideals of a fulfilled life (Mattingly 2014; Fischer 2014) in a distinct structural context. I particularly draw on Fischer’s (2014) definition of the Good Life as an ongoing aspiration for something better that gives meaning to life’s pursuit and Mattingly’s (2014) use of ‘moral projects’ to impart a sense of larger purpose to one’s life. I use this perspective on the Good Life to argue for the centrality of a cosmopolitan disposition within Good Life ideals about value, worth, virtue, good/ bad, right/ wrong in the context of crisis-induced temporality.

1.3 Ethnographic Context

Field Site

The majority of my fieldwork took place in London, mostly within a five kilometre radius of my home in New Cross, South East London. I had moved to this part of the city in 2012, four years prior to starting my PhD. From New Cross the city centre is seven kilometres away, a distance that in 2010 became much more easily traversable by improving public transport infrastructure, including new links to London's underground train network. However, the area's previous relative inaccessibility to the wealthy city centre was only one factor that had contributed to its status as one of the most deprived and violent wards in London (Townsend 2016). Extensive bombing during World War II followed by the closure of the docks on the nearby River Thames had accelerated a period of economic decline which culminated in much of the population moving to the suburbs. In their place came Caribbean migrants in the 1950s and 60s, many of whom were brought over to fill post-war labour shortages in the newly established NHS, just as nurses from Southern Europe were to be more than fifty years later. Rents in this part of London were particularly cheap and many of the new arrivals were housed in newly built social housing estates. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s community relations often spilled over into racial tensions. One of the earliest of several notable examples was the confrontation between the neo-fascist National Front and local populations of African and Caribbean ancestry during the 1977 Battle of Lewisham. This was followed by the 1981 New Cross Fire, where 14 black teenagers were killed in a suspected arson attack by white nationalists, and the 1993 racially motivated murder of black teenager Stephen Lawrence, which culminated in an independent inquiry into police corruption and institutional racism. At the time of writing, gang violence and social inequality remained a major issue which informed the everyday experiences of those who lived in this part of London, no matter their background. Nevertheless, despite New Cross's reputation as a dangerous place to live, improved transport links as well as its proximity to Goldsmiths College, which is part of the University of London, meant that in the years leading up to my fieldwork it had become an increasingly popular choice for incoming migrants of diversifying backgrounds as well as middle class white Britons. The ensuing proliferation of 'regeneration' projects (Benson and Jackson 2017; Butler and Robson 2003) led to the conversion of New Cross and the surrounding area into a particularly contested site of class division. There was an average house price increase of nearly 80% between 2004-2013 (Benson and Jackson 2017) and a shift in consumption infrastructure along increasingly racialised and classed lines. The rich ethnographic possibilities of South East

London and the fact I had an extensive knowledge of the area and its transport links made this an ideal part of the city from which to undertake fieldwork.

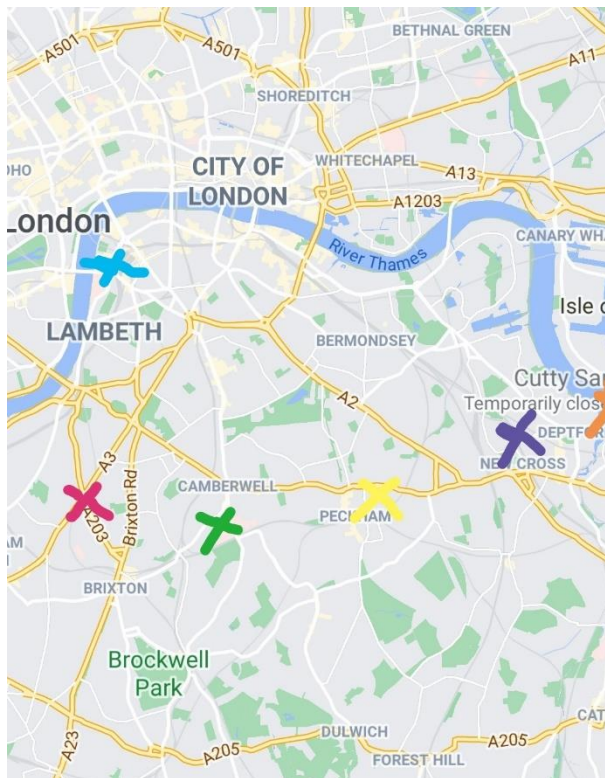


Fig 2: South and South-East London.

The people and places featured in this thesis are marked by coloured crosses. Starting top left, the turquoise cross marks St Thomas's Hospital, where many Portuguese nurses worked and where I finished my fieldwork (Chapter Two). Pink is the centre of Stockwell/ 'Little Portugal'. Green is the site of King's College Hospital where I first met Catia (Chapter Two) and where Ana (Chapter Three) worked. Yellow is the school in Peckham where Jorge (Chapter Three) and Pedro (Chapter Five) worked, as well as my partner. Indigo shows the apartment building in New Cross where my family and Adriana and Joseph's (Chapter Four) lived. Orange is the apartment building where Vanessa (Chapter Two) and Lucia (Epilogue) lived and Marisa's workplace (Chapter Two). Marisa's shared house was just slightly farther east out of the picture.

My key research participants in London were mostly in their 20s and 30s and the great majority of them had university degrees and had moved to the UK capital within the last five years specifically to work and pursue careers related to their degrees. However, there were a few with long term connections to the area through existing family members who had migrated there previously and with whom they had either come to live or moved with several years earlier. These long-term residents were mostly based in the South London borough of Lambeth in the area of Stockwell, one particular part of which was known as 'Little Portugal' (marked in pink on the map above/ also see next section). Stockwell is a 30-minute journey from New Cross, which, as Tânia would say, is not far in London terms.

In addition to this, I spent intermittent periods of time in Portugal with certain research participants and members of their extended families. To all intents and purposes, these short ethnographic trips in Portugal were a continuation of my fieldwork in London. They all started with an invitation from a Portuguese respondent who had migrated to London and involved me staying in their family home, as well as ongoing communication afterwards. Indeed, these parts of my fieldwork were the most traditionally anthropological of my research (Bernard 2011), enabling me to observe and participate in the daily lives and sensorial experiences of those whom had only previously been presented to me through narrative. This not only provided a rich ethnographic context to my work, but also deepened my relationship with those participants who opened up their homes to me.

Portuguese in London: Old and New

From the outset, my recently arrived Portuguese research participants made a strong distinction between themselves as a 'new type of Portuguese migrant' and the 'traditional Portuguese community' of 20,000 or so residents who were to be found around South London, with the centre known as Little Portugal located along and around Stockwell Road.

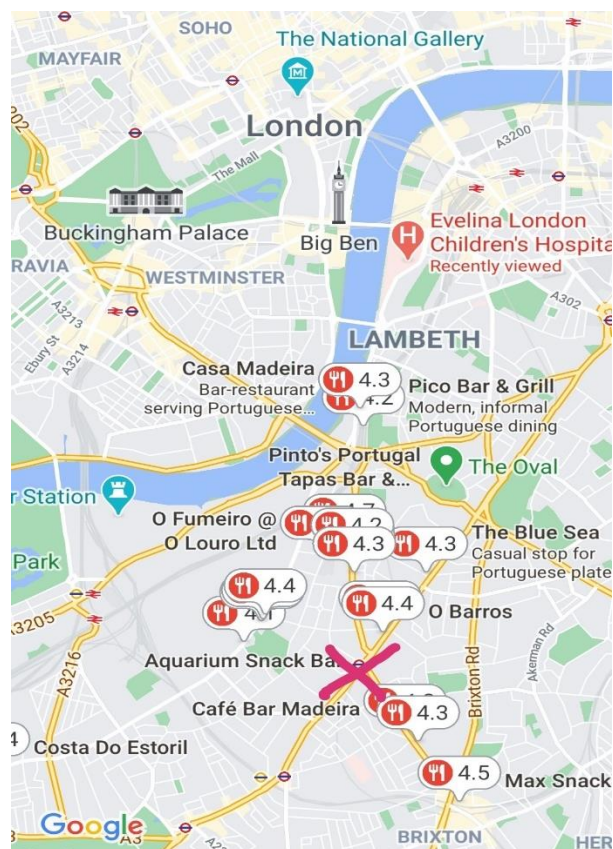


Fig.3: Little Portugal. Stockwell Station is near the bottom, marked with a pink cross (as in Fig. 2). This map shows the high concentration of Portuguese restaurants in the area.

Stockwell at this time was full of Portuguese businesses, the majority of which were restaurants, but there were also supermarkets, travel agents, lawyers' offices, coffee shops and recruitment agencies. All were run by Portuguese speakers and aimed at the Portuguese diaspora. Portuguese is the second most commonly spoken language in Lambeth after English and the annual 'Day of Portugal' festival in the borough receives up to 40,000 visitors (Melo Nogueira et al 2015). Indeed, even those amongst the 'new' Portuguese community who referred to the existing 'old' migrant community as 'weird' or 'closed' would visit the bars and restaurants of Stockwell for special occasions, such as when the Portuguese national team won the European football championships in 2016.

The 'new' Portuguese migrants on the other hand lived all over London, with new arrivals usually starting off in multi-national house shares, which were advertised by the room on dedicated websites. These house-shares were overwhelmingly concentrated in the cheaper areas of Zone 2 or 3, of which New Cross was one. This meant the city centre of Zone 1, where most of them worked, was easily accessible through the London Transport network. The defining quality of these new migrants was their level of education, i.e., the possession of a university degree. The Bologna process of 1999 universalised degree-level qualifications from European universities with the intent of allowing graduates from any country within the union to move freely between countries within the European Higher Education Area. Apart from intra-university exchange, this also meant that Portuguese graduates could access the labour market of any country within the EU on an equal level to that of domestic graduates. In other words, it enabled King's (2000) model of a new phase of migration from the Southern Europe periphery towards the affluent countries of the core and an ensuing cosmopolitan orientation and aspirations. It is the nature of the challenges to these orientations wrought by more localised historical factors such as status, migratory habitus and structural inequalities that I seek to unravel throughout this thesis.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

Cosmopolitanism

I do not draw on any single definition of cosmopolitanism, but rather follow Vertovec and Cohen (2002) in defining the cosmopolitan perspective as an emerging sense of global commonality, a reflection of historical events that have brought about enhanced interliving with other cultural and ethical systems and a widening of consciousness. Beck (2004) refers to this growing

consciousness as 'banal cosmopolitanism' in which everyday nationalism is circumvented in favour of a growing integration into global process and phenomena. Within this definition, the individual exists as 'a complex singularity over and above proximal categorisations and identifications of nation, ethnicity, class, religion, gender, locale and so on' (Rapport 2006: 24). Hannerz (1990) also refers to singularity as key to the 'cosmopolitan orientation', wherein the drive to assert personal autonomy over 'culture' means never surrendering or swearing absolute allegiance to anyone.

This sense of global commonality is undoubtedly more apparent at the present time because of the supra-national social networks wrought by contemporary globalisation, but it is not dependent on them. Indeed, the notion of the cosmopolitan individual goes back to Homer, who criticised those who were 'clanless' and 'hearthless', whilst simultaneously celebrating those very qualities in his most renowned hero, Odysseus. Moving away from a purely sociological definition of an individual or structural attribute however, Rapport and Stade (2007) instead suggest that cosmopolitanism is a historical condition or moment. They propose the notion of cosmopolitan periods in history, such as the Alexandrian empire, the Enlightenment, or more specifically, travel in pursuit of knowledge during the Muslim middle ages and the early 21st century etc. (which I will discuss further below). Vertovec and Cohen (2002) also comment upon this notion of cosmopolitanism as a historical condition by pointing out that literature throughout the ages is rife with examples of the tension between an attraction to the exotic and adventure and an inverse desire for the support, consolation and warmth of home.

This contradiction brings us to the central paradox of cosmopolitanism: its continuous oscillation between what is outwardly and what is culturally intimate, which generates tensions, internal conflict, and occasionally a critical predisposition. Beck (2002) especially refers to the dialectics of conflict in his notion of the 'cosmopolitan fallacy', wherein the opening of cultural horizons does not necessarily stimulate the feeling of cosmopolitan horizons. Indeed, as Theodossopoulos (2009) points out in the context of contemporary globalisation, the growth of opportunities provided by globalisation have engendered the possibility for its own critique, as well as more adverse reactions to ultra-statism such as nationalism and fundamentalism. This means that local critiques of globalisation, which is conflated with westernisation, neoliberalism and mass consumerism (Vertovec and Cohen 2002), are also directed at cosmopolitan awareness and global governance (Hannerz 2004). Giving austerity-ridden Greece as an example, Theodossopoulos (2009) suggests that from the point of view of its critiques in the periphery, cosmopolitanism, like globalisation, can be regarded as a form of domination, 'a burden for ordinary people' (Hannerz

2004: 74). 'Cosmopolitan elites' are suspected of collaborating with established hierarchies of power in order to continue benefitting from cosmopolitanism's commoditised artefacts, affording its acquired tastes and travelling and consuming other cultures (Theodossopoulos 2009; Hannerz 2004; Vertovec and Cohen 2002).

However, as Beck (2002) points out, although frequent attacks on cosmopolites are based on its status as a historically elite condition (i.e., those who have resources to travel and learn other languages/cultures), in the contemporary world cultural and linguistic diversity is omnipresent along with the capacity to communicate with others and understand their cultures. Travel and immigration have brought about intimate relationships between diverse peoples who share workplaces, markets, neighbours, schools and recreational areas. This has led to much research on 'everyday' cosmopolitanism where 'men and women from different origins create a society where diversity is accepted [and] rendered ordinary' (Vertovec and Cohen 2002: 5). Such studies have brought into debate the meaning of the category of cosmopolitan itself, with Ulf Hannerz (1990) distinguishing 'true' cosmopolitanism from merely globally mobile people (tourists, exiles, expats, transnational employees, labour migrants). For Hannerz, 'true' cosmopolitans exhibit a culturally open disposition and interest in a continuous engagement with one or another cosmopolitan project. Cosmopolitanism is therefore a 'perspective, a state of mind, or—to take a more processual view—a mode of managing meaning' (Hannerz 1990: 238) in which relationships are maintained with a plurality of cultures. Elaborating on this, John Tomlinson (1999) claims real cosmopolitans should have a sense of commitment to belonging to the world as a whole, 'not only respect and enjoyment of cultural difference, but also a concomitant sense of 'globality' or global belonging that can be integrated into everyday life practices' (Tomlinson 1999: 195). This binary between 'transnational' and 'cosmopolitans' is not unproblematic, and indeed, Werbner (1999) points out that the root of this ambiguity can be found in the unexamined class dimensions of a theory of global subjectivity. This is for Werbner a topic for further study, a call which I attempt to take up in this thesis.

A final view on cosmopolitanism can be seen emerging from Rapport and Stæde's (2007) suggestion of the origin of cosmopolitan commitments as historical, where they point out that the notion of historical periods in itself is an example of categorical thinking, concluding that periods are as taxonomical a notion as cultures. They therefore propose a further understanding of historical cosmopolitanism based on its conceptual history of contested meanings. This would involve reconceptualising historical time as neither linear nor made up of empty time, but rather consisting of ruptures. Beck (2002) also asks us to reconsider linear notions of time when

theorising cosmopolitanism, pointing out that the more TVs, mobile phones and the internet become part of domestic space, the more the categories of time, space, place, proximity and distance change their meaning. He suggests that domestic information technology makes those who are absent present, and not just sporadically but always and everywhere, making socialisation no longer dependent on geographical proximity. To address this, Beck suggests that a cosmopolitan theory should not only investigate presence and absence but also imagined presences. This brings us to the idea of temporality and alternatives to linear notions of historical time when establishing a cosmopolitan conceptual framework, which I shall now elaborate on in the next section.

Temporality within the Anthropology of the Financial Crisis

In this thesis I explore my respondents' desire for a good life (and their cosmopolitan aspirations) through an exploration of their temporal understandings of the relationship between 'old' and 'new' — 'traditional' and 'modern' — migrant identities. As we shall see below, theories of temporality allow me to examine how such binaries can be related to historicity as a theory of historical consciousness (Hirsch and Stewart 2005). I use historicity to explore the extent to which the 'old' and the 'traditional' are conceptually linked by my interlocutors to an idea of existential permanence and stillness, about which they have contradictory responses. I simultaneously examine how this permanence both serves as a foil to the cosmopolitan 'new' and 'modern' within a corresponding temporal framework of epochal thinking (Bryant and Knight 2019; Hodges 2010), whilst maintaining the idea of permanence as an existential safe harbour in the Arendtian sense (Hodges 2010; Braun 2007). My unique contribution to this literature is through a suggestion that these understandings have been brought to the fore by the financial crisis and the latter's temporal effects, a renewed consciousness of time. For this reason, I interweave temporality with cosmopolitanism in the context of crisis in Europe. To do this I draw on various subsections within a multi-faceted body of literature on temporality.

The first sub-section is theorisations on temporal responses to the financial crisis in Southern Europe. A 2016 special issue in the journal *History and Anthropology* brought together a collection of ethnographies of living with austerity inside the Eurozone (Knight and Stewart 2016; Alexandrakis 2016; Bryant 2016; Grey 2016; Narotzky 2016; Palumbo 2016; Pipyrrou 2016; Sabaté 2016; Vournelis 2016). Subtitled 'Temporality, Crisis and Affect in Southern Europe', the special issue specifically explored how people in Southern Europe came to understand experiences of increased social deprivation, insecurity and recently acquired material poverty by contemplating the present and potential future in terms of the past. Editors Knight and Stewart (2016) concluded

that economic crisis stimulates temporality, in that people are provoked to rethink their relationship to time. They draw specifically on the notion of historicity as a way of exploring cultural perceptions of the past and the rituals people use to learn about the past, or as a Hirsch and Stewart (2005) put it, a 'human situation in flow, where versions of the past and future (of persons, collectives or things) assume present form in relation to events, political needs, available cultural forms and emotional dispositions' (Hirsch and Stewart 2005: 262). The focus on different forms of historical consciousness reflected on how events shape people and how people construe events through narrations, reflections and ethical obligation leading to a flexibility regarding the past/present/future.

Amongst the authors featured in this special issue, of particular interest for this thesis is the work of Rebecca Bryant (2016, 2019) and Daniel Knight (2012, 2015, 2016, 2019). Bryant (2016) coined the term 'uncanny present' to explore what a vernacular understanding of 'times of crisis' in Cyprus in the years following austerity tells us about social perceptions of temporality. She defines the 'uncanny present' as a type of 'present-ness' which is produced by unanticipated futures and creates an awareness that we do not normally have. This 'uncanny present' is brought into consciousness as a moment of perceived crisis and is a 'critical threshold' in the sense it is decisive and liminal. Knight proposes two further concepts as responses to financial crisis; 'cultural proximity' (2012, 2015) and 'temporal vertigo' (2016).

'Temporal vertigo' (Knight 2016) refers to the confusion and anxiety felt by crisis-affected individuals about where and when they belong in overarching timelines of pasts and futures. Whereas some feel 'thrown back' in time to past eras of poverty/ suffering, others refer to their experiences of current crisis as reliving multiple moments of the past assembled in the present. This expands upon Knight's previous concept of 'cultural proximity' (Knight 2012, 2015) the effect of time folding like a napkin in times of crisis, when events that are chronologically distant appear very close. Knight suggests that in the years following the financial crisis in Greece the ability of individuals and collectivities to recognise and eventually embody representations of past events (whether experienced or not) within the context of the present was used as a way of making sense of crisis-related experiences. He suggests that this is done via 'social memory', the 'assemblage of different periods of crisis, multiple cultural and familial narratives of socio-historic experience and nationalised rhetorics of times past' (Knight 2012: 354) and that therefore 'crisis is embedded and embodied throughout generations in the form of collective memory, personal narratives, and state-endorsed historical rhetoric' (ibid). However, Knight also proposes that cultural proximity as the negotiation of contemporary moments of crisis is informed not just by

social memory but also by specific historical moments where individuals can recognise elements of their present life and thus feel the present and past 'collapsed' together. Most significantly for the purposes of this thesis is that suggestion that people during their own experiences of crisis are likely to recall the experience of times of social upheaval in the past by elderly relatives 'meaning that past critical events become general reference points for individual and collective history and are given a new form of life' (Knight 2012: 351). In this sense, status, whether material or social, is also historically situated and inherited intergenerationally through references to ancestors.

Both Bryant and Knight draw heavily on the theories of French philosopher Michel Serres, who suggests alternatives to linear understandings of time by proposing that crisis creates a visibility/intimacy between historical moments. Serres refers to the experience of time as non-linear through the Deleuzian idea of 'assemblages' – events which exist as part of our own era and also as an assemblage of reconstituted historical fragments (Serres 1995). Bryant and Knight expand upon these ideas in a volume entitled *The Anthropology of the Future* (2019). This brings us to another sub-section of temporal theory whose conceptual base is not crisis-induced temporality but rather the inherent teleology of temporality: i.e., that presents and pasts are always and inevitably shaped by the ends for which we strive. Here the focus is on social worlds both within and outside of times of acute crisis. Throughout the book Bryant and Knight suggest that such social worlds are created by the interweaving of practice and materiality within overlapping but distinct temporal spaces of differing temporal Orientations. Following Laura Bear (2014), who argues that 'modern time is characterised by doubt, conflict, and mediation channelled through the layered rhythms and forms of political, economic, and bureaucratic institutions' (Bryant and Knight 2019: 14), the authors argue that in the management of time in modern institutions, time thickens with ethical problems and practical dilemmas. They offer the concept of six different orientations (Anticipation, Expectation, Speculation, Potentiality, Hope, Destiny) as a way to examine how we continuously orient ourselves to the indefinite and indeterminate nature of everyday life and its co-existent but also potentially mutually contradictory trajectories. In this thesis I refer mainly to their work on Hope, Anticipation and Expectation. In the case of the latter two, I particularly draw on the heuristic distinction between Anticipation and Expectation. I interpret Expectation as experiencing an idea of the future which is abstract and at a distance and which relies on the past as 'thick'. This 'thick' past is the lived experiences of the self or others which inform our notion of the future, making us believe we know what to expect. Anticipation, on the other hand, is a future which is pressed into the here and now, whatever parts of the past that are relevant are recalibrated and felt less than the experience of readying ourselves to press forward into this future, which is so close we can almost enact it and thereby pull it into present.

Anticipation can become Expectation when the past is again thickened, i.e., when we again know how to expect—unless there is a major structural rupture, such as war or financial crisis. This distinction allows me to think about different thicknesses of the present and the relationships to the past which are contained in each, providing insights into my interlocutors' stated ends, in particular the notion of 'adventure', as stated in the Prologue.

I also employ Bryant and Knight's articulation of a precise way of referring to the collective sense of living within a period with a particular temporality, which they refer to as 'vernacular timespaces' (Bryant and Knight 2019). This notion takes inspiration from Schatzki's (2002) explicitly social model of 'activity timespaces' which uses practice theory to argue for a 'site of the social'—social life as transpiring through human activity within a mesh of 'arrangements'—practices and orders (such as people, artefacts, organisms and things). These 'arrangements' resemble Deleuze and Guattari's 'assemblages', but emphasise human practices as the key to their creation, positing agency as the chief dynamo of social becoming. Bryant and Knight (2019) expand on Schatzki's notion of activity timespaces by suggesting that they are given vernacular expression through epochal thinking, the expression of perceived differences in the temporalising of human activities, for example through the notion of 'Times of Crisis' or 'Times of Peace'.

Epochal thinking is a key consideration in my thesis. I build on Bryant and Knight's conceptualisation of 'vernacular timespaces' via Hodges' (2010) reference to the periodisation of history into epochs as a 'resource, moral and temporal (to) interpret the vagaries of daily existence and invoke... collectivity' (Hodges 2010: 116). Like Bryant and Knight, Hodges draws on Hirsch and Stewart's (2005) linking of epochal thinking to historicity as time consciousness. Even more usefully for my purposes, is his subsequent connecting of historicity to Hannah Arendt's (1958) notion of natality. Natality, the condition of being born, is, according to Arendt, a miraculous force that gives meaning to individual human existence by enabling humankind's capacity for distinctive action within the permanence of eternity (Fry 2014). In this sense, Hodges (2010) conceptualises Arendtian epochal temporality as a shelter in which to live out the span of a meaningful human life, 'an existential provision for inhabiting the uncertain, globalised, ultimately processual timescapes of contemporary... modernity, providing an "interval" in dominant narratives of *changement continuel* in which the enduring can reside' (Hodges 2010: 126). The idea of permanence and endurance as an important counterfoil to epochal thinking and the instability of cosmopolitan modernity is a significant consideration specifically in my chapter on Generations but I also draw on it throughout the thesis.

My final inspiration from Bryant and Knight is their conceptualisation of Hope (as well as Anticipation and Expectation) as one of their future orientations. They define hope as 'a form of futural momentum, a way of pressing into the future that attempts to pull certain potentialities into actuality' (Bryant and Knight 2019: 134). This theory of hope builds on Jansen (2016) who contends that seeing hope as open-ended/ optimistic overlooks 'the concrete contours of hope as it emerges in particular sociohistorical timespaces' (Bryant and Knight 2019: 139) and posits instead a notion of hope as a disposition that conditions practices and pushes us towards the future. Jansen also suggests hope as not wholly positive but with a positive charge, a degree of expectant desire which often appears at moments of frustrated experience and is therefore often the realm of daydream, collectively mobilised through images mass media, fiction and technologies of imagination (Jansen 2016). In this sense, hope can also be posited as a counterbalance to waiting, which Jansen (2014) also refers to in temporal terms, suggesting that concerns over household futures in post-war Sarajevo are conceptualised not as 'crisis', but a spatiotemporal entrapment and lack of agency.

Further temporal theorisations of hope as it exists alongside waiting include Arendtian concepts of action as a source of meaning. Bendixsen and Eriksen (2018) link temporality and hope by problematising the notion of waiting as a homogeneous condition. They explore the activation of hope through the capacity to act and put this in temporal terms, describing the present as a fragile hinge between the past and the future with waiting a tear in the temporal fabric. Bandak and Janeja's (2018) exploration of waiting in relation to hope, doubt and uncertainty argues that mankind's relation to time is broken. They suggest that making a stand against the past and the future can be seen not as part of the 'present' but as a position in which the flow of time is interrupted. This gap is not waiting but the 'constant fighting' of thought vs action. Like Bryant and Knight (2019), Bandak and Janeja draw on Laura Bear's (2014) questioning of ethnocentric notions of capitalist time, wherein modernity organises horizons of expectations, spaces and experience. This notion of movement is significant when linked to wellbeing. As Bandak, and Janeja (2018) and Zigon (2018) point out, hope as an active (as opposed to a passive) temporal structure impacts on the sense of well-being of individuals as well as collectives. This links us to the literature on Good Life, which I go into in further detail below.

The Good Life

At the end of the 20th century increasingly holistic ideas of what a Good Life and well-being exactly entailed started to be discussed within academia, governmental and non-governmental circles, having previously been referred to mainly through economic indicators. However, it is only

within the last ten years that empirical research has started to focus more specifically on the Good Life as a theoretical concept. Ethnography as a methodology has emerged as uniquely positioned to demonstrate 'how social relations are fundamental to people's capabilities to choose the lives they have reason to value' whilst highlighting 'the complexity of issues emerging when dealing with social relations: not only co-operation, unity and collaboration, but also conflicts and moral obligations' (Calestani 2008: 141-142).

This ethnographic focus on the Good Life is part of a wider-ranging anthropological trend that has been referred to as Anthropologies of the Good. In an influential essay entitled *Beyond the Suffering Subject*, Joel Robbins (2013) suggested that at the beginning of the 1980s anthropologists started to replace a focus on the Other with a Marxist and Foucauldian inspired focus on the anthropologist's own. This 'dark theory' described a dark world of power, exploitation and chronic, perverse inequality under the yoke of 'neoliberalism as a new and more brutal form of capitalism' (Ortner 2016: 48). To counteract this, Robbins called for an 'anthropology of the good' to regain some of the discipline's earlier critical capacities that he suggested had been lost in transition, focusing on 'topics such as value, morality, well-being, imagination, empathy, care, the gift, hope, time and change' (Robbins 2013:448). This call was followed by Edward Fischer's (2014) volume entitled *The Good Life: Aspiration, Dignity and the Anthropology of Well-being* and a special HAU issue the year after, *Happiness: Horizons of Purpose* (Vol 5, No. 3). The editors of this issue called for further contributions to the 'happiness trend' in anthropology, speculating the possible reluctance of anthropologists to do so as being down to a suspicion of happiness as a 'bourgeois practice' which is associated with neoliberal agency (Walker and Kavedžija 2015: 2).

Previously to this 'happiness turn' (Walker and Kavedžija 2015: 2) in the social sciences, however, what exactly a Good Life is—in moral and ethical terms— has been a topic that intrigued philosophers for centuries. Indeed, much of the theoretical inspiration for contemporary literature on well-being can be found in the 20th century revival of Virtue Ethics (or neo-Aristotelian ethics) in moral philosophy, which follows the Aristotelian ideal of a fulfilled life, that of *eudaimonia*— the power over one's destiny. It is the Aristotelian influence in this literature that I particularly draw on, specifically through the work of Fischer (2014) and Mattingly (2014), in the formation of my own conceptual framework on the Good Life.

Fischer's main focus in *The Good Life. Aspiration, Dignity and the Anthropology of Wellbeing* (2014) is how individuals give meaning to economic activities, seeking the 'good life' in ways that may run counter to material interests. Whilst arguing that such decisions are based on culturally

particular and deeply held values, he also proposes certain universal non-material qualities that as essential domains for a Good Life. As well as adequate material resources, physical health and safety and family and social relations, these also include agency to pursue a vision of the future underscored by dignity and fairness through moral projects that impart a sense of larger purpose to one's life. Fischer's theory specifically draws on *eudaimonia* as the power to construct a life one can value through ongoing aspirations towards something better which gives meaning to life's pursuit. In this sense he differentiates the 'hedonic' happiness of everyday contentment with a second type of happiness, that of 'life satisfaction' which is judged by a criteria of 'wellbeing' or 'good life' in line with *eudaimonia*. By positing 'a good life' as ongoing aspiration, a striving or becoming, it becomes more than simple 'happiness' but rather encapsulates the idea of a trade-off, the forgoing of hedonistic pleasures in recognition of one's 'true' path. Although this idea overlaps with the conceptualisations of hope and Arendtian natality as outlined in the temporality section above, Fischer's positioning of the tension that often arises between these two forms of happiness as the base of his analysis highlights the role of morality/ value judgements at the centre of his temporalising. Fischer suggests that the forward looking capacity to aspire and live up to expectations or values is part of human existence and gives meaning to both affluent and poor. Using a lens of market interactions as a key venue of perusal of the good life, Fischer suggests these choices are morally laden in the sense they are replete with ideas about value, worth, virtue, good/ bad, right/ wrong, and therefore embody meanings around thrift and generosity, family obligations and social relations.

Also useful for my purposes is Fischer's theory of the effectiveness of aspiration and agency being limited by opportunity structures, which transcend the individual and 'encompass not only market relations but also formal and informal social norms; ethnic, gender and other systematic distinctions; the principles and practices of legal rights; and the whole range of institutional factors that define the space of the possible' (Fischer 2014:6). My field site of London as a 'global city' brings these inequalities in opportunity structures to the fore. By considering the interaction between opportunity structures, morally laden expressions of 'good life' and temporality I consider how people formulate and express value judgements on their own and other's anticipations and expectations, making a valuable contribution to the literature on temporality.

In the context of my PhD, this conceptual framework is particularly suitable to examine what happens when opportunities for wellbeing according to local/ 'cultural' expectations are disrupted by crisis and how definitions of 'good life' are disrupted when material conditions change (through crisis followed by migration, in this case), to be replaced by an unknown sense of

a larger purpose. The idea of having a larger purpose is frequently cited in the literature on wellbeing, no matter the material backgrounds of the participants. Although ethnographies show the definition of 'meaningful' to be culturally specific, these specificities overlap within Alasdair MacIntyre's (1984) definition of virtue as excellence at given practice, spanning a range political/social leanings, such as is seen in extremists reporting greater life satisfaction than moderates through commitments to meaningful life projects. To explore this, I particularly engage with the concept of moral projects as detailed by good life theorist Cheryl Mattingly (2014) in her study of families whose lives have been disrupted by crisis, in this case, the arrival of a disabled child. In *Moral Laboratories, Family Peril and the Struggle for a Good Life* she outlines her philosophy of what she calls 'first person value ethics'. Mattingly refers to the lives of those raising disabled children as a 'complex reasoning task that engenders ongoing moral deliberations, evaluations, and experiments in how to live' (Mattingly 2014: 4) wherein suffering can propel the individual into 'new, often unexpected and unwanted projects of becoming' (2014:5). These projects of becoming engender new or intensified moral responsibilities which require a transformative effort to reimagine not only what will happen but also what should happen, i.e., how to respond to not only difficulties and suffering but also unexpected possibilities. Through the concept of moral projects undertaken by the parents of disabled children Mattingly explores not only what it means to be physically safe but to thrive and have a good life, which she posits as the basic tenet of virtue ethics, in the spirit of Aristotle. Fundamental to this notion is that a 'life worth living' is not undertaken by an autonomous moral agent but relationally, directed to ideals that encompass collective goods. The conflict between the collective and the individual is an idea I particularly refer to when talking about deservingness and the cosmopolitan conflict throughout my thesis.

Throughout this thesis I also attempt to address the problematic relationship between the 'anthropology of the good' and 'dark anthropology'. Whilst acknowledging the former's position as an important counterpoint to the latter, I also recognise the tendencies of theorists of the 'good' to sometimes frame it as an opposition to work on oppression and inequality, and dismiss the latter as 'misery porn' or ignoring larger contexts of power (Ortner 2016). In this sense I respond to Ortner's (2016) call for an active interaction of the two kinds of work rather than an opposition. For this reason, I have attempted to establish a tri-faceted conceptual framework wherein literature on good life is integrated with that on temporality in times of crisis, and cosmopolitanism as a reflection of historical events that mean enhanced inter-living with other cultural and ethical systems which impact on different consciousnesses in different ways. In doing this I add to the literature on temporality by recognising the violence of power and inequality as not just a physical force or deprivation but also the basis of 'opportunity structures' which have

the means to limit and deform everyday moral projects of care, love, happiness and good life at a specific point in history.

1.5 Thesis Outline

This thesis is split into three sections, with seven chapters in total. The first section, 'Setting the Scene', introduces the reader to the arguments and theoretical framework as well as giving a brief overview of the ethnographic context (**Chapter One**). This is followed by a more detailed ethnographic background, methodology and ethical considerations (**Chapter Two**). Section Two consists of four chapters within which I discuss my main arguments which arise from the ethnographic detail of my fieldwork period. In **Chapter Three: Hope and Generations** I explore how two discursive formations of generation of recent times are used to make sense of lived experiences as a source of identity and hope. I position these generational discourses within the migratory act as a process of becoming which has enabled the capacity to aspire to an alternative good life at a certain point in history. Arguing for a new conceptual space which centralises affect and temporality, I suggest that the way my respondents understood and articulated the idea of generation, to varying degrees, simultaneously rendered invisible and was impacted by the fluctuations of daily personal habitus as well as historical household materialities and status. I then focus on the Portuguese context (**Chapter Four: Class, Social Mobility and Belonging**) asking how 'class' is understood in terms of educational capital, status and migratory habitus, exploring its historic materialities within the subjectivities of my research participants' cosmopolitan world view. I also position 'class' against race and gender as historical categories of difference, asking how the two intersect within the Portuguese postcolonial context and how migratory processes impact upon these positionalities. Through a consideration of 'deservedness', I also suggest the situating of affective responses to material challenges to global middle class aspiration within a moral positioning of 'living well'. I explore how this moral positioning reflects neoliberal constructions of an ideal citizenship based on 'personal responsibility' and the extent to which it overrides other categories of difference such as race, gender and socioeconomic status. I expand on this in **Chapter Five: Four Children of the Beira: Status, a Divided Community and Hybrids**, where I undertake a consideration of the ongoing presence of family legends and what effect they might wield in terms of ongoing practices, reactions to the present and continuing processes of personal constitution within the pursuit of a cosmopolitan good life. Intertwining the analytical concepts of historicity and household memory with a multi-scalar approach and a consideration of the Portuguese post-colonial experience, I explore the fundamental conflict inherent in

'cosmopolitanism' and the role of household memory in its everyday practice. I finish in **Chapter Six: Old and New Networks** with an examination of the conflict between cosmopolitanism and 'tradition' through the conceptual lens of 'network-as-paradigm' style thinking. Taking into account the increasing role of digital communication technology on translational kinship networks and cosmopolitan 'weak ties' practices, I argue that rather than being diametrically opposite, these forms of networking are actually in a continuous process of emerging and feeding off each other.

In Section Three, my final **Chapter Seven: Conclusion** brings together the themes of my middle section, summarising them in the context of my research question and examining the contributions of this thesis to anthropological scholarship, the implications of the research and possibilities for further research.

2.1 Ethnographic Context: 'New' Portuguese Migrants in London

My pre-fieldwork research and personal experiences of living in South London for some years had already made me aware of the existence of the area usually referred to by the media and residents of the capital as 'Little Portugal'. Established during the 1960s and 70s, during the second great wave of Portuguese migration (Vieira and Trinidad 2008), when millions left Portugal—then one of the poorest countries in Europe—many within this original community originated from the island of Madeira. The majority of these arrivals found work in catering and hospitality (Guerreiro 2009; Giles 1987) and at the time of my fieldwork there were estimated to be up to 35,000 Portuguese speakers (Melo Nogueira et al 2015) settled in the South London borough of Lambeth.

The introduction of austerity measures in Portugal and Southern Europe in 2010/2011, however, transformed the previous demographic of London's Portuguese residents. In the initial years following austerity unemployment figures had risen to 49% in Greece, 45% in Spain, 39% in Italy and 30% in Portugal.³ By the start of my fieldwork, Portugal had become the EU country with the greatest percentage of emigrants (Amaro 2016) with nearly 110,000 a year leaving to find work abroad. Nearly half of these headed to the UK, double the amount of two years earlier. Official statistics corroborate the observations made by the various partygoers who encountered Tânia during the night of *Sao João* in the Prologue—that, along with scientists, the UK was the top country for a particular professional group of Portuguese emigrant: nurses (Pereira and Azevedo 2019). Indeed, Pereira (2019) found that of 30,121 Portuguese nationals who moved to the UK in 2013, 4% were nurses, 75% of whom were less than 30 years old. Like Tânia (and other nurses we will meet throughout the thesis), 83% of these nurses were employed through NHS scouting agencies. This reflects further factors related to changes in UK immigration policy and availability of domestic nursing training, which I elaborate on in the next section. All in all, by 2016 there were an estimated 90,000 Portuguese residents in the UK, more than a third of whom had some form of higher education (Pena Pires 2014).

It is this 'new' group which I specifically focus on in this thesis, an emerging demographic of tertiary educated migrants whose life choices and aspirations had been affected following the expansion of further education in Portugal in the 1990s and subsequent collapse of the job

³ <http://www.statista.com/statistics/266228/youth-unemployment-rate-in-eu-countries/>

market following the financial crisis and austerity (Cairns et al 2014; Cairns 2016). Scattered all over London and often living in multi-national, multilingual houseshares, these research participants, by dint of their education and aspirations, can be said to form part of a 'global middle class' (Amit 2007; Heiman et al 2012; Donner 2017; Butler and Robson 2003; Rutz and Balkan 2009, Freeman 2012). Their view of London's existing Portuguese community in Stockwell was distinctly that of the Other, with descriptions usually some variation of 'old type Portuguese migrants' and 'weird, closed people'.

Nevertheless, this 'old' community was also diverse within itself. Many Portuguese women working as private domestic workers in the early 1990s in London described themselves as of 'middle class' backgrounds and stated that they had been forced to leave Portugal after the 'socialist revolution' (Giles 1992). Furthermore, what my research participants referred to as the 'old type migrants' creation of a 'Portuguese Disneyland' in London is given a thicker context by Giles (1992). Referring to the orientation to return to Portugal, Giles suggests that for her interlocutors in 1980s London it was just one way to communicate dissatisfaction about work and the domestic situation in London, the possibility of return providing an alternative vision of themselves as people of achievement and wealth. On the other hand, this orientation has the simultaneous effect of alienating Giles' interlocutors from Portuguese life with the result that their feelings towards London were ambiguous.

It is this ambiguity of the different class subjectivities held by cosmopolitan 'new' migrants and those which they presume to be held by 'old' migrants which I centralise throughout this thesis via the notion of tension being fundamental to cosmopolitanism as an outlook (see Chapter One). To do this I draw on the notion of the normalisation of 'global middle-class' (Heiman et al 2012) aspirations as a critical site for a consideration of the implications of globalisation and spread of neoliberal logics and consumer capitalism, exploring the extent to which they are a '(largely depoliticised) ideological and social construct upon which the neoliberal state rests its political legitimacy' (Heiman et al 2012: 18). I use this macro scale as a frame through which to ask how global phenomena impacts upon how people make meaning in their everyday lives in a specific historical context.

In this sense, one of my major focuses is therefore the comparisons of my respondents, and their sociological awareness of different class subjectivities, as indicated by their relationship with London's existing Portuguese community. The tensions between the two communities, which I trace through my study of the new migrants, was especially relevant through the discursive binary

between 'new' and 'old' migrants and 'new' versus 'traditional' middle class and highlights the need to go beyond a materialist reading of 'class'.

Apart from 'class', an additional layer of complexity in defining my field also arose in the context of questions regarding the nature of citizenship, national identity and belonging, which became more pertinent as my fieldwork progressed. It soon became apparent that I needed to examine definitions of 'Portuguese', given the changing nature of Portuguese citizenry over the past couple of decades since the implosion of the Portuguese empire in Africa. In 2007 30% of Portuguese nationals who were registered with the consulate in London were born outside Portugal, mainly from Angola, India (Goa), Mozambique, Brazil, South Africa and Macau (Almeida and Corkill 2007) and had themselves been migrants to the former imperial motherland in the 1980s and 90s. My research participants were subsequently chosen not on the basis of residing within demarcated communities based on ethnicity or occupation in the diasporic sense, nor on being members of 'cohort generations', specific ethnic groups or as representing certain historical materialities. Instead, they were linked by their identification as 'Portuguese', their presence in London and a level of educational capital which enabled aspiration towards certain parameters of good life.

I had initially intended to undertake a more comparative study of 'old' and 'new' migrants in the context of my original question on the impact of austerity in Portugal, which inspired my research. For reasons which I shall explain throughout this chapter, as my project evolved it became clear that collective features of the main group of respondents could be collated within a description of 'new' migrants. In the following sections I will contextualise the background of my research and how my research group and focus changed over time.

2.2 Ethnographic Context: Portugal

The 'typical Portuguese migrant' as described by my research participants is the figure of the single, rural male in search of work (Brettell 1993) who was amongst the 1.2 million people (Vieira and Trinidad 2008) to leave Portugal under the fascist regime of Antonio Salazar (1926-1974). During this time Portugal was mainly agricultural and unindustrialised. Salazar's isolationist policies aimed at restricting emigration to within the African colonies of Portugal's overseas empire meant up to 36% of this immigration was illegal (Royo 2005), further underscoring the sense of furtivity and discourse that they 'migrated because they had to', which was a common refrain from my research participants. Although initially mostly single men, many of this wave of

migrants who settled in the main European receiving countries of France, Germany and the UK were eventually joined by their families (Giles 1992; Nogueira et al 2015; Pereira and Azevedo 2019b) and established long-standing communities abroad, of which Stockwell in London is just one example.



Fig 4: 'The Portuguese Migrant'.

A 2012 cartoon by Portuguese cartoonist Carlos Sêco that was widely circulated on social media at the time. The 2012 migrant has five degrees rolled up on his back, whilst the 1965 one has a bottle of wine.

In the years following the collapse of the regime and Portugal's African empire, and following EU membership in 1986, Portugal was transformed into a country where those entering the country began to outnumber those leaving it for the first time since 1943 (Royo 2005; Corkill and Eaton 1998). These included up to 300,000 workers from Northern Europe arriving home (Corkill and Eaton 1998), thousands from post-Soviet Eastern Europe, as well as up to 900,000 former imperial subjects known as *retornados*. Indeed, almost half of the (white) Portuguese I met in London were descendants of this latter group. Their stories of the pioneering spirits of their parents and grandparents, who had arrived back in Portugal from Angola and Mozambique between 1974-1976 following the revolutions and violence which characterised the fall of the Portuguese empire in Africa, became a major focus within my thesis.

These new arrivals from 'outside', along with urban to rural migration, the mass entry of women into the labour market and widening further education produced significant challenges to the conservative family structures and concepts of masculinity and femininity during the previous decades of dictatorship and being closed to the outside world. There was also intense internal questioning on identity and ethnicity as Portugal struggled to establish a relationship and sphere of influence within her former colonies in Africa, Asia and South America whilst simultaneously

becoming part of the European 'family'. The initial shamefacedness regarding Portugal's imperial adventures during the post-revolutionary fervour gave way to the expansion of an imagined community of a global Lusophone population during the centrist governments 1980s and 1990s (Vale de Almeida 2008a). Nevertheless, despite hegemonic discourses of cosmopolitanism (Vale de Almeida 2008a), the debates on ethnicity, citizenship and identity continued which contributed to the perpetuation of a myth of 'Portugueseness' being synonymous with 'whiteness' (Reiter 2012). What's more, the narrative of 'modernity' and 'success' (Mapril and Blanes 2015) during this time eclipsed the fact that Portugal continued to be a major exporter of people and labour and a stable flow continued to leave during the 1990s, mainly to Germany, France and Switzerland (Royo 2005). In 1996 one third of the country's population was estimated to live abroad (Klimt 2000).

However, it was the 2008 financial crisis and 2011 austerity measures which fully exposed the fragility of Portuguese modernity. Following the initial crash, national sovereignty was then challenged by externally imposed structural reforms which ignored the institutional flaws within European monetary union and the organisations charged with managing it (Matthijs and McNamara 2015; Hart 2012; Shore 2012). The collective benefits of EU membership transformed into collective punishment where policies of fiscal austerity were imposed in exchange for massive bailouts extended by the triumvirate of the International Monetary Fund, the European Commission and the European Central Bank (widely known as the *Troika*). Hegemonic voices justified these policies via a moral discourse of 'Northern Saints and Southern Sinners' (Matthijs and McNamara 2015), creating an explanatory narrative of the crises as resulting from the fiscal 'excesses' of the governments and citizens of Portugal and other disproportionately affected countries of Southern Europe (Kelsey et al 2016; Knight and Stewart 2016). These 'excesses' included basic social services. Pensions, housing, welfare, health and social care were some of the areas deemed appropriate for paring back in order to reduce public debt (Knight and Stewart 2016), whilst the assets of the world of global finance remained beyond regulation (Hart and Ortiz 2008; Hart 2012; Graeber 2011).

My research takes place at a unique crossroads. With the legacy of the 'prosperity' of the Portuguese golden years of early EU membership still prevalent in the educational qualifications and outlooks of my participants, the sense of betrayal expressed in hegemonic discourses following the initial onset of austerity measures had faded by the time of my fieldwork. In its place, emerging understandings of Portugal and the world outside were taking shape.

2.3 Ethnographic Context: London

With its long history of immigration and asylum, London has always been a favourite city for European migrants, a position which was exacerbated by a distinctively postcolonial multiculturalism in the post-war period (Favell 2008). The liberalisation and dramatic expansion of London's labour market in the second half of the 1990s further increased its attractiveness as a prime destination for European free movement. Indeed, the dramatic increase in young Europeans coming to live and work in Britain between 1995 and 2005 has been posited as one of the main conduits for the boom economy at this time (Favell 2008). Attractive for its superdiversity, a legacy of British colonial domination, at the beginning of the 21st century 20% of London's inhabitants were born outside of the UK (Butler and Robson 2003) and by 2018 just under 18% of all births in London were to mothers from the other 27 EU states (Sigona 2019). In the years leading up to the Brexit vote (and still at the time of writing four years later, as the withdrawal agreement has still not been agreed upon) the UK's flexible attitude to residence is such that settling in London is so bureaucratically informal for Europeans that it is impossible even to say how many are in the city, as registration at the consulate is only necessary for a new passport or ID card. This is reflected in the Human Resource policies of British companies such as sandwich company Pret-a-Manger, who specifically target Western Europeans. By doing so, they get a workforce high in human, social and educational capital who are willing to work for a modest wage in return for being in London, acceptable working hours and a good social life organised by the company (Favell 2008).

Favell (2008) refers to London as the quintessential 'Eurocity', a hub of European free movement with a large, Western European population who can live a 'denationalised life' of modernity and freedom from tradition, focusing on the individual self rather than national definitions. Indeed, for Favell's pre-financial crisis 'Eurostars', local networks were shunned in favour of strong supportive networks with each other, an 'urban tribe' described as 'family' which spanned multiple nationalities (including native nationals with experience abroad). These networks also included a test of cosmopolitanism, which was based on how far foreign residents avoided co-national only groups. Cosmopolitanism in this context was also established through narratives of advancement in their countries of origin being blocked by hierarchical, nepotistic or arbitrary career paths which disallowed any chance to shine as an individual within globally recognised parameters of talent and achievements (Favell 2008). Despite simultaneous descriptions of an idyllic sounding world, personal sacrifice—as reflected in migrant narratives of living away from

their beautiful countries—was seen in terms of human capital gains from career experience in a dynamic northern city.

This liberated feel can be linked to London's long history of open immigration/asylum. 19th century London was the most important city of the British empire after its dramatic expansion in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Immigrants, as well as internal migration, have always fuelled these dynamics and generations of immigrant London can be seen in its urban architecture, especially in the East End, where much of my fieldwork took place. Various studies (Favell 2008; Sigona 2019) back up the frequent refrain from my interlocutors regarding London's multi-racial, cosmopolitan allure as a major attraction for European and non-European migrants of all religious and ethnic backgrounds in terms of not feeling discriminated against. Indeed, in the literature and within my fieldwork, London was considered distinct from the rest of Britain with many European residents of London rarely leaving the capital (Sigona 2019). Butler and Robson (2003) refer to these subjectivities as a 'metropolitan habitus', an 'embodied disposition' wherein the experience of living in London is distinct from its provincial equivalent. As we shall see throughout this thesis, this metropolitan habitus is a fundamental part of the cosmopolitan outlook which, as I will present in the chapters that follow, are part of my research participants' migration narratives.

The global economic crisis which ended in crushing austerity policies for the economies of Southern Europe only exacerbated London's attraction. In 2018 London contained the most non-native EU citizens of anywhere in the EU. The total was just over 1.1 million, or 12.3% of the population, with Brussels, the second most popular city for non-native EU citizens, registering only a quarter of London's total (Sigona 2019). Despite this ongoing popularity, the Eurostars existence of previous years (Favell 2008) was less immediately accessible for the new arrivals and at the time of my research in 2015/2016 university graduates from Spain, Portugal and Italy were competing with local school-leavers for jobs at service companies such as Pret-a-Manger. Sassen (1991) argues that the existence of a servicing economy as a new area of employment (which includes cleaning, childcare, dog walking, sandwich making etc.), aimed at making life easier for a rich 'service class' is the root of dichotomisation in 'global cities' such as London, New York and LA and representative of a change in social structure which has brought about a greater social polarisation at a global level. However, this binary of service/ servicing class does not go far enough in terms of considering the diversity and temporally understood basis of the latter as a laboral arena. As we shall see throughout this thesis, the post-crisis London labour market and EU free movement laws ensured university graduates from around Europe were hustling for the

same jobs alongside the more established servicing class, even whilst the former described these jobs as a 'stepping stone' to 'greater things' (see Chapter Six).

My research participants can be described as 'migrants' in the sense that they were able to take advantage of the EU labour laws, which allow free movement of people and labour. However, as we shall see, categorisation and identification as a 'migrant' is a loaded category with significant connotations and for many of my research participants, as for Favell's (2008) Eurostars, the distinction was important. Indeed, the continuities between the latter and my research participants were significant. The 'Eurostars' highlighting of the 'easy come easy go' aspects to their lives, linking it to their 'open' personalities and describing themselves as free thinkers was also a significant trait amongst the individuals whose stories appear in this thesis, despite the increasing precarity that the financial crisis had brought into the latter's experiences of living in London. This form of globalisation is not considered in Favell's study, which took place at a time when universally recognised qualifications could more readily be expected to guarantee jobs with equivalent paygrades and status markers across the integrated economies, legal and political systems of European nation states. In other words, the arrival in London of thousands of university graduates from Portugal and other Southern European nations in the years following austerity led to a blurring of boundaries between the service and servicing class. This challenges Hamnett's (1994) argument regarding a dichotomous London workforce, which is increasingly professionalised via an upgrading of skills, and a group permanently outside the employment nexus who are sheltered by 'welfare regimes', which he argues prevents social polarisation in Europe to the extent to which it appears in North American cities. The crisis has brought about emerging aspirational subjectivities of young people who have Hamnett's professional skills but whom the crisis has pushed into Sassen's social polarisation in their own countries. London is a site wherein these emerging subjectivities can be framed by aspirations to bridge this gap, making it an arena of hope for a future which has been perceived as unobtainable in more vulnerable EU nation states.

2.4 A note on my position as a researcher

Since *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986) it has become customary for anthropologists to be reflexive about their own positionality in the field, considering the impact on their research of factors such as (post) colonialism, disparities of wealth and power, and elements of their identity such as class, ethnicity, gender and sexuality. Whilst wanting to avoid any unnecessary references

to my own experiences, a series of events during the first year of my PhD greatly impacted the direction and nature of my proposed research and also shaped the relationships and experiences with my participants. I therefore propose to summarise the relevant aspects of my position as a researcher in order to link them to my wider research questions and the specific conceptual frameworks used to address them.

My research is located within a team project *Household Survival in Crisis: Austerity and Relatedness in Greece and Portugal* at the University of Kent. The project proposed to examine the repercussions of the 2008 financial crisis as experienced at the family level in those two countries, with two researchers in Portugal and two in Greece. I originally planned to undertake my part via 12 months' fieldwork in Porto and volunteering in community initiatives to access socially intimate spaces.

Unfortunately, circumstances beyond my control meant I was unable to leave London, and even before finishing my pre-fieldwork document I had to intermit my studies for 12 months. I spent 11 of those months in hospital where academia and the world outside in general seemed far away and irrelevant. However, it was during one of the darkest moments of that year that the germ of an adapted field site proposal was planted in my mind. It was nearly midnight and I was sitting at my son's bedside in our local Intensive Care Unit when Catia, a Portuguese nurse I had met earlier that week, came and sat with me. Indicating a true calling to her profession, she gently managed to take my mind off the existential threat to my own household by asking what I had done 'before'. Hearing the answer, she sat with me throughout the rest of that long night and distracted me with the story of how she had ended up in a London hospital in the spring of 2015.

Almost a year later after some extensive rearranging of the laboral relations within my household and a child who had come home still dependent on life support equipment and requiring 24 hour nursing care, I was in a position to start my PhD again. I was no further along with learning Portuguese or able to undertake fieldwork as originally planned. However, my experience of the past year of crisis, changed priorities and adapted household economics had given me a whole new set of criteria regarding what a 'good life' was. This became the basis of a conceptual framework which would both shape my PhD and the fieldwork relations I was to develop over the next few years. Through the stories of Catia and dozens of educated, Portuguese migrants like her, I formed a set of research questions based not on the household relations of those who stayed in Portugal, but those who left as migrants in the years following austerity measures and the crash of the labour market, in an attempt to take control of their lives. I wasn't able to access the 'socially intimate' spaces originally envisaged with my project colleagues of living in close daily

contact with communities in Porto, but my situation created new socially intimate spaces. Some of my most valuable data came from those who either participated in the uncertainty of my household as friends or neighbours or bore witness to the dozens of medical emergencies that intercepted my fieldwork period as healthcare professionals. What they had in common was identifying as 'Portuguese', although as this thesis shows, national identity is also a multi-layered construct which is deeply embedded in Portugal's postcoloniality, historical status relations and differing notions and experiences of modernity.

Undertaking anthropology 'at home' meant I carried on meeting new research participants even after my formal one-year fieldwork period ended. It was only when leaving London in March 2019 that I finally stopped adding to my field notes. One of the last respondents I encountered was another ICU nurse at the same hospital I had met the first one in, although thankfully this time in a less distressing context. This encounter provided a sense of narrative closure as her story and kindly distracting conversation reinforced the conclusions that were born during my first bedside talk with Catia three and a half years earlier. This thesis therefore draws on a strong narrative methodology (which I elaborate on further below), a beginning and an end marked by critical events. These events occurred both at the personal level for me as a researcher, giving birth to two children in the field (both literally and temporally) and on a global level (my fieldwork started the day after the Brexit vote and I am writing these words during the Covid-19 pandemic). The huge changes wrought by the latter are still unfolding and are likely to have an even bigger impact than the 2008 financial crisis in terms of not only challenging the possibilities for human movement and migration, but also the need to reconceptualise the possibilities for a good life by those who appear in this thesis. In this sense I suggest my parallel experience of 'crisis' allowed me to identify with and relate to my research participants on a level that would not otherwise have been possible.

2.5 Fieldwork with children

There are been an increasing amount written on fieldwork with children in recent years (Cupples and Kindon 2003; Redden 2008; Farrelly, Stewart-Withers and Dombroski 2014; Dombroski 2011; Drozdewski and Robinson 2015) and much on the challenges facing the 'native' anthropologist (Kawayama 2003; Tsuda 2015; Jacobs-Huey 2002; Baklaki 1997; Narayan 1993). There is significantly less written on the methodological and conceptual challenges presented by the juxtaposition of the 'native' anthropologist carrying out research at home and with children, and

nothing through the additional lens of disabilities. My son's medical condition meant that at the time of my fieldwork he was unable to leave the house for more than a couple of hours at a time. This in turn limited my ability to test the theory that children in the field can facilitate access to and encourage a more egalitarian relationship with participants (Cupples and Kindon 2003) through Rosaldo's notion of the 'repositioned other' (Rosaldo 1984). My partner took on full-time childcare duties to help with the logistics of this but the ongoing presence of medical precarity also meant there was a strong potential for me to be in a situation which, what Whitehead and Price (1986), referring to the presence of children in the field, would warn was prohibitive to the level of introspection required for fieldwork. However, I contest their demarcated notions of 'fieldwork' and 'personal life' and argue that as part of a globalised world in which modernist concepts of demarcated cultures and fields of identity have unravelled under the scrutiny of the post-modern 80s and feminist scholarship, the anthropologist is no longer expected to be an objective outsider but embody 'shifting identifications amid a field of interpenetrating communities and power relations' (Narayan 1993: 671). As Cupples and Kindon state, 'the "field" is a leaky space in which our relationships with participants shape and are shaped by our relationships with the co-researchers, friends, partners and family members who accompany us' (Cupples and Kindon 2003: 65). My child's discharge from hospital meant I had to learn to share my home with dozens of carers and healthcare professionals on a daily basis—most of whom were born outside of the UK, and one of which was Portuguese. My situation, which some might see as prohibitive to anthropological insight, is actually symbolic of the extent to which my life in London was already interwoven with those of migrants from a wide range of ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds which only enriched my fieldwork, following Rosaldo's suggestion that 'life experiences both enable and inhibit particular kinds of insight' (Rosaldo 1993: 175).

2.6 Anthropology at Home

I have a British passport and at the time of my fieldwork I was living in London, the capital of the United Kingdom. Within this criteria, I was indeed an anthropologist working at 'home'. At the same time, I was born and brought up outside of the UK, have a Mexican passport and am a mixed-race and bilingual second generation migrant. Feminist methodology would refer to this positioning as a 'halfie', someone 'whose national or cultural identity is mixed by virtue of migration, overseas education, or parentage' (Abu-Lughod 1991: 466). The figure of the 'halfie' has been long debated as occupying a unique space in post-modern ethnographical endeavours (Abu Lughod 1991; Narayan 1993; Bakalaki 1997; Jacobs-Huey 2002), wherein the necessity for an

awareness of positionality, identity and legitimacy are central to the decolonisation of anthropology as a discipline (Jacobs-Huey 2002; Narayan 1993; Abu-Lughod 1991).

A consideration of the community within which I proposed to work also negated easy assignments of 'home'. For me, entering the Portuguese diaspora symbolised a completely new cultural and linguistic space to the London I knew. My lack of cultural and linguistic familiarity with my research participants did not lend me the superior access, rapport and empathy that the label of 'native anthropology' implies (Tsuda 2015), whilst equally the native anthropologist's struggle to maintain an 'objective' detachment to his/her 'own' culture (Tsuda 2015) is irrelevant in this case. Indeed, 'culture' itself has long been suggested to be conceptually obsolete (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Abu Lughod 1991) and this can be argued to be particularly true within the context of the 'global city' (Sassens 1991). I suggest that 21st century London epitomises the disruption of the concept of a well-defined physical location for anthropological fieldwork. Rather than a bounded site of homogenous rituals and beliefs, it represents a temporal spatial hub where social conditions have temporarily brought together the transcultural contacts, geographic mobility and fluidity of identity that defines today's globalised world. Working with one of London's many migrant communities can therefore be posited as a microcosm of experience within a particular space and time, experience that is informed by social, political and historical factors but not defined by them. As Marcus (1995) puts it, I needed to move 'in and out of the world system' (Marcus 1995:112), from the global to the local, in order to understand personal experience and the visibility of the system in the 'everyday consciousness and actions of subject's lives' (Marcus 1995:11).

2.7 Methods used

I spent approximately three and a half years doing fieldwork, if we start from my encounter with Catia in Spring 2015 until I left London in March 2019, although the most intense period was the 12 months starting in August 2016. I carried out around 30 case studies during this time, around ten of which provided detailed data, snowballing out from individuals to their wider families in London and Portugal.

I initially intended to carry out a comparative study of Portuguese migrants in London and define my field by splitting my potential respondents into 'cohort generations' (Miller 2000)—those who came after the onset of austerity and those who were here before. One of the principle

challenges of conducting fieldwork in urban settings is the lack of a self-contained and isolated community, which makes traditional anthropological research methods involving participant observation and serendipitous encounters harder to achieve. I had hoped that the 'closed' nature of Stockwell's Portuguese population, as described by the 'new migrants' outside it, would work in my favour. However, despite spending the first few weeks roaming Stockwell and attempting to engage people in conversation, offering my services as a volunteer English teacher and putting up notices in Portuguese cafes offering free coffee and cake in exchange for a chat, I received very limited feedback. It soon became apparent that I would have to focus on other sectors within the diverse and scattered nature of the Portuguese migrant population. For this I would need wider-reaching methods.

I first set out by looking within my personal social contacts and posted a message on Facebook asking if anyone had any Portuguese friends or acquaintances who might like to get involved with my research. I met quite a few of these friends of friends, perhaps a dozen or so, all of whom were working in high-status, professional careers throughout the city, such as designers, architects and brand consultants. Of this first group, they were all relatively recent arrivals (within the last five years and some who had just arrived), had university degrees, declared themselves the first in their families to migrate and/ or had no previous links to the UK. Meeting them in their offices after work or in their lunch breaks, it was clear they were doing me a favour and the nature of these encounters was fairly formal. After one or two meetings, it was clear that constraints in time and space meant any longer-lasting relationship was unobtainable, although the data I obtained from these sources proved useful when taking into account theories of performativity and narrative.

I had more luck in targeting a different demographic— those recent arrivals who were either looking for work or in precarious work and were motivated to improve their English language skills to access their long term career goals. I met many of these participants through a conversation exchange website where individuals set up a profile with the language they wanted to practice and their location. I soon whittled them down to two or three individuals who lived within a half hour journey from my house, for mutually beneficial reasons- travel in London is expensive and the city huge, so ease of meeting was a large factor in establishing a beneficial relationship. I shared a similar educational background and lifestyle with many of this latter group and their concerns were also mine. Specifically, how to access and maintain a hold on the 'cosmopolitan' labour market to which universally recognised higher-education qualifications

were the main requisite and the machinations of which occupied most of our waking hours and governed all our lives and choices.

I also engaged the tuition services of two Portuguese language teachers using my ESRC research training grant. The differences in the nature of the information I got from each of these tutors reflected both the personality dynamics between us and their teaching styles. Both were freelance and made a living from teaching private classes in public spaces. I was very hopeful upon meeting Marco, a native of Porto in his mid 40s, as he had a background in anthropology and put in his profile that he had come to London as a result of the financial crisis. However, his reserved manner meant he revealed very little that was useful for my fieldwork, and even the teaching relationship was not particularly fruitful. I became close to the other teacher, Patrícia, who was a similar age to me. She gave me articles to read at home and through our subsequent discussions of them she revealed a lot about her own opinions and background. As time passed and my Portuguese improved she also told me more about her own life and views of the world. I met her a few times outside of our classes and eventually went to stay with her parents in Portugal.

In time my network of Portuguese respondents increased, as the initial contacts introduced me to their friends, but also through serendipitous encounters; for example, relationships built with nurses and doctors during my son's long hospital stays or the arrival of a Portuguese family in the building where I lived. The latter became and still are close friends, to the extent that the boundary between 'research participant' and friend became blurred and what I should or shouldn't include became a major consideration in terms of ethics.

2.8 Urban Ethnography and the Narrative Approach

Existing multi-disciplinary studies of migrant communities in London proved particularly useful in addressing the concerns that urban methodologies present within the specific context I worked in (Dench, Gavron and Young 2006; Young and Wilmott 1957; Gardner 2002; McIlwaine 2007; Block 2006; Giles 1991, 1992). The same is true for ethnographies of Portuguese migrant communities in other European cities (Brettell 1982; Koven 2004; Melo Pfeifer 2014). Methodologies within the growing field of lifestyle migration in Europe were also been very useful in detailing emerging practices within the narrative approach, specifically with the key role of Bourdieuan concepts of practice theory as applied to the analysis of life histories (O'Reilly 2012).

Such research has revealed the need created by the nature of the contemporary world for a methodological shift from the structural functionalist ethnographic tradition of observation and reflection (of a period of intensive co-residence), towards an inclusive and reflexive ethnographic practice which centralises the storyteller as representative of an integral part of human nature (Marcus 1995). The argument for interpretation of the narrative and subjective experience of research participants, as the most appropriate and accessible means of focusing on social rather than geographic space, is reflected throughout contemporary urban studies (Fischer 1991; Kurotani 2004; Brettell 1982; Miller 2000; Clandinin and Huber 2010). Life History performance has been theorised as a living mythology of symbols, motif and archetypes; a way of analysing the unfolding of self, linking to community and understanding of both self and universe (Atkinson 2002). Furthermore, London, as a contemporary European capital, can be posited as particularly suited to such a methodology, due to the key role of storytelling performance as a legitimisation of self within the development of European 'culture-specific conceptions of the person' (Rosaldo 1976:149).

Rosaldo (1976) suggests that in order to assess and properly interpret the content of such stories, it is imperative to give the context for such a performance beyond the story told, integrating reflections of the relationships between speaker and listener as a key part of the storytelling experience. This emphasis on examining the interaction between interviewer and respondent, how it is defined by power relations and the socio-historical context of the storytelling and how this constructs and directs narrative is referred to as constructionist (Bruner 1991; Esin et al 2013) or narrative (Miller 2000; Chase 2005). In anthropological terms, constructionism is essential to bringing narrative analysis away from an overly sociological bias.

A narrative methodology is also an essential part of Mattingly's (2014) 'moral project' theory which is one of the main strands of my conceptual framework (Chapter One). She insists upon the inherent narrativity and self-constituting nature of ethical practice, that 'a present experience is a kind of middle that emerges from beginnings that continue to be revised and endings that are foreshadowed and prefigured but remain in suspense' (Mattingly 2014: 19). In this vein, Mattingly suggests that narrative framing as methodology, rather than presuming an overly coherent self, is actually a useful approach for investigating how moral projects are 'riddled by uncertain possibilities and informed by pluralistic moral values, concerns and communities' (2014:20). Citing Taylor, who draws on Heideggerian temporality, Mattingly proposes that 'in order to have a sense of who we are, we have to have a notion of how we have become, and of where we are going' (2014: 22).

Undoubtedly, potential issues of representation are inherent in this approach as well as the risk of leaning towards discourse analysis rather than anthropology. However, as Bruner (1991) argues, discourse itself, as a form of narrative—indistinguishable from the narrative thought to which it is linked—represents a way in which the mind organises human experience and memory towards an eventual means of constructing reality, or a ‘true’ knowledge of the world. This knowledge, argues Bruner, forms the backbone of anthropology through its focus on how such knowledge systems are ‘differentially integrated into different cultures’ (Bruner 1991:4). The central issue for my project was therefore how to maintain an adequate triangulation between what people say (discourse) and the world around them, in other words how their networks of ‘relatedness’ create meaning and positioning of the self, which are then expressed through narrative. In order to achieve this triangulation and also preserve a continuous focus on my project’s central axis of households and relatedness, I integrated the Family History approach into my narrative methodology. Arising out of a combination of Life History and the Genealogical Method (Pina Cabral and Lima 2005), this approach focuses less on the narration of Ego’s individual identity, as in the ‘Life History’ model, and more on the ego’s horizon of relatedness as expressed through recollections of family connections and networks. As argued by Pina Cabral and Lima (2005), the lack of access to daily family life within contemporary urban research and the risk for life history interviews to lean towards personal self-validation through a lack of social context, can be counteracted through a focus on the universe of relations that surrounds the ego in order to discover its unfinished internal structuring.

Family History, like its cousin Life History, does not insist on a structured scheme of work and the eventual data emerges as dependent on the interview context and the respondent’s personal background, albeit with a unifying focus as a thematic base. This is an essential facet of the method in order to avoid too much of a focus on genealogies.

2.9 Learning the language and language capital

I spent two months in Portugal before starting the first year of my PhD and engaged the services of a personal tutor there, who I saw every weekday. By the end of this period I felt confident in expressing myself and understanding most of what was said to me. Many of the people I met that summer told me I was speaking *Portuñol*⁴ but that they nonetheless could understand what I

⁴ A mix of Portuguese and Spanish

meant. However, once I got back to London complete fluency eluded me. As a language teacher myself I recognised that I required complete immersion and that many of those around me either already spoke fluent English or were keen to do so and abandoned the Portuguese parts of conversation as soon as their English improved enough. Nevertheless, there were some notable exceptions who said they preferred speaking Portuguese and even those anxious to improve their English would still slip into Portuguese when they got tired, allowing me a level of comparison that was useful in my eventual analysis.

Language capital as the ability (or perceived ability) to speak English 'well' revealed itself to be an important part in the ongoing construction of self as a newly arrived migrant and I frequently refer to this throughout the thesis.

2.10 Ethical Considerations

I often felt there was a fine line between friendship and being a research participant, particularly when support was provided in a mutual way, such as the relationships I developed with nurses, my neighbours and those conversation exchange partners and their families who I became close to. However, I always made sure to mention my PhD thesis at the beginning of any new relationship and developing friendship were built around and interspersed with my ongoing questions related to the thesis. All interviews, both formal and informal, were therefore undertaken with participants' knowledge, whilst their privacy and anonymity is maintained through the use of pseudonyms. I kept my field-notes confidential, which detailed my interactions and observations with respondents, and all digital versions were held on a password-protected account. In this sense I complied with the ethical requirements of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth (ASA).

3.1 Introduction

It was a blustery February evening and I was waiting for Marisa in one of a handful of new drinking establishments that had recently opened in Deptford, South East London. We were going to see a play at the Albany, a community arts centre. Knowing she was usually late, I had suggested we meet in the warm bar.

I had lived in the area for four years, moving there to do my MA at nearby Goldsmiths College in 2012, whilst Marisa, a 23-year-old aspiring actress from Porto, Portugal's second largest city, shared a rented house in nearby North Greenwich with an assortment of other Southern Europeans in their 20s and 30s. Whilst my research participants lived all over the capital, this 3-mile radius of South-East London was one of the cheaper areas to rent a room in a shared house and quite a few of my research participants lived nearby. It was one of the most diverse areas of London and walking down its high street at any time of day, conversations in Portuguese, Spanish and Italian could be heard intermingling with African and Middle Eastern tongues.

I had not been out in the evening in Deptford for a while and was struck by how much more lively it was than in previous years. New luxury flats, bars and restaurants were opening every few months as the area was 'regenerated' (see Chapter One). The bar I was in was called the Job Centre, an ironic reference to the site's previous function serving the unemployed until it was closed in 2010 during the coalition government's first wave of austerity cuts. Its opening had been the subject of protests on social media by local community groups⁵ about what they claimed was a patronising commodification of working class culture and the effects of austerity policies in one of the most deprived wards in London.⁶

Marisa arrived, looking windswept and gazed around the industrial chic décor with a smile. 'Nice!' she said, sitting down and removing several layers. We had met about 6 months earlier, a few weeks after she had arrived in London from Portugal. Her father, Sérgio, a psychiatrist and her mother, Lidia, an occupational therapist, both worked at the local hospital in Porto. Both brothers were also abroad, her twin finishing his undergraduate degree in Graphic Design in Barcelona whilst her older brother was doing a Masters degree in Food Technology in Brussels. Marisa had

⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jul/09/job-centre-bar-gentrification-ironically-deptford>

⁶ <http://www.lewishamsna.org.uk/health-inequalities/index-of-multiple-deprivation>

been working as a waitress in Lisbon and applying for jobs in theatre when her landlord had decided not to renew the rental contract on her shared flat. Lots of people she knew were going to London, she told me later, and when she had expressed an interest in doing the same, her mother had put her in touch with Vanessa, the daughter of a work colleague at the hospital. Vanessa was on maternity leave from her job as a research scientist at a London university and had subsequently offered Marisa a job as a mother's help, a role which involved light cooking and cleaning and helping to look after Vanessa's three-year-old daughter whilst she was busy with the baby. Vanessa's husband worked in a bank in nearby Canary Wharf. He had grown up in South Africa but had been living in England (his father was English) when he and Vanessa had met through mutual friends a few years after Vanessa arrived in the UK, following the completion of her PhD in Germany. They lived in a large new complex of flats in central Greenwich, about a 15-minute walk away from Deptford. I often bumped into Marisa, Vanessa and the children around there as they attended baby swim sessions in the local community sports centre, just around the corner from the bar we were in now. According to Vanessa, the government-run facility was much better equipped than the private one in Greenwich.

Although my relationship with the Marisa was much more intimate, I did get to know Vanessa fairly well over the course of my fieldwork too and as time progressed the similarities and differences between the two women's experiences and backgrounds seemed increasingly relevant when establishing the main findings of my research. What's more, my own positionality within this triangulation of experiences highlighted certain key considerations. With Vanessa I shared a specific life course commonality—we were of a similar age (whereas Marisa was 15 years younger), had similarly aged pre-school children, had both participated in the Erasmus scheme as undergraduates⁷ and had both graduated from university in the early 00s and gone on to work in different countries around Europe. We had come of age at the height of a period of widespread efforts by the EU to transcend the nation (Favell 2008) through intra-EU mobility schemes and campaigns targeting youth (Huijsmans 2011), of which the Erasmus scheme was one. Meeting with Vanessa, despite differences in nationality, there were distinct parallels in our memories of the experiences and opportunities available to us throughout Europe as European citizens during the years leading up to and immediately following the financial crisis and ensuing austerity measures. In contrast, my encounters with Marisa highlighted the socio-economic effects which

⁷ The Erasmus programme (European Region Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) is an EU funded programme established in 1987 that organises student exchanges between participating universities throughout Europe.

austerity measures had wrought on her possibilities to expect similar experiences more than a decade later.

It is the temporal and discursive dimensions underlying these expectations and experiences and how they are lived by different individuals which I explore in this chapter. I specifically draw on Bryant and Knight's (2019) notion of collective expectations, which they suggest are immersed in the structural conditions of a certain point in history. As detailed in the theoretical framework section in Chapter One, Bryant and Knight define expectations as an orientation towards the future which relies heavily on the past. They refer to this past as 'thick' in the sense that lived experiences of the self or others inform perceptions of the future. As we will see, specific expectations emerged in the choices that individuals such as Marisa were encouraged to make until about the age of 17, in 2011, which reflected the collective experiences of those around her. These collective experiences themselves were the result of the structural conditions of a time in history where attending university in Portugal could lead to the fulfilment of a career in Portugal. It was only when the full effects of the crisis began to be felt following the introduction of austerity measures in 2011 that these horizons of expectation (the future as viewed from a distance, based on our experiences of the past) were forced to be reconfigured into what Bryant and Knight call anticipations (the future viewed as within our reach if we can only maintain a series of historically specific practices). These anticipations were subsequently expressed through epochal thinking, a collective sense of living within a period with a particular temporality, or time-consciousness (Bryant and Knight 2019; Hodges 2010; Hirsch and Stewart 2005). The focus of this chapter is one such example of epochal thinking—the articulation of emerging anticipations as 'generational': a moral and temporal resource which allows the individual to 'interpret the vagaries of daily existence and invoke their collectivity' (Hodges 2010: 116)

My analysis emerges from the ethnographic vignette above which makes visible Marisa's enthusiasm for London and its possibilities, which she narrates as indicating a perspective unique to her life course and a particular time in history. Throughout the chapter I examine how different individuals' positioning of their experience of the world around them is located within a discourse of generation, and how this is, to use Raymond Williams' words, lived and felt (Williams 1977). I explore the extent to which Marisa and other Portuguese migrants like her are able to exercise agency by articulating their migration experience in generational terms, anticipating a certain future which has meaningful resonances embedded in a broader historical and politico-economic context of Portuguese youth migration. In order to enrich my analysis, in the second part of the chapter I compare the experiences of various research participants who share a cohort

positioning but are separated by inequalities in status, educational capital and material resources. By doing so, I aim to examine the extent to which such inequalities impact upon different temporalities, i.e., the wielding of hope and understandings of the past, present and future.

3.2 Opportunities, Generations and Personhood: Marisa

Marisa was always overflowing with enthusiasm about the possibilities London offered. Ever since we had first met, the themes of self-improvement and self-development were sprinkled throughout our conversation. Referring to the decision of her landlord in Lisbon to evict her and her three housemates, all of them in their twenties and working in bars and restaurants around Lisbon, she had curled her lip derisively.

‘He said he wanted us out...so his mother could move in apparently. Ha! He wanted it for Airbnb. He knew he could get much more for it than through us. That’s what everyone is doing in Lisbon now. So it just seemed like time to go. I had nowhere to live, I was sleeping on a friend’s sofa so I thought I’d come to London’.

The decision had been presented as serendipitous, and was in keeping with a specific narrative she maintained of herself. Although she had initially agreed with Vanessa to work for her, cash in hand, for three months, the remainder of Vanessa’s maternity leave, Marisa always stressed that she had many other options. She was never ‘just’ a babysitter but also pursuing various other projects. At the time we met she had been waiting to hear if she had been accepted onto a theatre fellowship in Lisbon. When she found out her application had been unsuccessful she started talking about staying in London and trying to break into the theatre scene, supporting herself with part-time babysitting and catering work on the side. She described it as a positive step, framing it as a journey of self-improvement wherein

‘Sometimes I walk to work along the river, passing the beautiful buildings⁸ and I think about being here and what it means and who I am. I think it’s better I came here alone, I have no distractions, I can concentrate on me and making myself better’.

⁸ She was referring to the Old Naval College in Greenwich

When I asked her what 'better' meant she framed it as a series of possibilities presented by London, from the theatre trips she was taking to the opportunities to learn English and possibly soon enrolling at RADA⁹.

'I can do it, I know I'm here for a reason and I think I have the ability to get where I want, I just need to improve my English and then all sorts of things will be available! There are so many opportunities in the career I want. In the future, well I will stand out in Portugal if I go back, having a UK qualification or experience. I mean, everyone in Portugal is emigrating at the moment, getting experience here. But in the field of theatre, I still think it is a benefit. Here, I am one of many, I know that, but back home I think I could stand out, whether its teaching in a university or doing my own thing, I would still be different.'

She said this with her head held high and a wide smile, her posture seeming to draw in energy from her surroundings. Here and often during our time together, Marisa's speech, body language and reactions to the world around her seemed to convey empowerment and hope. Marisa's decision to migrate to London in pursuit of specific 'opportunities' in the form of self-actualisation encapsulates a notion of hope based on movement, pressing forward into the future (Bloch 1986; Miyazaki and Swedberg 2017; Massumi 2002; Bryant and Knight 2019). Her comment on being 'different' gives us a clue as to the specific form this hope took— to one day embody the symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1984) required to be distinct from those around her and that she would be free to strategically pursue plans to that effect.

This links Marisa's specific form of hope to a historically specific cosmopolitan orientation. As Jansen (2016) points out, it is important to understand the particular historical context for the production of hope in order to explore its development over time. Marisa's conceptualisation of hope through her narratives, which were very much in the singular and focused on herself as an individual, can be linked to the cosmopolitan outlook which emerged from the conditions of Portugal in the 1980s and 1990s following its acceptance into the EU. Singularity is referred to by Hannerz (1990) as key to the 'cosmopolitan orientation': a drive to assert personal autonomy with respect to one's cultural predestination. Arguing from a more individualistic orientation, Rapport (2006) frames cosmopolitanism in terms of a vision of complex human singularity—in particular, the aspiration to construe one's own life project. Although, in my view, Rapport over-stresses individual agency, I observed Marisa's faith in her ability to control her future orientation

⁹ One of London's most prestigious drama schools

emerging and re-emerging in her narrative, particularly through her positioning of her cosmopolitanism as a direct contrast to more communal orientations of previous years.

That night in the Job Centre, very early on in my fieldwork, I was particularly struck by this potential effect. A jazz funk band had started to play and Marisa had cooed with delight and started gently moving her shoulders, seemingly captivated by life in general. She caught my eye and giggled, then started telling me how she loved the random opportunities London threw up to listen to different types of music. I wondered at this point if and how Marisa related the ways she experienced the world around her to her immediate familial circumstances as well as how she saw the historical context that had led to a reduction in opportunities for such encounters in Portugal. There was a daily newspaper with an ominous headline regarding Brexit and EU migration next to us on the table and during a break in the music I gestured to it before mentioning the recently elected leftist prime minister of Portugal, António Costa. Marisa laughed when I asked her what she thought about the positive things being said about him and Portugal's economic 'recovery'.

'You have to meet my dad! He is obsessed with politics, the crisis! He talks on and on. Sometimes we just tell him to shut up.'

She smiled fondly then gave me a comic guilty look.

'People my age, we don't know or care about politics in Portugal. We grew up knowing we'd probably have to migrate if we wanted to practice a specific career, we have gotten used to it in a way, we don't remember anything different whereas the older ones remember what it was like before, different expectations. My father's generation, he was 18 at the time of the Carnation Revolution¹⁰ and it stayed with him, he didn't do anything in the revolution itself but it marked his life and his way of being, he is very politically active. Even though my family, well we're not rich but we're far from not having a lot of money. But he's always stayed fixed on community.'

She paused, and I wondered if she was thinking, as I was, by what she'd just said about her father's collective generational identity being fixed on 'community' whilst her own shift to 'we' was focused on a cosmopolitan individualism in the form of a post-nation, future-orientated self-development (Rapport 2006). 'Community' was a concept that she conflated with 'politics', 'Portugal' and a nationalist view of history. Marisa's migration may have been crisis-induced but

¹⁰ The 1974 revolution which overthrew the Salazar dictatorship after 40 years

her own reflections lacked the sense of collective anger, betrayal and hopelessness that featured so profoundly in the social science literature on crisis and austerity as well as in the media and popular discourse. As I speculated whether this was because, having been 15 years old when the 2008 crisis hit and 18 when austerity measures were applied, she was too young to have any expectations or memories of expectations from before the crisis, she continued thoughtfully.

‘My parent’s generation, they worked to support their children in university thinking they would get a job and so things would be different than for them. Now they don’t know that. People my age... you have to be prepared for a different future. I know I am lucky, and not everyone is as lucky as me to be able to count on support for their family to emigrate. Many end up working in a café or a shop.’

She laughed, suddenly self-conscious.

‘Yes, I know that’s what I’m doing here too! But I’d rather work in a café in London than in Lisbon. With tips here, it’s a much better financial situation.’

I asked her what her parents thought about her dream of becoming an actress in London and she responded with a smile and a shrug, before saying

‘Them, they never worked outside of Portugal, they left university and both got jobs, that’s what people did then. They know things are different from their generation. People don’t get a job when they are 22 and work in it for ever. My generation, we are more curious, we want to see the world, but also it has more opportunities than in Portugal. We were the generation of Erasmus¹¹, that inspired a lot of people to travel.’

I asked about all the Portuguese who had gone to France in the 60s and 70s and she laughed and shook her head.

‘Oh, but that is completely different! It wasn’t like today, those people they had less education, they migrated as they had not opportunity to work, it wasn’t about personal development.’

I wondered whether to point out that she had just told me that she had no opportunities to work in Portugal either but she was on a roll and pointed to herself—

¹¹ As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Erasmus is a European-wide scholarly exchange programme that allowed students from different universities around Europe to study at any member university. It started in 1987 and grew in popularity throughout the 1990s and 2000s.

‘For me, London represents more opportunity from a professional and individual basis. It’s not somewhere I would have necessarily chosen if it weren’t for the career specific opportunities.’

I was struck by how Marisa had emphasised her cosmopolitan individuality at this point as I had heard her use of the discursive construct of ‘our generation’ linked to variations on the expressions, ‘professional’, ‘individual’ and ‘personal-development’ as motivational factors for coming to the UK echoed in dozens of conversations with different respondents. I specifically recalled Ricardo, a 33-year-old architect I had met recently. Like Marisa, he was one of the self-identified ‘new generation’ of migrants who entered the London labour market in the years following Portugal’s austerity measures in 2011 and was very forceful about making the distinction between current and former migration. Also like Marisa, he was from Porto and came from a mid-status background wherein both his parents and his grandparents had enough skills and status to get by in Portugal’s dictatorship-era urban environment without needing to migrate. Describing his parents, he had recently commented that, despite their own successful careers as a bank manager and government functionary,

‘Their generation’s attitude is really like, you have to keep a job, get a stable job! Don’t rock the boat, don’t ask for a pay rise, what if you get sacked? I’m like, well it would be fine I’ll get another job but they’re all no.... Portuguese they’re more docile, that’s why it’s popular to see concierge/ cleaner couples in France—they don’t question. They don’t understand how we can be so adventurous and daring.’

Ricardo had been working for a prestigious property development firm in London for five years and referred to his mother’s depression at her lack of grandchildren from her millennial sons (both abroad) as due to her

‘closed way of thinking. They’re very comfortable financially, she has nothing to be depressed about really! But her life is empty, it’s not worked out the way she thought because she expected grandchildren once my brother and I were in our 30s and that would give her life meaning. Now she just sits at home being sad all day. With the crisis, she had to take early retirement from her uninspiring job of 30 years and now she does nothing, just mopes about at home longing for a grandchild. The dog died recently and she cried for days. She has nothing.’

Yet another contact from Coimbra who had 'made it' in London, successfully transforming her Portuguese teaching degree to a well-paid position as a brand consultant, told me her parents found her 'alien' for her working practices and ability to change jobs easily.

'For them the idea of moving job is crazy but here once you have experience you have so much freedom...but their generation don't get that.'

This generational narrative again brings us back to the notion of distinction as a Bourdieusian concept wherein qualitative, temporal and spatial markers of difference are used to compete for greater symbolic capital and individual prestige (Bourdieu 1984; Prazeres 2019). This discourse regarding the 'uneducated' migrants of previous years who 'just' wanted to 'work' overlapped with a similar discourse regarding their parents' generation whose main values centred on 'just' getting a 'job'. Whether described as quaintly political, docile or lacking drive and the capacity to resist oppression from having lived under Salazar, 'parents' as well as 'migrants' were portrayed as being 'stuck' and incapable of imagining a future on the terms their children were.

On first appearances, these overlapping narratives follow an 'anchored' model of generation, wherein cohort groups are shaped by a particular event or political/economic era. As seen above, I myself had queried Marisa's position in these terms, wondering whether her life-cycle positioning of graduating secondary school after austerity measures were introduced had 'protected' her from their worst effects, by at the very least adapting her expectations. What she told me appeared to bear this out when she referred to memory and expectation within her household as bounded by genealogical experience. She had certainly told me herself how she had never had expectations of a career in Portugal and disassociated herself from the community concerns of an earlier cohort which were based on betrayed memory and loss. Instead, she focused on a pragmatic pursuit of individualist aspirations of self-development within an open-ended future of freedom. This outlook indicates a clear temporal break between the duality of rural, 'uneducated migrants' and the 'unadventurous parental generation' of before versus an emerging 'generation of educated adventurers' (not migrants) like themselves who didn't care about politics or crisis. It also incorporates a naturalised explanation for generational differences, the parental generation either being more political because of their memories of the revolution or stuck in their ways for the same reason.

However, as I got to know Marisa I would be frequently struck by the inconsistency between her self-representation of a cosmopolitan generation and the historical materialities through which this discursive construct was being realised. Her individually constructed notions of aspiration and

personhood as a member of a 'more adventurous generation than her parents' were embedded in the emotional and financial support offered by her family. Despite her frequent claims of 'having arrived on her own', she had been dependent on her employer/ family friend Vanessa for everything from setting up a bank account, to getting a smartphone to having somewhere to stay and help her find a house-share. Marisa had been looking forward to 'moving on' when her agreement with Vanessa ended, but continued to babysit for various of Vanessa's friends whilst she applied for drama schools and worked for a variety of catering companies. The support of this extended network whose origins were within her own family enabled her to engage in the narrative of adventure and opportunities which she posited as so different from the utilitarian forms of migration of 'uneducated people'. Consequently, in order to activate her anticipations, it was necessary for Marisa to underplay the material and relational realities of her situation within a narrative of self that was focused on 'independence', 'freedom' and 'adventurousness'. I saw this often but especially so as offers for auditions started to arrive. Wondering how she would afford the £12,000 tuition fees, I asked if she was eligible for a loan. Here she'd smiled broadly and emotionally.

'My parents do lots of overtime to pay for the things that my brothers and I need. They really want us to have as many opportunities as they can give us. I know I am really lucky,'

Her eyes suddenly bright, she hurriedly added—

'I mean, I don't depend on them, it's important for me to pay my own way. But I know that if I need something 'big' like a Masters for example they would be happy to help me.'

This suggestion of continuing dependence created a marked disruption to the essential characteristics within the discursive formation of 'their unadventurous' generation which was so often presented to me by Marisa and other mid-status research participants. The contradictory nature of this disruption became more and more apparent as I carried on meeting new participants throughout my research. For the university-educated professionals with whom I only met up a couple of times, a prevalent discourse of a generational divide preceded and dominated our conversations. Those whom I got to know on a longer term basis, however, would go on to implicitly challenge this narrative through information I subsequently learned about their kinship networks and the historical materialities therein. Throughout the rest of the chapter I will unpack the complexities of this dichotomy, starting with a theoretical analysis of Marisa's discourse of generation and how it relates to and can be developed from existing notions of temporality and cosmopolitanism.

3.3 A New Theory of Generations: Hope

This initial and somewhat simplified representation of ‘our’ versus ‘their’ generation as discussed above fits within the relatively recent conceptual framework of a discursive formation in the anthropology and sociology of generations (Aboim and Vasconcelos 2014; Purhonen 2016). This framework expands upon two parallel but overlapping analytical frameworks developed over the 20th century, (Lamb 2015; Theodossopoulos 2020b). For Purhonen (2016) and Aboim and Vasconcelos (2014), the concept of a ‘discursive formation’ links the valid points contained within the biological genealogical approach and culturalist anchored approach. Referring to the latter, they suggest that generations are led not by a Mannheimian, intellectual and politically aware vanguard, but rather by collections of diverse individuals who mobilise competing and multiple discourses of difference and similarity in order to interpret common experiences which operate as labels of generational identity. This analysis positions not only agency and history, but also embodiment, memory and particularly discourse in the composition of generations as social—rather than political—labels of identity. In the case of my research participants, a discursive formation analysis is particularly useful when considering their self-identification as a generation which was ‘completely different’ from that of their parents.

This can certainly be seen in the sense that Mapril and Blanes (2018) argue, which is that the concept of an ‘austerity generation’ and indeed, middle class-ness itself are products of institutionalised discourses of power in Portugal in the years since austerity. Whilst warning against the invisibility this discourse renders to other deprived groups (Mapril and Blanes 2018), they also emphasise its hegemonic nature. At the discursive level in Portugal, this can be seen in the creation of an ‘austerity generation’ in the media, through newspaper articles (Mapril and Blanes 2018) and the political mobilisation of youth through affective experiences such as songs (Gray 2016). The Portuguese band Deolinda’s song *Parva que Sou* (How Stupid I Am), which described the precarity faced by Portuguese university graduates, went viral on social media following four live performances at the start of 2011. The song has been suggested by Lila Gray (2016) as the resurrection of a particularly Portuguese tradition of protest song, echoing the political mobilisation of the start of the 1974 Carnation Revolution. Indeed, the song’s political impact was subsequently credited as the catalyst for the biggest street protests in Portugal since the revolution itself (Gray 2016). However, even for those amongst my older respondents who had participated in these protests, the political mobilisation inspired by the song did not necessarily translate into a long-lasting political commitment or political change beyond the discursive, as we shall see throughout this chapter.

In this latter sense, these different theoretical conceptualisations of generation are certainly relevant for the purposes of this chapter. However, I argue that Marisa's case shows us that it is important not to reduce her perspective to either Mannheimian political awareness (e.g. a part of imposed generational identity) nor to the mobilisation of competing discourses, as the discursive formation theorists suggest. Instead, interweaving the three concepts which are the base of my theoretical framework—temporality, cosmopolitanism and good life—allows us to unpack this further. On the one hand, we can see the validity of the competing discourse argument in Marisa's disengagement with the term '*geração a rasca*' in favour of that of a more personally relevant 'non-political generation' or 'Erasmus generation'. This is indeed a discursive manifestation of self which draws on conjunctural¹² circumstances in the creation of an imagined cosmopolitan ideal. Following Bourdieu, Zipin et al (2015) usefully articulate these populist-ideological mediations as 'doxic' aspirations, 'dominant norms about worthy futures, powerfully circulated in populist media-waves of the historical present' (Zipin et al 2015: 236). They also suggest that these 'doxic' aspirations compete with a parallel logic of aspiration, that of 'habituated' aspirations, embodied dispositions which emerge through intimately lived practices/relations, particularly in childhood, and are in turn embedded in the material cultural conditions of the social-structural position of one's family/ community. In this sense, generational discourses can certainly be seen as a way for my interlocutors to express doxic aspirations and so position themselves as distinct to the 'economic migrants' they describe as synonymous to 'the typical Portuguese migrant', someone rural and uneducated who 'migrated because they had to'. Despite the unconscious parallels she drew between herself (as 'choosing London for career-specific opportunities') and 'uneducated migrants' (who left as 'they had not opportunities to work'), Marisa was able to use the concept of generation to create a specific identity of herself as a 'European' and an 'adventurer' who has the freedom to explore London on her terms and not as a victim of fate or crisis (Sarro 2007).

However, I propose here expanding upon generational discourse mobilisation as an analytical lens to incorporate a wider conceptualisation of *hope* as an embodied performance of moving meaningfully towards the future within an ethical imagination of living well, or a 'good life' (Moore 2011; Collins 2018; Smith 2007; Bryant and Knight 2019). This framework places not political consciousness or discourse but rather hope and temporality as affective strategies to make sense of conjunctural conditions as experienced by cohort groups who came of age under

¹² 'Conjuncture' is a useful term that, as Pina Cabral (2018) explains, allows us to move beyond focusing on 'crisis' as a break in socio-economic/ political conditions in favour of the Gramscian notion of 'conjuncture' as a constitutive time/space continuum which both creates and is created by individuals and groups of persons according to the conditions of history.

shared socioeconomic conditions. Such a perspective would allow analysis of how ideas of value, hope and perceptions of time develop and transform at times of social and political turmoil and economic restructuring. It would allow that variations exist, even within what may be presented as homogeneous political economies, which both allow and generate different imaginations of possibilities, hopes and desires as well as loss and despair.

Drawing on this framework as outlined above, I suggest that the stories of Marisa, Ricardo and others like them, show how the suspension of hope as a form of generational consciousness, as ethnographically documented at the height of the crisis (Pina Cabral 2015b; Knight and Stewart 2016), had given way at the time of my fieldwork, nearly ten years after the crisis hit and five years after austerity measures were first introduced in Portugal. For 'the Erasmus generation', the betrayed expectations for a certain future which had been derailed by the crisis and followed by a liminal period of 'temporal vertigo' (Knight 2016: 33) had been replaced with the introduction and cementing of alternative futures. Bryant and Knight refer to these awakening, adjusted expectations as Anticipations (Bryant and Knight 2019), which recalibrate only certain relevant parts of the past. In Marisa's case, the irrelevant parts of the past were distanced from her own life and conceptualised as generational, distinguishing 'our generation' from both 'their' (parents) generation, regardless of migratory status, and other types of Portuguese migrants who she saw as stuck. This binary notion of being stuck/ unstuck is a specifically temporal concept of freedom in that it rests on the idea of an open future, which Ghassan Hage (2009) refers to as 'existential mobility'— a sense of going somewhere rather than being trapped in the present. Here we can once again see the long term effects of crisis on collective expectations, i.e., the lack of career opportunities for someone like Marisa compared with 10 years earlier, being reconfigured. The memory of past expectations is not expressed through a sense of betrayal or frustration at being stuck, but rather in a comparative sense, as an adjusted set of anticipations, a new future on the horizon which is expressed as being 'adventurous'. In Marisa and Ricardo's cases these adjusted anticipations were still emerging in the present through the narratives and practices of those around them who shared life course practices, rather than through what older people (their 'parents' generation') had told them to expect. This set of practices established by peers followed cosmopolitan values of individuality and meritocracy and were articulated via what Bryant and Knight (2019) refer to as 'epochal thinking', in other words, a new normal. The idea of a new normal can be seen in Hage's (2009: 97-106) suggestion that it is existential mobility which defines ordinary lives. Expanding on this, Bryant and Knight propose that a lack of Hage's existential mobility in times of crisis highlights its importance all the more, the description of 'ordinary' life in Times of War being 'used to signal a Time of Peace' (Bryant and Knight: 2019: 65).

Marisa's case shows us that when future horizons within the 'Time of Peace' are derailed by crisis and agency is therefore limited, it is necessary to reconfigure one's view of the future, whilst maintaining momentum in order to avoid being stuck. Bloch (1986) refers to this momentum as the real dimension of hope in contrast to the 'closed, static concept of being' (Bloch 1986: 18). For Marisa, therefore, hope was a future-oriented field of possibility within which to create specific aspirations, enabled by the migratory act, global labour processes and certain structural conditions within her household. It defined the difference between working in a café in Lisbon and in London, the latter being a symbolic arena where hope was expressed as 'opportunities' and 'personal development', that prioritises 'becoming someone' via an empowered choice to travel and 'change my life' according to the conditions of the moment. Whilst she wasn't completely sure how those opportunities would manifest themselves in the future, her presence in London for the moment allowed her the freedom to dream of being different. In other words, able to pursue any desire she chose, unencumbered by financial or ideological restraints, something she understood as new in her generation, unlike her 'parents' generation' or 'uneducated migrants'.

In the case of my research participants, I found an expressed desire for existential mobility and agency to be most prevalent amongst first generation migrants from relatively privileged, mid-status backgrounds, like Marisa and Ricardo. Emphasising their childhoods travelling around Europe, they referred to migrants as those who *had* to migrate and distinct from themselves as 'adventurers'. The term adventurer is thereby discursively linked with a sense of individuality and cosmopolitan agency according to my definition of cosmopolitanism resting on a notion of a culturally open disposition as a state of mind as a result of the growth of opportunities provided by globalisation (see Chapter One). The migrants of Marisa's generation and education saw themselves as real cosmopolitan migrants in the Hannerzian (1990) sense, with a disposition towards openness to other ways of life, unlike the fake cosmopolitans who were forced to migrate and stayed in national communities.

3.4 Opportunities, Lies and a Good Life: Ana and José

But what is the effect on the generational narrative when households are less able to provide the material conditions to allow a cosmopolitan, future-oriented pursuit of opportunities, unlimited by crisis, 'culture' or 'society'? In Marisa's case, whilst she was aware of the economic and social

structural changes of the years following the onset of austerity measures in Portugal, she also frequently stated the fact she was young and privileged enough not to be bitter about an unknown or altered future and was therefore able to disassociate herself from past forms of epochal thinking. More significantly, her lack of family participation in ‘economic’ or ‘uneducated’ migration positioned her as a mid-status group urban bourgeois (Pina Cabral 1986) and consequently Other to historical conceptualisations of migrants being of low status and uneducated, which I discussed in Chapter One. This long-standing family capital, combined with the expanded educational network and travel and work opportunities abroad during the years of prosperity, also as discussed in Chapter One, constituted the person she was.

With this in mind, I now ask, what is the impact of structural inequalities through time and space within households and how do they affect the wielding of hope and aspiration as affective strategies for self-actualisation, as discussed in the previous section? How do these inequalities in status, educational opportunities and the material basis of households exist within the discursive formation of the generational imagination of those coming of age in the years following the crisis? Is it more accurate to say that migratory habitus (or lack of) has a bigger influence on abilities to conceptualise a cosmopolitan future good life than discursive formations of generation?

I met Jorge through friends of friends. He had recently graduated in TEFL¹³ and Modern Languages from a UK university and was working as a teaching assistant at an all-boys secondary school in Peckham, South East London. Through him, I then met his girlfriend, Ana. They were 24 and 26 years old and both from a small city called Vila Real in the north of Portugal which Ana described as:

‘Empty in the winter and full in the summer, when all the migrants come back’.

Like Tânia (Prologue), Ana was one of 5000 nurses to leave Portugal between 2012-2016 (Pereira 2019: 105). She had arrived in London in January 2016 after being enlisted in her final year of her degree by NHS recruiters who visited her university in Portugal. She and Jorge lived in south London with Jorge’s parents and younger brother. Jorge’s family had migrated to London in 2003 when he was 11. He had met Ana on one of his annual trips home and they maintained a long distance relationship for five years before she moved to London. Ana was an only child whose parents had both worked in a local factory until her father was signed off sick. Jorge’s mother had worked in the same factory as Ana’s mother prior to migration, whilst his father had been the

¹³ Teaching English as a Foreign Language

town undertaker. According to Jorge, it was a bad debt that his father had taken out that led to their decision to migrate to London, although he later told me that both of his parents already had siblings there. Jorge's dad now worked as a delivery driver, whilst his mum was a part time cleaner.

Ana often told me how 'everyone' in her hometown had migrated at some point, including her own parents and their siblings. She also often referred to the fact she hadn't met her father until she was 10 months old as he was away working in a chicken factory in Switzerland. Ana's stressing of generational continuity in contrast to Marisa's stressing of generational breaks fascinated me. The fact they shared a genealogical life stage—but distinctive positioning of themselves as individual and collective identities—challenged the discursive formation of 'our generation' that Marisa propounded. I was provided some insight into the complex reasons behind this one evening whilst I had a coffee with Ana as she waited for Jorge, who was teaching an aerobics class of middle-aged Madeiran women in a community centre across the road. We were in a Portuguese café in the London borough of Lambeth, the heart of South London's Portuguese community, not far from Jorge's parents' house¹⁴. I commented on the boundless energy Jorge seemed to have, working full-time before bouncing from one after-school activity to another. She smiled wanly.

'He's always done it. He likes to be busy'.

The class was mostly middle-aged Madeiran women, she told me. I would later find out that most of their socialising was done in the Portuguese community.

'All Jorge's family live here, he has so many cousins and their families! Which is good but it means I don't have any British friends. None of us do. Jorge's sister, she has her life here, she has lived here since she was 15 and doesn't have any British friends either, not that I know of, she only ever talks about her Portuguese friends. Her husband is Portuguese and she only stays with Portuguese. I think the people here are like that, they stick together. So many people from the same city live here anyway, it's like being in the same place!'

¹⁴ About 20,000 Portuguese live in Lambeth

I was struck by how what Ana said contrasted with Marisa's 'Eurostars'¹⁵ existence, her living, socialising and working within large groups of European and British individuals linked not by nationality but by taste (Bourdieu 1984), age-range and educational backgrounds. Indeed, Ana's description seemed to fulfil Hannerz's (1990) distinction between 'fake' and 'true' cosmopolitans. To recap, Hannerz distinguishes 'true' cosmopolitanism, as opposed to merely globally mobile people, as a 'perspective, a state of mind, or—to take a more processual view—a mode of managing meaning' (Hannerz 1990: 238). However, I would go a step further. I suggest that what made Marisa's cosmopolitanism distinct was its discursive emphasis, given the disjuncture between her cosmopolitan perspective and the fact she depended on a strong local and transnational Portuguese network in times of precarity. The similarities and differences between the embodied and performative aspects of each young woman's use of discourse at this point is what allows us an insight into how they used discursive formations of generation as a way of understanding their pursuit of a good life. In Ana's case, her demeanour was generally unenthusiastic and occasionally came out as bitter, especially when she talked about her life in London. Talking about work, she always emphasised how stressful it was, how much harder life in general was than back home. According to Jorge, this was because she didn't feel very confident with her English, which affected her performance at work. At the same time, she would always shake her head fervently if I asked if she was tempted to go back and look for a job in Portugal.

'Never. You know how much a nurse gets on a bank shift there? Three euros an hour. Even cleaners get five euros. After all that study.'

Her eyes had filled with tears at this point and her voice rose.

'No, I would never do it. It's not just the pay, the patients don't respect you, the work is insecure and there isn't opportunity to learn and get better. The pay, if you are lucky, is 700 euros a month max and that's the lucky ones. You work really hard and you're so grateful to have a job that you don't say anything when they change the shifts at the last minute, when there is no equipment or treatments available that you know they need. Most nurses have to work two or three jobs, they get the rota for one and give it to another job and they give shifts on top of that. If you have a partner or family to help you out it's better but if not, you have to work really really hard just to pay for everything. Here it is bad to live but I can practice the profession I studied for and feel valued.'

¹⁵ Favell (2008)'s ethnography of Brussels, Amsterdam and London suggests that 'Eurocities' are unique fields of pan-European practices by what he calls 'Eurostars' — young, educated Europeans whose multi-lingual, multi-skilled habitus are sites of both European and local identity formation.

Here Ana's discursive practices echo Marisa's in her expressed desire to feel valued and be recognised in the field she had studied. However, it was the unsatisfactory nature of her daily practices, the 'it being bad to live' aspect, that emphasised other elements within the network of 'opportunities' she was attempting to negotiate for herself in London beyond the individual goal of professional self-actualisation. Accordingly, apart from work as a field of meaningful action, Ana's source of open-ended hope for the future was also based on current and potential future relational circumstances, such as setting up a permanent home with Jorge. Talking about Jorge and the plans they had was when Ana brightened up most, enthusiasm shining through her face and her body visibly relaxing. In this way frustrations with her current practices at the individual level intermingled with hope for the future at both the individual and relational levels, giggling plans about surprise birthday parties and holidays being punctuated with angry speeches about the past and how she had been 'lied to'. She recalled being lectured by mother about going to university.

'Go, so you don't end up in factory with no opportunities like me. That's what she said. But we were told a lie. In the past people always migrated because they didn't have many studies and couldn't find a job back home. So my parents always said, get a degree so you can get a good job and you won't have to migrate. Why did they tell me that, if in the end, I had to migrate anyway and life here is so hard? It makes me angry as I don't want to be here.'

I had come across this narrative of 'we were told a lie' in my fieldwork as part of a discursive formation of the *geração a rasca*, the 'desperate generation'. However, I was surprised to hear it from Ana, as she was about a decade younger than my other research participants who used it when talking about their arrested aspirations just as they were emerging into adulthood. I had met several members of the 'desperate generation' by this point and their narrative of betrayal was reflected not only in media articles and blogs, but in everyday conversation where they resentfully referred directly to their pre-crisis expectations, having started their careers in Portugal during the period just before austerity, when they were in their early to mid-20s. Ana, on the other hand, was the same age as Marisa, who, as I discussed earlier in the chapter, had claimed 'people my age... don't know or care about politics in Portugal' and 'grew up knowing we'd probably have to migrate if we wanted to practice a specific career'.

I suggest that Ana's use of generation as a discursive formation here—i.e. where she positioned herself as part of a betrayed collective—was part of an embodied performance of generation as discourse within which she could come to terms with the affective challenges of her life in London

at that time. As well as drawing on a different generational discourse to Marisa, there was also a temporal shift in the way Ana used generation, referring not to an open-ended future or pride in being more adventurous as a generation but rather a sense of past betrayal, an arrested aspiration, i.e. not to have to migrate. This embodied effect of remembering past betrayal at the level of the household intermingled with a more general sense of frustration with her circumstances at that time. Her material conditions were significant here, as unlike Marisa, she couldn't count on her parents' financial support to access a form of open-ended freedom where hope was, as yet, untarnished by daily practices and challenges. Bryant and Knight (2019) refer to the frustration of arrested expectations when a future is not what it ought to have been as due to the inherent teleological nature of orientations towards the future. In other words, that presents and pasts are always and inevitably shaped by the ends for which we strive. In the case of expectation, an orientation towards the future which Bryant and Knight describe as 'a conservative teleology that gives thickness to the present through its reliance on the past' (Bryant and Knight 2019: 50), its very 'thickness', i.e., a strong reliance on what the past has taught us to expect, is what causes such frustration when things don't happen as they ought. In this case, Ana's mother telling her that getting a degree meant she would not have to migrate, as the flourishing local labour economy for those with degrees at that point in Portuguese history suggested was the case.

At this point I propose expanding upon Bryant and Knight's theory of expectations by emphasising that Ana's drawing on the notion of the *geração a rasca* created a disjuncture between competing discourses. I suggest that this disjuncture makes the notion of expectation even more unstable as it impacts upon the ebbing and flowing of different temporal 'thicknesses' through time and space. Firstly, let us consider how the narratives of those who identified with the 'desperate generation' were echoed in the media narrative of the financial crisis destroying opportunities for those growing up in what was referred to as a 'prosperous golden era'. By looking at Ana's understanding of her current situation, whilst she also engaged with these narratives, they were simultaneously contradicted by her sense of generational continuity regarding migratory *habitus*. Unlike Marisa, Ana came from a low-status group in Portugal where an excess of labour meant migration had been a default option for her ancestors for several years. The decade or so leading up to the crisis had given rise to an alternative discourse within her household wherein she was told to go to university 'so you don't have to work in a factory like me'. However, by the time Ana was old enough to make the choice, the echoes of this discourse were already being challenged. The onset of austerity had only hastened the revelation that modernity itself continued to be fragile in this part of Portugal (Mapril and Blanes 2018) and that further education had only ever

been a temporary alternative to migration, even for such a high-demand career as nursing (Pereira 2009). I suggest that it was this same relatively sudden challenge to the prevailing discourse of modernity, as caused by the crisis, that heightened the affective impact of Ana's memory of expectations towards an alternative 'good life' and brought about a sense of disappointment and betrayal. In this sense, her memories of arrested expectations mingled with a sense of generational continuity vis a vis migratory habitus. What's more, they also interwove with a conjuncturally specific, pragmatic and simultaneous narrative where she echoed Marisa almost exactly when recalling what her parents had told her when choosing a degree,

'make sure it's something you can do outside, there are not many jobs in Portugal otherwise. I think all Portuguese parents do that, anyone who goes to uni more or less knows they are going to migrate afterwards, there just aren't enough jobs for all of the people with degrees now, since the 80s when there weren't enough professionals and now there are too many. We've just accepted it.'

The relationship between these contradictory discourses is reflected in the anthropological literature on Portugal in recent years. Mapril and Blanes (2018) argue that hegemonic narratives on austerity in Portugal are linked to a discursive formation of 'middle-classness' which centres on the reactions of a cohort born at a specific point in history, i.e. the *geração a rasca*'. They suggest that a particular set of conjunctural factors enhanced the visibility of this group and rendered the experiences of other birth cohorts and social groups invisible, thus overshadowing a longer history of top-down imposed austerity in Portugal. This is a specific reference to the deindustrialisation of cities such as Vila Real in northern Portugal starting in the 1980s and 90s, which was the impetus for families such as Jorge's and Ana's to leave. Mapril and Blanes (2018) and Pina Cabral (2015b) suggest that these changes were subsequently classed by those who benefitted from it not as 'crisis' but the inevitable consequences of modernisation and progress, and indeed this is the same period that was usually referred to as 'the golden years' by those of my research participants from the major urban centres of Lisbon and Porto such as Marisa, who were the first in their families to migrate. I suggest that referring to these communally understood affective narratives of historical time in generational terms, as explored in this chapter, is just one more tool which individuals, no matter their backgrounds, use to anchor their experiences to history and deal with uncertainty. Drawing on Koselleck (1985) Bryant and Knight (2019) suggest that such narratives of progress and decline follow a teleology wherein we do not exist in time but are made by time's passage.

However, I would once again suggest that Bryant and Knight do not make explicit enough the contradictory nature of this teleology. In Ana's case, her interweaving use of both discursive formations along with the embodiment of a strong migratory habitus reveals the conflict between what Bourdieusian social theory refers to as *habituated* and *doxic* logics of aspiration (Zipin et al 2015). In this case, what Zipin et al (2015) refer to as *doxic* logic for aspiring, grounded in populist-ideological mediations (Zipin et al 2015:231), was the promise by the 'golden years' of an alternative life to that of her mother, the memory of which as a frustration of past betrayal was harnessed into the narrative of 'a lied to generation'. For Ana, the narrative of 'being lied to' by her parents was based on memories of being encouraged to work hard at school as a younger teenager, in the pre-austerity years before the labour-market collapse, so as to obtain a 'good job and not have to migrate' to a hard life abroad as they had. This narrative reflected a belief in Portugal's 'golden years', even in areas such as Ana's city which were later hardest hit by unemployment. *Habituated* logic for aspiring on the other hand is grounded in biographic-historical conditions and embodied as habitus among people in given social-structural conditions (Bourdieu 1990). In Ana's case, this was coming of age being surrounded by the stories of generations of her family who had migrated. Indeed, scholars have argued that Portugal's common condition is crisis (Pina Cabral 2015b; Mapril and Blanes 2018), being too underdeveloped to support an independent labour market. Ana's memory of a childhood shaped by the *doxic* logic conditions under which she was told she may not have to migrate (one of the first in her family not to do so) enabled her to relate to the narrative of the *geração a rasca*, for whom migration was subsequently seen as the only, unfair, solution. This use of a notion of generation as coined by a previous cohort shows how discursive formations can be temporally adapted by individuals to make sense of their affective responses to the world around them. This memory of arrested aspiration interwove with her current perceptions of her more pragmatic choice a few years later, as well as a migratory culture in Ana's household and community where she told me everyone grew up aspiring to migrate for a better life. As a consequence, memory and hope intermingled with affective reactions regarding Ana's experiences as she lived them and her changing desires amidst a changing world. These affective reactions ranged from more negative feelings such as homesickness, exhaustion from long hours and lack of confidence at work to positive ones which were also temporally experienced, such as the specific aspirations regarding her future with Jorge, her moments of pragmatic memories of her past acceptance of the need to migrate and a present awareness of the benefits of feeling valued.

3.5 From Arrested Expectations to Freedom

At this point it is useful to examine Ana's household from a different angle in order to fully appreciate the significance of temporality and affect in the use of generation as a discursive formation to understand the past, but also deal with the present and look to the future. Ana's boyfriend, Jorge, had a much more affectively positive outlook on his situation in London, focusing principally on the future as a series of anticipated events¹⁶. These included applying for a Masters to change career, for which he would have to take out a £20,000 loan, saving for a deposit on a house and a planned luxury holiday. This orientation towards the future does not draw on the experiences of the past to visualise the future but rather is made dynamic by a range of practices which are working towards the direct achievement of a specific future which is so close it can almost be felt. Bryant and Knight refer to this orientation towards a future which pulls the individual towards it as Anticipation. Rather than relying on the thickness of the past, as Expectation does, Jorge anticipates his goals by recalibrating the parts of the past he deems relevant but also feeling and responding to what is going on around him in the moment, pressing 'forward into the future, enacting it and thereby pulling the future toward the present' (Bryant and Knight 2019: 28). We can see this through Jorge's references to the past as a period he'd come to terms with. He often remarked that he had the same reaction as Ana when he first arrived in London as a child, longing for the 'paradise' of home, where everyone knew each other and 'life was free'. It took a few years, he told me, but he eventually come around to the idea of London and started looking to the future when he realised how many more 'opportunities' there were there for him there.

'I suppose that's why my parents came then, to give us opportunities to go to uni[versity], opportunities we wouldn't get in Portugal, in the village, the expectation for everyone is the same.'

He made a chopping motion with his hand.

'Everyone does the same thing, school, uni, job, married, there are no room for doing other things. The gap year thing, people said to me here, are you going to do one and I was like, what? In Portugal that concept doesn't exist at all! Here there is so much more options. Life in London, yeah it's hard but if you want a good future, good opportunities,

¹⁶ I always met them separately, never together. Jorge was a friend of a friend so the relationship was based on doing me a favour, whereas Ana met me to practice her English which led to a natural distinction.

nice car, to travel, you can get all that if you work for it. You don't go to Portugal. Those first years when I was just not paying any attention at school, it was my sister who made me see, she said look, there's nothing for you back there, the economy is terrible, there's nothing to go back for. And she was right and it made me look forward. It's got my friends and family and it's great for holidays, but I won't live there the way it is.'

Like Ana, Jorge initially experienced dissatisfaction with a precarious present in London, which prevented him from looking to the future, a personal 'Time of Crisis' (Bryant and Knight 2019) where everything he'd been told to expect was no longer relevant (what Ana referred to as 'being told a lie') and the horizons of his previously aspired to future had shrunk. By the time I met him, however, his desires had shifted and his attitude resembled the open-ended hope and positivity of Marisa. In other words, several years after arriving the memory of this 'arrested expectation' of an idyllic future in Portugal had been transformed by a reconceptualisation of what it meant to be 'free', framed as having access to 'opportunities' in London.

More significantly, whilst Jorge referred to 'opportunities' as a temporal and spatial condition, he did not locate himself within either discursive formation of generations as discussed above, that of the 'desperate' versus the 'adventurous' generation. This underscores the significance of specific temporal, spatial and conjunctural factors in the formation of discourses of generations and epochal thinking. As a London-based migrant during the years leading up to the crisis, despite probable exposure through transnational information sharing, Jorge's daily practices and spatial realities meant these particular generational narratives were part of a wider transnational cacophony of voices. Hence although he and Ana shared household material commonalities and migratory habitus, it is Ana and Marisa who embody an affective performativity of generational discourses which emerged from a specific time and space, albeit in distinctive ways, despite their shared genealogical positioning.

For Ana, the narrative of 'being lied to' by her parents' generation during a short-lived period where she was told she could expect not to migrate if she worked hard co-existed alongside a longer-established migratory culture in her household and community where everyone had grown up expecting to migrate for a better life, a life defined by hope. For Marisa, as well as for Jorge and Ana, hope and its specific futural qualities were not only shaped by conjunctural conditions (of which value-laden narratives were a part) but also existing structural conditions and historical value sets at the level of the household. In the case of Ana, her ability to look to the future was informed both by the memory of the more fragile set of expectations (not having to migrate) being betrayed and her precarious present. For Marisa, however, the adjusted expectation of

being able to work in Portugal after graduating had less of a long-lasting affective impact because of her more privileged status background, which allowed her to more easily create new anticipations and a more open-ended field of future hope. For Jorge and Ana, material constrictions at the level of the household made 'hope' rather take on the form of a process of acceptance and recognition of spatial and temporal precarity which has to be constantly negotiated, re-remembered and transformed. Through these distinct case studies, we can see how the use of discursive formations of generation were temporally wielded as devices of memory in order to interpret the present conditions of distinct lived experiences but also to construct an embodied performance of hope and meaningful action.

In the final section I return to Marisa in order to briefly explore the extent to which discursive understandings of the past and future are affected by materialities—not just across households, but also within these same households across time and space.

3.6 Cross-Generational Perceptions

A few months after meeting Jorge and Ana I was invited to stay with Marisa's mother and father in Porto. Marisa had introduced me to her parents whilst they were visiting her in London about seven months earlier and her mother had started a regular correspondence with me after meeting my son who had similar disabilities to the children she worked with. I knew a lot about Marisa's family by this point. Her father had been born in a small village in the north of Portugal, whilst her mother's family had been in Porto for (genealogical) generations. Marisa's paternal grandmother had been a primary school teacher which for that era, she explained, 'was a very good job indeed'. Her paternal grandfather was a banker so they had what she called 'a very comfortable life'. Sérgio had been sent to Porto to study medicine where he had met Lidia, who was doing an internship at the same hospital. Marisa had referred to the nine-year age gap between them as 'the reason they clashed a lot'. It also struck me that such an age gap meant Sérgio remembered the Carnation Revolution as an adult, albeit a very young one, whereas Lidia would have still been in primary school. I wondered to what extent that had affected their respective attitudes to politics in general, Marisa having already joked with me about her dad's 'boring political talk'.

The week I was there Lidia had more spare time than usual as the whole Occupational Therapy department at the hospital was on strike. It was a bit of a break, she told me, as now she only had

to go to her evening job at a private foundation for children with neurological disorders. She normally worked every day at the hospital from 8 AM until 4 PM then at the foundation until about 8 PM. Today, however, she was taking me on a driving tour of the neighbourhood and kept up a constant patter as we went.

‘Yes I’m tired, it’s a hard life but I enjoy it and well, I have to, three children abroad, three rents to pay...of course Marisa is independent she pays for herself, but still, I can’t stop working yet.’

I nodded sympathetically.

‘I bet you’re looking forward to the boys’ graduation,’

She made an exaggerated exhalation at this.

‘Ufff, you can’t imagine! They always tell me slow down, relax. They say I’m too full on. But I can’t you know. I used to do Pilates, see friends more but at the moment everything is busy busy busy. I do need to relax but hey, I don’t know how, time.’

She paused for breath and I took advantage of the gap to ask if she’d always had two jobs.

‘I think it’s to do with my personal situation, you know. When I was a little girl we were driving and there was an accident and both my parents were bedbound for a year. Then my father died when I was 10 and my mother had to go back to work. He died in the street. A heart attack. He was 53. The same age I am now! And my mother, she had never worked but she had to then. She worked for the regime¹⁷, I mean, she wasn’t a fascist, she didn’t actually believe in the ideology, that just what people did. So all that, it really affected me, I saw how easily something can happen and boom, it’s all gone! It made me see how delicate everything is, I always worked then because of that, I knew I needed security. Marisa doesn’t understand this, none of them do, all my children say I’m a nervous mother hen but they have no idea, you need to be secure.’

She gave a big sigh.

‘I’m worried about Marisa. She’s not thinking about the future. I know many young people are leaving, looking to establish themselves abroad. Portugal doesn’t have enough

¹⁷ The one-party fascist regime which ruled Portugal from 1933-1974.

to hold them. They all go. But she can't do this forever, I mean catering, OK she's supporting herself but working 12 hour days, it's not something she can keep up, is it?'

She sighed again and smiled at me and started asking about my own family background. I told her how my father-in-law's family had lots of money in the 1930s but that they had lost it all in bad investments. She nodded energetically,

'Ahh yes the older generation losing the money! You hear it all the time. I think it is a flux back and forth between generations isn't it, children get different amounts of money, and some have to make their own way.'

Her own family had their ups and downs when her father was alive, she told me. He had been a furniture restorer and was so good that he got contracted to move to Lisbon when she was very young to work for a rich man and restore books.

'He was self-taught, he had a talent for it, but eventually he wanted more independence and was lured to another job in Porto and we all moved back. Then he died and things went downhill. Back and forth, like I told you. It happens a lot in Porto. I consider us middle class but because of our education, who we see. We have to work hard but so does everyone. It's not like England, the government doesn't help. People have to stand on their own two feet. Like me'.

The similarity of this awareness of potential precarity to Jorge and Ana's understanding of the precarity inherent in a household migratory habitus highlights the nuances of Marisa's 'adventurous generation' explanation. The role of generation and class is precarious and cyclical, a 'flux back and forth' as stated by Lidia. For Lidia, the memories of seeing those around her exist in this 'flux' of hope and aspiration had shaped how she viewed the future on her daughter's behalf. Lidia didn't see her daughter's migration as fulfilling the migrant pattern shown by Pine (2014) of countering present hardship with future hopes, the former being vindicated with profit, reward and growth. Her perception was informed by her own experiences of past material challenges, which made her worried for her daughter. Unlike Marisa, who had no memory of precarity to temper her vision of the future or restrict her construction of the present as a time for 'self-growth', Lidia recalled the years leading up to and following the fall of the dictatorship, where memories of a precarious past, experience of a precarious present and little expectation that the future would be any different meant to 'stand on their own two feet' was a strategy for survival. This informed her opinion of Marisa's flexible working situation as not the freedom to hope but rather as a lack of practically grounded anticipations which left her at risk to falling back into the

'flux' of material precarity, a risk which Lidia was no doubt aware carried implications not just for Marisa herself but on her entire household.

Pine (2014) has shown how literature on different periods and spaces in Poland has highlighted historically embedded variations in perspectives of hope. Whilst Marisa portrayed her desires and experiences as based on an innately adventurous spirit of her generation, Lidia's experience of precarity at a different point in her country's history manifested as cautious desire to support those around her, her ability to act to achieve this (i.e., by working several jobs) strongly tempered by a more pessimistic perception of what the future holds for herself and her family, which was based on her experiences and memories. Like Ana, memories of precarity at the household level brought Lidia a wary conceptualisation of the future and an embodied need to constantly work in order to maintain security against the ever present threat of future precarity and insecurity. Unlike Ana though, Lidia did not draw on discourses in order to identify as part of a collective who were 'lied to' as victims of history, nor as one with distinctive possibilities through generationally specific characteristics such as being 'adventurous'. When Lidia referred to generations it was rather as a genealogical understanding of a much wider historical ebbing and flowing, that of the constant flux between precarity and temporary security, which she suggested as fundamental aspect of the human condition. Historically, this brings us back to the point Mapril and Blanes (2018) and Pina Cabral (2015b) make about Portugal, and indeed, periphery countries in Southern Europe in general (King 2000) being in a constant state of crisis. A lack of personal memories of this and greater material freedom than many of her peer cohort allowed Marisa to subsume this precarity in favour of a doxic form of 'our generation' as a discursive formation of distinction. However, her simultaneous addressing of the precarity which has always existed within her household through referring to her mother as an 'anxious mother hen' revealed the delicate balance between history and hope.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined how collective expectations and experiences at a specific point in history are discursively produced and how temporal understandings underlie such experiences and expectations at the level of the individual. I suggested that discursive formations of generation serve as 'epochal thinking' (Hodges 2010), collective sources of identity and hope. This takes a specific form for those emerging from the liminal period of 'temporal vertigo' (Knight 2016) following the post-austerity years whereupon previous horizons of expectation (the future

as viewed from a distance, based on our experiences of the past) were forced to be reconfigured into new anticipations. To this end, I argued for a new conceptual space wherein I centralised the role of affect and temporality on my respondents' understandings of temporally and spatially constituted hope (which plays out across expectations, anticipations and memory) as generational whilst emphasising the disjuncture between competing discourses which ebb and flow through time and space. Specifically, the disjuncture between the cosmopolitan, individualist orientations of the 'Erasmus generation' and the 'old-fashioned', nationalist, community-oriented ones of 'their generation'.

To this end, I suggest that two discursive constructs of generation of recent times, that of the 'lied to' *geração a rasca* and the 'Erasmus generation' of 'adventurers', interweave with temporally and affectively expressed reactions to the fluctuations of daily personal habitus, historical material conditions and the temporal conceptualisation of hope. I explored this by comparing two distinctive households with shared genealogies which emerged from distinctive historical material conditions. Ana's memories, for example, are shown to be in conflict with each other. They are the source of both generational continuities within a migratory habitus, as well as a conjunctural narrative of betrayal. They therefore jostle for attention alongside her affective reaction to the material conditions and possibilities of the world around her as well as future, positive plans as sources of hope and anticipation. Memories with less or greater affective weight interwove with future hope in a constant flux of feeling according to her embodied experiences.

In Marisa's case, it is precisely the lack of memory of precarity which enabled her to frame her specific form of open-ended hope as generational, despite her mother's memories of precarity forming a discursive backdrop to her childhood. This discursive backdrop was silenced in favour of historical materialities and status effects at the level of the household which enabled her parents to become, as Lidia puts it, 'middle class'. Marisa was therefore able to locate the past as something separate from herself in terms of articulating her own desires and sense of self. Affective temporalities with less or greater affective weight according to specific material and status conditions which were linked to history interwove with hope and desire in a constant flux of feeling according to the embodied experiences of the individual. This complex interweaving of experience-related meaning was approached by my respondents as generational and can be seen as a structure of feeling (Williams 1977).

Whether framed by earning potential, adventure or material comforts, I suggest that at the heart of embodied and performative generational discourses is the desire for meaningful action. Specifically, the ability to feel needed and have pride in oneself as a response to the reduced

possibilities to do so brought about by austerity measures, the 'adjusted anticipations' referred to by Bryant and Knight (2019) which are affectively expressed through collective epochal thinking (Hodges 2010). As Zipin et al (2015) also point out, doxic, 'common sense' forms of aspiration as mediated by powerful cultural forces battle with habituated forms which reflect strong family habitus. But beyond both of these materialist approaches we can see the strong position of feelings towards the future and the role these play in negotiating and accepting everyday experiences, distinguishing oneself from those around and imagining the future as an arena of hope. This hope is constituted by desires emerging from conjunctural conditions within which the migratory act itself has enabled the capacity to aspire and articulate desires by dreaming of an alternative future, as a 'strategy that is future orientated and embodies hope' (Pine 2014: 98). Generational discourses are consequently just one element of a constant negotiated constitution of personhood as related to immediate kinship networks, household materialities, personal desires regarding a good life and temporal conceptualisations of hope as open-ended movement towards future horizons in order to achieve the latter. This use of generation, with its accompanying socio-historical context, combines global and local processes within individuals and enables and empowers them to affectively identify with the ever-changing world around them and the individuals within who make it meaningful.

That the role of class or status identity exists alongside and informs the construction of worldviews as much as generational identity is something I only briefly touched on in this chapter. As Theodossopoulos (2020b) has recently argued a generational focus can hide from view other inequalities. Although class was infrequently referred to by my research participants in favour of education or generation, status expectations and status capital were fundamental to their ongoing constitutions of the value of 'opportunities' and ongoing practices and strategies of imagining their future as both individuals, familial persons as well as members of a specific generation. In the next chapter then I expand upon the notions of class, status groups and different forms of social and cultural capital and how they interact with global and social phenomena in the shaping of desires within individuals as part of a future-oriented field of possibility to form ethical selves.

4.1 What is Class?

It was a bright Wednesday afternoon in March 2018 and my father-in-law had just come to the end of a long reading marathon with his grandson, who was now snoring softly on the sofa. Stretching in relief, he stood up as the doorbell rang and offered to go and answer it as I attempted to redirect a landslide of toys and books to a corner of the room. We had invited the neighbours who lived on the floor below over for lunch and as I headed to the door to greet them I could hear introductions being made. ‘I’m Adriana’ said the tall, slender *Lisboeta*¹⁸ as she shook hands with my father-in-law, lips twitching as she saw my eyes light up as they fixed on the dessert balanced upon her arm. ‘And I’m Joseph’ said the shaven headed man pushing the pram in after her, also taking my father-in-law’s hand. I did a double take at the Anglicisation of his name, which I hadn’t heard him use before, and ‘Joseph’ caught my eye and shrugged with a grin.

My relationship with Adriana and Joseph was unlike that of any other research participants in my fieldwork. Rather than the semi-formal introductions that came through network contacts and online forums, I had met them in a much more intimate context. Coming down the stairs from my second floor flat towards the shared lobby of my apartment building a few months earlier, I had heard Portuguese being spoken and seen a smartly dressed man disappearing onto the first floor landing. Telling my partner that evening and giving him a physical description, he had said, ‘Oh, we met them the other day. I thought they were French.’ He knew most of the inhabitants on the first floor as it was the longest in the building and therefore his favourite place to take our three-year-old for walking practice. Father and son were well known too as the latter was particularly distinctive, the long plastic tube snaking out of the tracheostomy implanted in his neck attaching to a portable ventilator which he pushed along in a wooden cart decorated with giraffes.

I recalled what my partner had told me about that initial meeting with Adriana and Joseph. They had arrived home just as my little boy had parked his cart on their doormat for a rest. With coos of delight, they had immediately dropped to their knees for a chat with him— no easy task for Adriana, who was heavily pregnant at the time. This warm acceptance of my unique looking child, whose life-support equipment and visible physical differences had occasionally inspired awkward reactions from those around him, immediately endeared them to me. I decided to write them a note to put under their door, telling them I was doing a PhD on Portugal and the crisis and inviting

¹⁸ Somebody from Lisbon

them for dinner. That very night my phone rang with a random number. It was Adriana, and in fluent, slightly American accented English she thanked me for the invitation and said they would love to come over. I was on speakerphone and Joseph was calling out in the background, saying they were glad we'd gotten in touch and that he already had his eye on my partner for a residents-football team. They interspersed our three-way conversation with laughter and brightness and I felt very happy as I hung up.

At this point in our lives my partner and I were still balancing the management of our son's complex needs with my PhD research and his freelance work. Meeting Adriana and Joseph, she about to go on maternity leave and he a shift worker, had been a joy as we soon fell into an easy friendship, facilitated by the fact we all spent much more time at home than anyone else we knew. The fact they were Portuguese and what that meant for my fieldwork had become secondary to a developing bond based on the shared experience of having young children, similar outlooks on life, living in London and a mutual empathy for the presence of medical precarity in each other's lives. Their intelligent interest in the topics I was writing about frequently overlapped with affective encounters during our frequent medical crises and hospital visits and Adriana's father's life-limiting illness. This accelerated a form of intimacy involving an appreciation of each other's vulnerabilities which went beyond anything I had with any other long-term research participants. My experiences with the latter were usually separate and a relief from the constant existential threat that hung over my household. With Adriana and Joseph on the other hand, they both bore witness to and shared in its highs and lows.

Today though the only problem to solve was where to eat lunch as there wasn't enough space for everyone at the table. Still sprawled on cushions after it was finished, picnic style on the living room floor, we were talking with increasing animation after a couple of bottles of wine. Joseph suddenly addressed me directly.

'Lisa, tell me, you are English. What does class mean in this country? I am curious.'

I was slightly thrown, both at being called English¹⁹ and the fact that he had inadvertently asked a question about the very concept I had been trying to write about all week. Trying to articulate my thoughts, I bought time by topping up everyone's wine glasses, stepping over the mass of limbs and small children crawling around on the floor.

¹⁹ I'd never considered myself 'English', being born of a Scottish father and Mexican mother on a small island in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean and later brought up on another small island in the middle of the Irish sea. However, I recognised that by accent at least, I sounded unmistakably 'English'.

We had come onto 'class' via an anecdote I had told about some friends of friends who worked in the City²⁰, and a conversation I had overheard their wives having recently about spending their husbands' credit cards. I had said they were 'posh' and Joseph, who had been in the UK for more than 10 years and was familiar with the term, immediately picked me up on it. Trying to answer reflexively, recognising the wine-inspired spontaneity that had led me to make such a comment, I answered, somewhat hesitantly, that I thought 'class' in Britain was something people were aware of but that it had specific cultural and historical implications and was often referred to ironically. Gesturing out of the window to the park outside where we could hear the screeches of recently released schoolchildren, I commented that inner London, where we all lived and worked, was so diverse that people perhaps found it more relevant to think about common denominators such as education, lifestyles and shared values.

As the words left my lips, it struck me that the very building where we lived was a microcosm of what recent theorists have referred to as the new 'global middle class' (Amit 2007; Heiman et al 2012; Donner 2017).²¹ Built in 2016 on some wasteland in an area that was socially marginalised but also rapidly 'gentrifying' (Butler and Robson 2003; Benson and Jackson 2017), it was one of several newly built residential properties around London owned and managed by a privately-owned Canadian real estate investment and property management company with over \$7 billion of assets (see Fig. 5 overleaf). Most of the inhabitants were in their twenties and thirties, of a wide range of nationalities and ethnicities and commuted daily into central London, less than ten minutes away on the recently modernised London Overground service. There they worked in fairly well paid, stable jobs which enabled them to pay the high rents²². Opportunities to meet each other were mainly through shared spaces, such as the café on the bottom floor, the communal area on the roof terrace where people gathered to smoke and look at the view over London as well as a Facebook group set up by some of the residents, with discussions of what was going on in the local area, buying and selling and complaints about the management. This sociality was part of a strong shared *habitus* that distinguished the inhabitants of the building from those 'outside', where the new cafes and shops and soaring rents of one of London's most deprived neighbourhoods were accompanied by graffiti protesting the 'yuppies' as well as ongoing gang violence and socio-economic and racial inequalities. Within the building the households were by no means homogeneous and there were a variety of financial and social experiences. These

²⁰ The common way to refer to the City of London, the capital's financial district. 'City boy' as a specific status group had a whole set of connotations in itself amongst British people

²¹ Which I discuss more fully in Ethnographic Context section in Chapter Two.

²² Rent in our building was more than triple what the local average had been 10 years earlier and in new, 'luxury' buildings like ours, the monthly amount was about a third more than the current local average

included many couples sharing living space with others and families like mine, with young children and who had income from a variety of sources. However, the privileges that enabled our presence in this residential space linked us together in the ‘banal cosmopolitanism’ (Beck 2011) of the ‘global middle class’, a sense of global commonality which overrode household, ethnic and national disparities, notwithstanding the role such disparities played in the lived experiences of the building inhabitants. This is a key concept within any consideration of the ‘new global middle class’ and underscores the important role of *habitus* and symbolic capital in its configuration as an ideological and imagined phenomenon (Weiss 2019; Schielke 2012; Heiman et al 2012), whilst at the same time challenging traditional materialist readings of ‘class’.

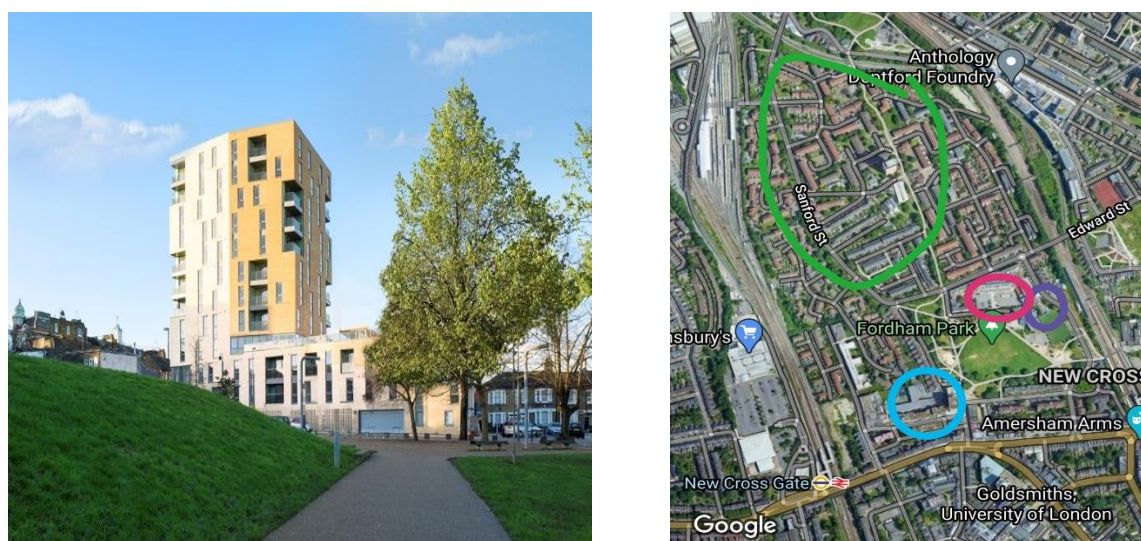


Fig 5: Left—Blenheim Tower, the apartment building where my family and Adriana and Joseph’s lived. Right—a map of New Cross with Blenheim Tower circled in blue, the local secondary school in pink, the community nursery in purple and the housing estate (See section 4.7, this Chapter) in green.

Joseph was looking at me intently and, snapping out of my reverie, I asked him his opinion on what ‘class’ was. He nodded before answering.

‘Well, I think the whole idea of ‘class’, it is more entrenched here than in Portugal, people don’t talk about it much there...but the reason I asked is because I am curious about it in general, how it works here in this country. I asked a guy at work, an English guy, and he said no, class is not a thing. But I get the feeling it is, especially out of London.’

Once again, I was reminded of the arguments I had come across in academic discussions of ‘class’ in Portugal and around Europe, which refer to its problematic elements as an analytical category (Kalb 2015; Nartozky 2015; Butler and Robson 2003; Mapril and Blanes 2018; Estanque 2017; Carrier 2015). As Kalb (2015) points out, despite social scientists’ increasing interest in ‘neoliberal

capitalism', anthropology and other disciplines still remain ambivalent to the study of 'class' for both ideological and practical reasons. Kalb suggests that this is down to the 'Culturalist turn' of the 1980s and 1990s, which advocated an assumption that we had 'moved past' the old rigid barriers of class within 1970s Marxism in favour of a 'post-class consumerism' (Kalb 2015). Nonetheless, at that very moment in my living room we seemed to be echoing Butler and Robson's (2003) argument regarding the central paradox of class, i.e. that people do not define themselves by its structural importance within their own lives, but nonetheless posit it as benchmark against which we measure our position or progress.

4.2 Is Class Relevant?

Focusing on my Portuguese respondents, I will explore in this chapter the notion of a 'global middle class', which becomes relevant here as an ideological and imagined category of distinction. I will discuss how this concept relates to the desire for 'a good life', when considered alongside other such categories of difference with which it interweaves. Whilst I accept the loaded history of 'class' as a conceptual category and the problematic elements in defining it, I refute the argument that 'class' analysis has been rendered irrelevant by the rise of consumerism and depoliticisation of class identity. I suggest that this is principally because of the dismantling of the very model of welfare state and social benefits that made such a rise possible in the first place (Narotzky 2015). Indeed, as Donner (2015) points out, the very nature of 'neoliberalism' as a conjuncture makes it a crucial site of contestation for middle class formation, given that economic liberalisation is where middle-class lifestyles were formerly supported by first creating the conditions for an ideological belief in 'middle classness' but then later removing the material possibilities for its realisation. As migration geographer Russell King (2000) suggests in his theory of a fourth period of Southern European migration of 'young, well-educated people seeking employment and new lifestyle experiences in Northern Europe...accelerating after 2008' (King 2015, 139), this is particularly so in periphery countries such as Portugal, where the financial crisis, austerity measures and ensuing labour market collapse gave rise to a group of marginal consumers. Bauman (2013) describes this particular group as a new global cosmopolitan elite emerging from the weakening of the welfare state in Europe who seek 'safety in an insecure world through the idea of mobility' (Bauman: 2013: 104). Defined by precarious labour contracts and possibilities for survival, educational/social capital remains a determining factor of status and aspiration (Pina Cabral 2018a, 2018b) within this group, as is apparent in many of my research participants' pursuit of social capital (Schielke 2012).

From a cosmopolitan perspective, considerations of 'class' allow us to further examine this phenomenon. In Werbner's (1999) discussion of what a 'cosmopolitan' is, whilst he cites as useful Hannerz's (1992) distinction between professional-occupational transnational cultures and refugee/migrant ones, he also suggests Hannerz's definition of the former as 'cosmopolitan' carries a hidden Eurocentric and class bias. For Werbner, this association of 'cosmopolitanism' with the global North represents an unexamined class dimension within a theory of global subjectivity. Friedman (1995) goes some way towards addressing this via his notion of transnational subjectivity as a manifestation of a new diasporic global class structure made up of international elite which is radically different from historical predecessors because of its power and influence. He posits the celebration of hybridity, in-betweenness and double consciousness by diasporic poets, artists and intellectuals as a self-interested strategy which has little to do with working class migrants/ indigenous peoples' predicaments and concerns. However, Werbner points out that this position still links cosmopolitanism to elitism. Disputing this, he argues that even working class labour migrants may become cosmopolitan in the sense that they are willing to engage with 'the other' as transnationals must inevitably engage in social processes of opening up to the world. To examine this further, he proposes looking at the relation between class and transnational subjectivities. Specifically, how non-elite transnationals develop new cosmopolitan subjectivities and identities, a counter-trend to the globalising thrust of economist goods, technological experts and mediated images.

I take up this call in this chapter, starting with the notion that there exists an inherent conflict within hegemonic associations of cosmopolitanism with the 'global middle class'. I started to explore new cosmopolitan subjectivities by non-elite transnationals in the last chapter, where I suggested that migration as an ongoing process of becoming was negotiated as an affectively informed discursive performance of generation. I suggested that this discourse was performed and lived within an emerging set of local and global conditions which affected the possibilities for meaningful action and a good life. In order to explore this further, in this chapter I first consider how my respondents themselves talked about and understood 'class' before moving towards a wider conceptualisation of shifting statuses and symbolic capital in the Portuguese context and how this relates to what I describe as a 'global middle class habitus' as part of a wider pursuit of a cosmopolitan notion of good life. In doing this I am also responding to Heiman et al's (2012) call for the development of an analytical framework within the emerging anthropology of the 'global middle classes' (Heiman et al 2012; Liechty 2012; Donner 2017; Rutz and Balkan 2009; Freeman 2012) which addresses the complexities that go beyond a classic 'materialist' reading of class by considering its cultural, moral and affective underpinnings. I specifically draw on work

that explores the heightened affective economy on which these changing subjectivities hinge, such as changing ideals of marriage and kinship (Freeman 2012) and employment (as opposed to education) as getting in the way of being 'true to oneself' (Donner 2017). In doing so, I follow Schielke (2012), Freeman (2012) and Liechty (2012) in positing 'middle classness' as an imagined site of promise, a 'structure of feeling' (Williams 1977) wherein temporality and aspiration are just as important as status, materiality and relative positionality as a lived set of historically situated meanings and values.

I therefore build on the last chapter's discussion of discursive understandings of historically informed difference with an increased focus on status, specifically, linking the 'global' within this concept to a specifically Portuguese postcolonial migratory habitus. I explore the interweaving of historical Portuguese conceptualisations of status within what can be described as 'new' and 'traditional' middle class groups in Portugal and how these relate to notions of a 'global middle class' as a site of promise via affectively informed notions of meritocracy, deservedness and a 'good life' (Schielke 2012; Fischer 2014; Moore 2011).

4.3 Class, Education and Symbolic Capital

Expertly transferring her wriggling baby from one arm to another and silencing his cries with a bottle of milk, Adriana suddenly joined in the conversation about class.

'I think we do think about class in Portugal. For me, I always knew I would go to university, there was no question. For my parents, they had neither the structure nor support to go so when I was growing up it was taken for granted I would go. I never thought otherwise, my parents were like, if you can go, why wouldn't you?'

Adriana had grown up in the outskirts of Lisbon during the economic liberalisation of the 1980s and '90s after Portugal joined the EU. After winning a scholarship to complete a PhD in biology in Barcelona she had stayed to work there as a researcher for a further four years before moving to London, two years before we met, to take up as prestigious managerial job at a research hospital in London Bridge. She had come alone, a 'single woman in search of the best opportunities for her career', as she put it, although I would later find out that she had an aunt in London to whom she was very close. She had met Joseph within weeks of arriving at an international drinks event, 'bonding over the fact they were both Portuguese', they had both said to me separately. Adriana

often referred to her educational achievements in the early days of knowing each other and asked me about my own fieldwork in a supportive way, although she also frequently teased me about the difference between social science and ‘real science’.

Hearing Adriana’s linking of ‘class’ with university education made me recall my first real conversation with her, just a few hours after a morning coffee with Vanessa²³, and the parallels I had noted between the two women at the time. These were not just in terms of age and nationality, but also in career trajectories and educational achievements. Both were in their mid/late 30s and had left their homes in Portugal’s two principle urban centres (Lisbon for Adriana, Porto for Vanessa) in their early 20s to do science PhDs abroad (Spain for Adriana, Germany for Vanessa), long before austerity measures changed the shape of the labour market. Although both said to me separately that moving to the UK had ‘nothing to do with the crisis’, they both subsequently referred to a lack of opportunities in their academic fields back home. Neither had returned to Portugal to live or work in the years since finishing their doctorates (although both often expressed a fervent wish to do so), instead spending a further few years in the cities in which they had completed their studies before moving to the UK ‘for their careers’. They had then met their future husbands in the UK and had gotten married and had babies whilst living in smallish but expensive, newly built apartment buildings in what can be considered ‘central’ London.

However, it was the differences in their familial status that came to mind during that lunch discussion with Adriana and Joseph. Adriana described her family as of ‘humble origins’, which I later discovered meant her parents had not attended university, her mother having worked as a civil servant and her father as a bank teller. Vanessa on the other hand, was the daughter of a university-educated social worker who she described as ‘having the luxury’ to work in whatever area she wanted to as her father, a university professor, ‘earned enough to support her’. Equally significant is that fact that like Marisa, her family friend and casual employee, Vanessa was the first member of her family to migrate. Adriana, on the other hand, described her family as ‘everyone migrates...you’re considered weird if you don’t!’ As equally educated and professionally successful women, living in equally ‘modern’ buildings in the same part of London, Adriana and Vanessa nevertheless embodied the complexities and subtleties inherent in what I previously referred to as the ‘global middle class’. Fundamental to these complexities is the role of higher education, which intertwines with that of migratory habitus in the discursive distinction between

²³ Marisa’s employer and family friend who I briefly discussed in the last chapter

what my Portuguese research participants refer to as both ‘traditional’ versus ‘new’ middle classes as well as ‘old’ versus ‘new’ migrants.

We can begin to unpack this via Adriana’s immediate linking of ‘class’ to higher education and not going to university as ‘unthinkable’. This was part of a wider discourse by my London-based respondents, who, regardless of status background, presented higher education as a key status marker which differentiated them from what they called the ‘old type’ of Portuguese migrant, predominantly male, illiterate, and from the interior of Portugal (Pina Cabral 2015b). Indeed, Mapril and Blanes (2018) argue that extended access to higher education was just one of the ‘development indicators’ previously attached to mid-status groups following the implementation of the neoliberal European social project. They suggest that these markers, which also included consumption patterns, and, most significantly, positionality regarding migration flows, were crucial to the formation of Portuguese expectations regarding modernity. On a discursive level this is apparent via my research participants’ insistence that they had come to the UK not because they ‘had to’ but for ‘adventure’ or ‘self-development’, unlike ‘typical Portuguese migrants’, as discussed in the previous chapter. Many expanded upon this narrative by stressing that they had a right to be there as they were ‘Europeans in a European City’ (Favell 2008),²⁴ linked to contemporaries from around Europe through their daily practices, habitus and a shared symbolic capital based on higher education, experiences such as Erasmus²⁵ and inhabiting of spaces like the apartment building where both my family and Adriana and Joseph’s lived.

Local and global economic conditions meant that my research participants’ subjectivities regarding the adventurous nature of ‘our generation’ and their belief in social mobility being achievable through values of meritocracy had a precarious basis. Affective reactions to these precarities were principally expressed via different value-laden narratives around status indicators such as higher education. The linking of higher education and ‘being middle class’ was often punctuated with a Bourdieusian distinction regarding the status of certain educational achievements over others. Adriana was just one of many interlocutors who had a story about a relative whose educational choices she cited as lacking in value. Telling me about a cousin of hers who was reaching the age where he either had to choose an academic or vocational pathway in

²⁴ My fieldwork commenced in the months immediately following the Brexit vote and although my respondents initially expressed disbelief that it had happened, nobody seemed that worried about what the long-term effects would be in terms of their right to be there. Indeed, their plans always featured a ‘wait and see’ element with returning to Portugal with their heads held high commonly cited as ‘the dream’.

²⁵ A European-wide exchange programme where university students could spend up to a year in a university in any of the European countries within the scheme. ‘Erasmus nights’ at the universities in question were a particularly productive place for young Europeans to meet, socialise and form lasting contacts.

his final years of school, she explained that he had always been a 'C' student and was keen on the idea of a vocational course in tourism.

'His mother though, she went crazy and insisted he go to university! Even though he's not academic. I mean, what's the point.'

There would probably be a university to take him though wouldn't there, I said, and she nodded grimly, Joseph adding, 'exactly'. Adriana continued,

'In Portugal people are devoted to the idea of university, we all told her, look, he's just scraping by, it's not for him! But for her it's unheard of for him not to go, it's a matter of prestige, so then you get people doing degrees like sociology or philosophy for which there is no job market. Only teaching, and there was a saturation, Portugal only needs so many teachers so there was nothing for them to do. So everyone leaves!'

The framing of this argument is with a morally inflected tone over university being the 'wrong' choice, even though Adriana's cousin's parents' view mirrored that of her own parents, i.e. that it was 'unthinkable' not to go. Citing not just his lack of academic ability but also the Portuguese university system in general as at fault for 'oversaturating' the job market, Adriana distinguished her academic trajectory from that of her cousin, drawing on the symbolic capital she had attained in the years since she graduated university herself, i.e. professional recognition through promotions and a salary level which enabled her to make certain choices regarding lifestyle. Her aunt's aspirations for her son, on the other hand, choosing university in a political climate where the Portuguese job market offered little possibilities for aspiration (unlike when Adriana herself was his age, 17 years earlier) were suggested as unreasonable, despite Adriana acknowledging her own career restrictions should she ever go back to Portugal. Education as a source of symbolic capital within the 'meritocratic' system can in this sense be posited as being made dynamic only through certain temporalities which are informed by the conditions of history. In other words, structural factors as well as individual capacities define what can later be seen as symbolic capital, which in turn form not only the possibilities for an ongoing performance of a 'middle-class' habitus in the present but also the freedom to aspire towards a good life in the future and look back on academic decisions in the past as worthy.

My observations above should not be taken as a form of prescriptive structural determinism. Adriana's intellectual capabilities and motivation to work hard unquestionably allowed her much greater flexibility to pursue certain ambitions than those peers faced with similar structural opportunities but lesser intellectual and personal capacities. However, I maintain that economic

influences such as the collapse of the job market after austerity are secondary to the positioning of individual 'meritocratic' achievements in the imaginations of those who made educational choices at a different point in history. Specifically, a period in Portugal where migration flows appeared to have reversed and public funding from the EU gave the illusion of a golden age in which expanded university access promised the possibility of long-term career progression within the local labour market as the 'middle class dream' of the time. In Adriana's case, a career trajectory that was both prestigious and well-paid enabled her to position herself firmly within a *global* middle-class habitus of aspiration instead, from which she could look to the future in terms of career progression, future housing options and a specific set of kinship practices, what both she and Joseph referred to as a 'good life'.

4.4 Good Life

As we saw in the last chapter, the concept of a thwarted good life within the narrative of betrayal by the *geração a rasca* is part of a much wider historical interweaving of migratory habitus and changing local and global imaginations regarding certain categories of difference. Despite claiming that 'going home would be the dream', Adriana and Joseph, like many of my research participants, also frequently expressed the prospect as doing so as impossible whilst local conditions (in Portugal) meant a lack of career prospects and the inability of being able to aspire to the same concept of good life that was possible in the UK. In this sense, Adriana and Joseph's notion of a good life as a historically specific body of practices and expectations had many parallels within the concept of the 'global middle class' as an imagined site of promise. As discussed in the previous section, this was first and most commonly expressed through the fetishising of educational achievement, which reflects more a Weberian association with status than a Marxist inspired materialism and class identity. This reinforces Narotzky's (2015) argument that the rise of higher education, consumerism and social welfarism in Portugal's neighbour, Spain, since the fall of the dictatorship is a declassing strategy. This strategy, Narotzky suggests, is part of a compromise by the former working classes involving the renouncing of the goal of radical transformation of the state in return for the chance to access a post-materialist middle class dream. For families such as Adriana's, from what she called a 'humble background', this dream, as Mapril and Blanes (2015) also argue in the Portuguese context, is not referred to in class terms, but packaged as 'modernity' where access to consumerism is above all normalised as democratic and meritocratic. Building on these ideas, in this section I propose going beyond an emphasis on access to status and consumerism as fundamental to the middle class dream and

exploring the extent to which the desire to experience meaningful action as counter-hegemonic is the essential condition to which my research participants aspire. As I will later show, this freedom to form ethical selves and obtain a good life is the basis for their democratic notions of ideal citizenship and meritocratic value judgements.

It was when my family spent time with Adriana and Joseph as we were now, eating elaborate meals and drinking wine in the middle of, what for many of our peers was, a workday, that the most fervent discussions arose on what made a 'good life'. The sensory act of sharing food extended into a shared, embodied pleasure in experiencing these practices as a form of resistance. Murmuring with appreciation over a particularly tasty bite of barbecued lamb, Joseph commented that we were 'living the dream' and how hard English people seemed to work, teasing his wife who claimed that wasn't the case in her office by pointing out none of her colleagues were 'English'. He shook his head.

'That wasn't any life for me.'

Having originally trained as an accountant in Portugal, he had then started working for London Overground overseeing engineering projects. There were a lot of night shifts but the job paid well, was an easy commute and allowed him time off in the day and blocks of free days every couple of weeks. An avid reader, he often talked about 'lifestyle choice' and how he preferred a job where he could read his book and follow his beloved Benfica²⁶ during quiet times as work as well as have less stress on the job and plenty of opportunities to spend with his family. Indeed, he was one of the few men I knew who had talked about taking up the government's offer of shared paternity leave. Adriana had explained the plan to me when we first met, when she was five months pregnant. She would take the first six months off, then Joseph would take over for the final six months. 'I think that would be best for my career at this point', she had explained. However, over the course of baby Miguel's first year the extent to which Adriana in particular referred to 'career progression' eventually gave way to increasing notions of 'lifestyle choice'. Adriana's six-month maternity leave would eventually stretch out into nine, during which time she constantly mused about whether she wanted to go back at all. When she did, she framed it not as a career step but for 'for financial reasons', her maternity pay having run out²⁷, although she did secure a better paid (and more prestigious) job to go back to. Joseph did not end up 'officially' taking the

²⁶ *Sport Lisboa e Benfica* is one of Portugal's 'Big Three' football clubs and inspires an almost religious devotion amongst its fanbase. Joseph and many other respondents had mediated their self-professed love for their team with an acknowledgment of its place in the Salazarist cultural doctrine of '*Fado, Futbol e Fatima*' which in Joseph's words, served to 'keep the masses docile' during the dictatorship.

²⁷ Adriana had been entitled to statutory maternity pay which in the UK is six months' full pay, followed by three months half pay and the final three months nothing.

remaining three months he was entitled to as it was unpaid, but he did start doing the majority of childcare as promised.

The enjoyment of our boozy mid-week lunches during those first six months was therefore tempered by a growing awareness that as a lifestyle, our current practices were temporally bound and unsustainable with our growing families. Indeed, for Adriana and Joseph, within a few months they were replaced with a complicated system of working from home, accrued holidays, unpaid leave and part-time hours at the nursery across the road which my son also attended. From this point onwards, a good life became less an appreciation of current practices which were extraordinary through their counter-hegemonic nature, and more what Fischer (2014) refers to as a good life as a 'moral project', a 'product of ongoing processes of socially situated negotiation, continually enacted through the dialectic of everyday social life and strongly conditioned by path dependencies and the weight of history and tradition' (Fischer 2014: 12). This aspired to future good life as a processual moral project was conceptualised as a more permanent version of those moments that we had already experienced as counter-hegemonic— a work-life balance that allowed a certain amount of material freedom but also the opportunity to simultaneously experience positive embodied practices such as feasting in the middle of the day with family and friends rather than sitting in an office. I suggest that this idea of permanence can be conceptualised as an existential safe harbour in the Arendtian sense (Braun 2007; Hodges 2010), a refuge from the instability of cosmopolitan modernity. When processes of undertaking distinctive action within this cosmopolitan modernity were experienced positively they were expressed by my interlocutors as 'adventure' and self-actualisation. Under more precarious or physically demanding conditions, however, such as those described above, they became something from which to retreat (or aspire to retreat from) in favour of the consolation and warmth of enduring collectivities, such as family or friends. This was expressed through the new tone of our conversations whenever we did manage to still meet up, now more often at the weekend. There was an increased emphasis on what a large proportion of our income we were 'throwing away' on rent whilst recognising the infeasibility of being able to afford to buy a permanent home in the area of central London where we lived.

Let us unpack this in terms of what an emphasis on house-buying suggests. On first impressions, it lends weight to Weiss's (2019) argument that property ownership is a central tenet of middle classness, being underpinned, like middle-classness itself, by an ideology of investment. However, a look at the realities of the UK housing market challenges this view. In the context of the UK housing market at that time, the monthly mortgage repayments on a larger house further out of

the city were much less than the monthly rent in the neighbourhood we were in. For Adriana and Joseph, aspiring towards buying a house was less about homeownership as a status marker and more about accessing a state of permanence which would free them from the fluctuations of the private rental market and therefore reduce their living costs and subsequently their working hours, allowing them to focus on other things. Continued access to a job that paid enough to maintain housing payments but was flexible enough to choose certain working conditions was therefore prioritised as an essential condition to have the freedom to aspire to ‘somewhere else’ to start the ‘rest of our lives’. In this sense, the ‘moral project’ of the good life involved Fischer’s ‘socially situated negotiation’ (Fischer 2014: 12) of certain negative aspects, such as night shifts, a longer commute and not living so close to extended family and friends in central London. This in turn would facilitate access to the good life as a ‘horizon of anticipation’ (Bryant and Knight 2019), i.e., the readying and pressing forwards into the future by enacting, rehearsing and experiencing it on one’s own terms. Although there was an element of consumption within these conceptualisations of good life—e.g. nice clothes, eating out— it was first and foremost based on time spent together rather than at work. This can be posited as an act of resistance towards both local expectations of ‘working hard like English people’ and the experiences of ‘traditional migrants’ before them who lived in misery all year in order to ‘show off’ once a year (which I discuss further later on in the chapter). By combining an ongoing good life in the UK with the possibilities to return to Portugal several times a year, they would achieve the migrant dream of ‘having it all’.

4.5 ‘Traditional’ Middle Classes, Status and Family Support

At this point in the analysis historical material privilege and status arise as important considerations in the conceptualisation of a ‘good life’ as a certain set of household practices. Theorists of the ‘middle class’ have long posited family aspirations as a source of human capital (Temple 1997; Freeman 2014; Donner 2008, 2015; Katz 2002; Weiss 2019). As Weiss puts it, such ethnographies ‘capture the frenzied activity that revolves around the accrual of human capital and the toll it takes on family life (Weiss 2019: 108). Temple (1997) emphasises the frequency with which this accrual of human capital involves sacrifices by aspirational parents for their children’s social mobility (Temple 1997). Building on this literature, in this chapter I explore further the nuanced nature of what we call ‘middle class’ aspirations. In Adriana’s case, as a member of what Narotzky calls the ‘former working classes’ (Narotzky 2015), her comments in section 4.3 reveal how her perceptions of her ability to go to university came less through what

she called 'structure' (i.e., the availability of higher education and whether access was financially feasible) and more from 'support' (i.e., encouragement to go by her parents). Her household's lack of financial and educational capital whilst she was growing up interwove with the way she described her scholarship vis a vis her subsequent career achievements. The overall effect was making visible her social mobility on the strength of her own merit whilst rendering less visible the support her family gave her in non-material ways. As discussed already, this lends a temporally significant sense of 'worth' to individual expressions of symbolic capital through education and is a distinctly 'new middle class' condition in the context of this thesis.

In the rest of this section I propose a more detailed unpacking of the impact of the 'new' versus the 'traditional' 'middle class' in the context of family support in the pursuit of a 'good life'. In doing so I highlight the role of historically specific Portuguese conditions at the level of the household. In order to do this, I leave Adriana and Joseph for the moment and return to Marisa—who I introduced in the last chapter—and her family/ network. I explore to what extent the latter, as members of the 'traditional middle class' in Portugal, have a distinct material basis from which to aspire compared to 'new middle class' families such as Adriana's. What emerges is the notion of precarity within mid-status households such as Marisa's, from which I argue for the instability of 'middle-classness' as an imagined site of promise even for historically high status groups. This argument has implications for new/ traditional middle classness as a binary concept.

As long-term white collar, urban dwellers, both of Marisa's parents were part of a historically mid-status group in Portugal. As described in the last chapter, the family of Marisa's mother, Lidia, had lived in the city of Porto for several generations whilst her father's family, with their background in teaching and banking, can be considered to be part of what Harvey (2005) calls the 'traditional' middle classes, mid-status as a result of the modernist, bureaucratic and state-driven economic policies of mid-20th century states. More significantly in terms of establishing status in the Portuguese context is the lack of migratory habitus in the family, as Marisa and her brothers were the first in their family to live overseas. Nevertheless, even within this household with its shared historical mid-status positionalities, the materialities, subjectivities and beliefs surrounding what 'class' and status meant was a point of contention. Lidia's and Sérgio's mid-status occupations²⁸ belied their reality of working two jobs each and restricting their personal spending in order to support their children in their 'self-development' abroad. A noteworthy reflection of the notion of personal sacrifices made by aspirational parents, as described above, at the time of writing they had just agreed to fund the £16,000 fee Marisa needed to study a two-year Masters degree in

²⁸ As a doctor and an occupational therapist, as discussed in the previous chapter

acting at a London university. Just a month or so later, her older brother would fail his final Masters exams in graphic design in Brussels and move back home with his parents to work on freelance design projects at home. The other brother was about to finish his degree and would also move back to Portugal a few months later, but eventually decide he didn't want to pursue a career in food engineering and attempt to become a DJ. They were all in some way dependent on their parents in the meantime, which ensured Lidia and Sérgio's continued need to work in two jobs, sacrificing any notions they may have had for their own 'personal development' or 'adventure' in favour of their children's.

The way Lidia and Sérgio each talked about class also belied their distinct positionalities and the ambiguous nature of class identity. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Lidia had told me about her parents' fluxes in fortune one day whilst I was staying in their home in Matosinhos on the outskirts of Porto and it would not be the last time I heard her use the refrain

'we are middle class because of our education, who we see. But we have to struggle, we have to work'

In contrast to her daughter Marisa, for whom generation was a key marker of difference, as I suggested in the last chapter, for Lidia, it was education which directly translated into being 'middle class'. Like Adriana, Lidia and her siblings were the first in her family to go to university, a fact that reflected changes in university access through gender as much as status and urbanisation in the mid-1980s in Portugal. Sérgio, on the other hand, was not and the way he referred to 'class' and the role of education was noticeably different to that of his wife. Picking up one of the books in Sérgio's study, the Portuguese sociologist Elisio Estanque's *A Classe Média: Ascensão e Declínio*²⁹ (2016), I had asked him one day if he had read it and what he thought about class in Portugal. He had shaken his head glumly, saying

'There is no longer a Portuguese middle class. The middle class in Portugal is dead.'

I asked if he meant those who graduated into a lack of labour market, and that maybe they still had a chance to pursue their class aspirations abroad, like his own daughter. Sérgio shook his head again,

'they graduate to go to England and wash glasses'.

²⁹ The Middle Class: Ascent and Descent (my translation)

Lidia had pointedly disagreed, acknowledging what he had said but claiming that people could make their way up to whatever they wanted eventually, citing a Portuguese radio programme called *Portugueses no Mundo*³⁰ where people described their lives abroad. Frowning his brow Sérgio gave a derisory laugh and said how programmes like that only chose the success stories. A few days later as Lidia was getting ready to take me to the airport to fly home, Sérgio pressed a new copy of the book into my hand and, as he gave me a hug goodbye, told me to

‘read it, he has good ideas about how the world works.’

Estanque’s book and other articles where he discusses the relevance of ‘class’ as a concept in the context of the material advances and sensation of upward mobility in Portuguese society during the post-dictatorship years (Estanque 2009, 2015, 2016, 2017) provide an insight into Lidia and Sérgio’s diverging views. Estanque’s materialist slant, emphasis on status and capital and strong sense of history fitted well with what Marisa had told me about her father’s ‘attachment to politics’ since the time of the Carnation Revolution as well as his membership of *Bloco de Esquerda*³¹ and railing against socioeconomic inequality. Sérgio’s dismissal of the ‘artificial paradise of the middle class’ (Estanque 2016) reflects a Marxist interpretation of inequality between elites and workers and the failure of the state to provide any material basis for the existence of a ‘middle class’. Lidia’s vision of ‘class’ on the other hand can be posited as indicative of the political-ideological effects of ‘middle class’ as a status-based narrative as well as a Bourdieusian notion of ‘class’ as constructed by classification itself (Estanque 2017). Her focus on status and forms of symbolic capital such as education and its potential for transformation was closer to Adriana’s understanding of ‘class’, and highlights the similarities in their childhood experiences of precarity and belief in social mobility, being the first members of their families to attend university.

Nevertheless, Sérgio’s view of the precarity of the ‘middle class’ in Portugal certainly seemed borne out by his own household in a material sense. Their three-bedroom flat was clean and homely but I could imagine how cramped it must have felt when all three children were home. Marisa and her brothers’ spatial absence, in the pursuit of their ‘global middle class’ aspirations, was palpable in the weary set of their parents’ faces as they came back from their second jobs late in the evening and the emotions that brightened their faces and voices during the frequent phone calls, text messages and general references to the dozens of photos and souvenirs around the house. These absences as an expression of hope towards a future imagined in global terms

³⁰ Portuguese People around the World (my translation)

³¹ The Left Bloc, a leftist political party in Portugal whose influence increased in the years following austerity

(that of the 'global middle class') in turn drew on Lidia and Sérgio's localised educational and professional capital, which was belied by an ongoing precarious materiality that involved them having to work overtime in a fragile local labour market. Marisa herself certainly showed an awareness of this precarity via her emotional recognition of her parents' role in enabling her to aspire towards a certain mode of visualising the future, stating with bright eyes how much she owed them, how 'lucky' she was. However, she also distanced herself from it by maintaining a hegemonic discourse of herself as 'uninterested in politics' and an 'adventurous spirit', in doing so drawing on the embodied effects of her parents' historical materialities. In other words, her ongoing capacity to aspire was based on the assumption that the material possibilities to do so would always be available, rendering less visible the everyday struggles her parents endured to maintain a long-standing household habitus of 'global middle class' practices. At the centre of these conflicting practices and sites of imagination is hope, which I follow Bryant and Knight (2019: 134) in defining as a sense of momentum towards a future which is indeterminate but also dependent on historical context for the details of its production, as opposed to one that is perceived as 'stuck' and immobile. These historical contexts are perceived within different 'bubbles' of practices and expectations, what Bryant and Knight (2019: 133) refer to as 'teleoaffects', a set of practices which encompasses a number of associated actions and ends which people acceptably pursue. However, I find their emphasis on collective experiences excessive and maintain that these 'teleoaffects' differ from and also within households depending on the personal experiences of individuals. As already discussed, these differences can emerge from individual capacities and experiences but are also impacted to a greater or lesser extent by household and wider materialities and status which change over space and time and expressed in distinct ways. In this sense, Marisa and her brothers' hope towards a future as yet materially unfulfilled jostled with their parents' experiences of the structural challenges which had to be overcome. At the same time, despite Lidia and Sérgio's varying attitudes to the likelihood of their children surpassing these challenges, on a day to day basis their continued dedication to maintaining the conditions under which they may yet continue to aspire also suggest a motivation for meaningful action that is based on hope.

In this section I have explored how the narratives of my Portuguese respondents as well as their everyday practices and evolving hopes towards the future are shaped by symbolic and material networks at the level of the household. In the case of Marisa's household, the considerable material possibilities which allow her to aspire to a future good life beyond what many of her contemporaries could is based on her parent's status and educational capital as a resource, the precarity of which is embodied by them on a daily basis. This juxtaposition of vulnerability and

ongoing possibility particularly challenges an analysis based on any uniform concept of a Portuguese 'traditional middle class'. In the next section, I will explore this further by returning to a consideration of the 'new' middle class, this time within the context of migratory habitus and post-colonialism, exploring how divergences at the macro level affect structures of feeling within households.

4.6 Migratory Habitus and the New Middle Classes

As discussed in the introduction, Portugal has long had a population that exceeded its labour market, the surplus migrating since the 15th century. The majority of these emigrants were of rural extraction, male and illiterate, making the 'typical Portuguese migrant' a culturally specific figure (see Fig. 4, p. 36) in the imaginations of those research participants whose families had never migrated such as Marisa, the 'traditional middle class'. However, amongst those whose families had always historically migrated but then found themselves in a distinct status position on account of their greater access to higher education and subsequent imagined sites of aspiration, this figure was more complex. Being a migrant, 'status' and the role of education are part of an interweaving of affective subjectivities regarding changing expectations, aspirations and dreams which inform notions of 'good life' and memories of the past.

We can examine this further through the case of Jorge, a young man from a long-standing migrant family of low-status occupations who I first discussed in Chapter Three, and the way he talked about his plans for postgraduate study in the UK in comparison to Marisa. As discussed in the previous section, the latter displayed an affective appreciation of her 'traditional middle class' parents' key financial role in enabling her to pursue her dreams of further study whilst simultaneously maintaining a narrative of herself as an independent 'adventurer', paying her own way in London. Jorge, on the other hand, maintained a narrative of financial independence from his parents which was based on an unwillingness to see them make a 'sacrifice' whilst simultaneously living at home with them, rent-free, within the Portuguese migrant community in South London. Recounting a story about how someone at the Student Loan office had told him he wasn't eligible for a loan he told me

'I said to my parents, this is it, I'm not doing it if I don't get the loan, I couldn't ask that of them, that sacrifice, why should I ask that of my family to tighten their belts because of me and my ambition? I'll do it but only if I can work for myself. Then the second time I got

through they said yes, sure, you're eligible, I was like, phew! My Dad had come to me and said 'it doesn't matter if you don't get the loan, we'll make it happen, we'll work it out'. I really appreciated that knowing they were behind me but I never would have asked that of them!

Rather than Marisa's emotional acceptance of her parents offer to help, Jorge proudly expressed how unwilling he was for his parents to suffer because of 'his ambition'. At the same time, it was his parents' presence in London via their migratory habitus that allowed him and his girlfriend to live at home with them, leaving them free to save for a mortgage and career enhancing postgraduate qualifications, key elements of the 'global middle class'. Marisa cited that fact she paid her own rent as the basis of her status in London 'on her own' as an 'adventurer', whilst Jorge was there as what Marisa would call a 'typical Portuguese migrant'. Whilst both saw themselves as 'independent' for not asking their parents for ongoing help, in Marisa's case, or for a big loan, in Jorge's, both Jorge and Marisa's households can be said to be constructed on sacrifices made by aspirational parents. However, Jorge's family, due to their migratory habitus, would be considered lower-status in Portugal than families such as Marisa's who never 'needed' to migrate. Nevertheless, Jorge's university education and aspirations were also part of a global middle class habitus shared by Marisa. The difference, which I will discuss in this chapter, is what made him part of the Portuguese 'new middle class'.

Any discussion of 'new' and 'traditional' middle classes in Portugal would first have to move beyond the idea of shared aspirations towards the good life held by the 'the global middle classes' towards an examination of divergences in key categories of difference. The first of these are historical status positionalities, which are fundamentally tied to migratory habitus and can be seen in temporal and spatial manifestations of status and values. Whilst Marisa's parents worked in mid-status jobs in Porto, they had little material space to manoeuvre and experience an embodied form of precarity which belied their status as 'middle class'. Jorge's parents, on the other hand, worked in low-status positions in London (as a cleaner and van driver), but were able to aspire to a performance of materiality which was less accessible to Marisa's parents, such as buying a bigger house in Portugal. Jorge's girlfriend, Ana, put this in context for me whilst describing her own family history of migration.

'My father had 10 brothers and sisters and they are everywhere, Switzerland, Germany, Australia. My mum had four brothers and sisters too. My grandfather went to Germany to work and then my mum joined him. My mum was actually born there but she came back to Portugal when she was two. Because like I told you, my grandfather earned enough

money to come back and buy a house in Portugal. That is what they all want to do, earn enough to come back. Jorge's parents, all they do is work, evenings, weekends, because they are sending money back to buy their house in Portugal. In the summers when I was growing up I saw the ones who came back with the fancy cars and presents for everyone and pay for everything, they make out like they have a very good life abroad, very good pay and we all think abroad must be better than here, look at everything they've got! We all think that and we all want to go abroad; we almost expect it. But it's not true, it's not really like that, their lives are very difficult, they work maybe two, three jobs and never do anything, work so hard 11 months to have one month back in Portugal to blow out, to show off. When I got a bit older I realised that, not just when I arrived here but when talking to people. Lots of people came back because they didn't like it abroad. I have a cousin in Switzerland, she says yes she has a good salary but she works so hard and life is so hard and expensive there that she would rather earn a low salary and live in Portugal.'

This speech illustrates the precarity experienced by past cohorts of 'traditional' migrants in comparison to that of the 'traditional' urban middle classes, as discussed in the last section. Whilst Marisa's family lacked the material capacity to aspire to a temporally and spatially bound concept of 'success', such as the bigger house and fancy cars of Ana's relatives, they were nonetheless less precariously able to see themselves as mid-status because of, in Lidia's words, 'our education and who we see'. Whereas those from high migrant-sending areas like Vilareal, where both Jorge and Ana's families were from, had to eke out difficult lives abroad with which they rewarded themselves by material rather than symbolic markers of status which could only be displayed cyclically, as in Ana's description above. Furthermore, the onset of modernity in Portugal meant that out of this somewhat simplistic binary emerged the characteristics of a further group, those amongst Narotzky's (2015) 'former working classes' (in the Portuguese context, the surplus of which also made up 'traditional migrants') who had enhanced access to education of the 1980s and 90s and created a 'new middle class'. As the first in their families to attend university, like Adriana, for Jorge and Ana education was only superficially directly linked to 'class' or even status. Instead they more often referred to it as the doorway to a network of 'opportunities'. The pursuit of 'opportunities' was an almost universally cited channel of desire (Deleuze and Guatarri 2003) from my research participants of all backgrounds. However, for those amongst the 'new middle class', unlike previous cohorts of 'traditional migrants' without higher education, whilst they referred to eventually going back as 'the dream', they emphasised that did not intend to because of the lack of career progression 'opportunities' back home. Once again, I would recall the earlier point made about social and symbolic capital accumulating over the years

according to practices and experiences which temporalised educational choices by making them more dynamic. In other words, for those who accumulated enough capital, both symbolic and financial through their 'opportunities', there was enhanced capacity for a good life in the UK on a more permanent basis, compared with Ana's relatives 'who returned because they didn't like it abroad'. As both historically lower status 'traditional migrants' but also 'middle class' by dint of their education, this 'new middle class' has the possibility of moving past both the precarity of 'traditional migrant families' abroad as well as the precarity faced by the 'traditional middle class' of a periphery country. Instead, they were able to anticipate a more socially mobile version of the global middle class dream, the counter-hegemonic intention to 'have it all', i.e., a 'good life'. As mentioned above, this was based on having a materially comfortable 'good life' in the UK which enabled the possibilities of frequent trips back to Portugal on their own terms, achieving a state of permanence in which enduring networks such as family back home were able to be maintained.

In this section I have discussed how contemporary and historical understandings of materiality and status continued to form a central part of the 'global middle class' habitus as a site of aspiration. In the Portuguese context, historical labour opportunity shortages put migratory habitus at the household level at the centre of any discussion on 'new' versus 'old' style migrants and 'new' versus 'traditional' middle classes. We have started to explore how this dichotomy is nuanced and with many layers. Whilst the possession of a university degree by individuals within migratory families is the basis by which they could be sociologically referred to as 'the new middle class' (Estanque 2017), it is also the means by which they described themselves as a 'new type of migrant', i.e. distinct from the precarity of their forebears by virtue of their enhanced access to 'opportunities' abroad which their parents had not had. They used the term self-consciously, aware of cultural representations of their 'traditional migrant' ancestors and peers. For mid-status individuals on the other hand, describing themselves as a 'new type of migrant' referred more to their distinct positioning within their household or family history. As the first in their families to migrate, they were able to embrace the cosmopolitan narrative of being in possession of an 'adventurous spirit', which broke from the family habitus of 'just' getting a job in Portugal and staying in it, the basis of the precarity of the 'traditional' middle classes, as shown above. In this latter context, the term 'migrant' was often used ironically.

The false binary of the 'new' and 'traditional' middle classes in Portugal and the associated concept, 'new' versus 'old' migrants are further complicated when we look beyond materiality

and status as historical categories of difference and place them within a wider context of postcoloniality and race. This will be the focus of the next and final section.

4.7 Moving Beyond Materiality and Status as Categories of Difference in Discussions of the New Middle Class—Post-Colonialism and Gender

It would be impossible to undertake any discussion of contemporary Portugal without acknowledging the issue of race, especially when considering that, at the time of writing, there was an intense debate in Portugal regarding race and citizenship (Pina Cabral 2015a; Vale de Almeida 2008a)³² which is situated within a historical colonial discourse of ‘benign colonialism’ and ‘absence of racism’. In the next section, I propose the conceptualisation of race and ethnicity as historical categories of difference, along with materiality, status, and gender, in relation to postcolonial and neoliberal ‘new middle class’ aspirations towards a ‘good life’.

As mentioned previously, both Adriana and Joseph were the first in their families to go to university, their parents being ‘denied the opportunity’, as Adriana put it. Their lives in London were marked by the material benefits this university education had given them. Working in high status, mid-manager jobs, they were always beautifully dressed, went to expensive concerts, lived in a privately managed new-build flat in a central location and went on family holidays around Europe and beyond a couple of times a year, in addition to regular trips back to Portugal. In Adriana’s opinion, echoing Lidia who said that by migrating people could ‘become whoever they wanted to be’, this was a lifestyle they could not have achieved in Portugal, partly because of the lack of career options but also because of race.

Joseph and Adriana were both Afro-Portuguese, of Bissau-Guinean descent. Although they both referred to themselves as Portuguese, and felt a deep connection to Lisbon and referred to the idea of going back there to live as ‘the dream’, Adriana also described Joseph as ‘African’, in a tone which seemed to me to be a mixture of pride and envy. He spoke Creole much better than Adriana, who had been born and brought up in Lisbon, and her response to his teasing about this was sometimes prickly. Joseph had been born in Senegal to a Muslim Senegalese father and Christian Bissau-Guinean mother and moved to Portugal as a small child. His whole family then migrated to East London in 2008, when he was in his mid-20s, to an area he and Adriana both

³² At this point I reiterate that I am including ‘race’ as example of ‘categories of difference’ within a class argument rather than opening up a new field of racial theory, which would be a whole other thesis

referred to as 'Little Guinea'. Although Adriana also had family there, they hadn't known each other beforehand. Adriana's parents had moved to Portugal in the 1970s, although Adriana also had white Portuguese ancestry and had joked about her 'peasant background' via her great-aunt in the *Tras-os-Montes* region of central Portugal. Her parents were still in Lisbon but her two sisters had migrated more than ten years earlier, one now living in Angola and the other in San Francisco. Despite Adriana's initial framing of having moved for 'opportunity' and 'adventure', she later told me

'Everyone in my family has always migrated, it's almost expected. In my family you're weird if you don't migrate!'

Guinea Bissau was a colony of Portugal until 1974. The ensuing political turmoil during the years following independence meant thousands left for Portugal to take advantage of flexible immigration laws for the former overseas provinces (Pires 2013), amongst them Adriana's and Joseph's parents. As part of the 'golden era' of prosperity in Portugal, years of outward migratory flows were reversed, which changed the population of Lisbon in particular, making it much more African. By the mid-1990s Portugal had the highest proportion of African immigrants in the EU (Corkill and Eaton 1998). Many of these former colonial citizens were subsequently part of a second wave of migration which occurred after the financial crisis, most of it to Angola, but with a significant proportion of Afro-Portuguese families moving to London, as Joseph's had done, although this is still an understudied area (Mapril and Blanes 2018).

As I got to know Adriana and Joseph, not just as research participants, but as neighbours and eventually close friends, I would see how race as a category of difference was never far from their minds in terms of their positionalities. As well as being second generation migrants, Adriana and Joseph's experiences were informed by a hotly disputed process of creation of a post-colonial Portuguese identity which both drew on and was contradicted by notions of a cosmopolitan modernity (Vale de Almeida 2008a). Adriana vocalised this one day as she told me about how Joseph had more of a sense of struggling against the odds whilst growing up than she had. His father had walked out on them, he'd been marginalised for his skin colour and had gotten 'in trouble' as a child and been sent to a boarding school in another part of the country with his younger brother. He had 'flourished away from Portugal', she concluded, referring to his career and close-knit group of friends, which included three of his four brothers, who also lived in London. Joseph himself had always been very specific about wanting to 'escape' from Portugal. He never elaborated on this to me, but Adriana referred to 'bad influences' and how he had never

had a positive male role model when he was growing up but had taken the decision to be a good father and husband 'because of that, not using it as an excuse not to be.'

'London has given us everything'

Adriana told me once,

'of course it isn't perfect, there is racism here of course, but it doesn't stop you doing anything the way it does back home. Here we can aspire to anything and it can happen.'

Warming to her topic, she continued.

'The Portuguese claim racism doesn't exist. Because we don't talk about it! But it certainly does, under the surface. I didn't realise this until I came here and met Joseph, I'm much lighter-skinned than he is and I think our experiences in Portugal would definitely have been different because of that. He pointed out to me, growing up, did you have a black teacher? I didn't. Did you see anyone who looks like you in the public eye? No. Here in London it is far from perfect but it is something that is out in the open. Do I want my child to grow up somewhere where he has no role models who look like him? I don't think I do.'

I suggest here that, as black Portuguese, accessing the capacity to aspire to and practice a 'global middle class' good life for Adriana and Joseph is a fundamental consideration as regards to their presence in London. Despite their university education theoretically positioning them within the 'new middle class' in Portugal, their lived experiences within Portugal itself were deeply embedded in a postcolonial discourse of cosmopolitanism, which, as Mapril and Blanes (2018) argue, is a symbol of its precarious hold on modernity and makes invisible ongoing inequalities and remigration of these newly visible groups, in particular, Portuguese Guineans. This precarity makes postcolonial notions of 'class' far more complex than just enhanced access to education by historically low-status groups within Portugal, where social mobility and opportunity are historically situated in a 'whiteness' that is based on long-embedded systems of status. Indeed, the complex interplay between race, nation and identity had jumped out at me that very afternoon when I had overheard Joseph introduce himself to my father-in-law by the Anglicised pronunciation of his name, one of many variations I would eventually hear him use. I had always know him as Youssef, the Islamic version of Joseph, and this is the name he had used when we first met. Adriana also always referred to him thus. However, he later told me that at work he was known as Joseph and that his best friends in London, many of whom were Afro-Portuguese or

otherwise Afro-descendant, all called him Joe. For the sake of continuity throughout the rest of the chapter I will continue to refer to him as Joseph, notwithstanding the extent to which his African-ness and Islam were both important parts of his identity and his flexible naming choices were intertwined with this complex situationing (Pina Cabral 2016b).

Nevertheless, whilst Adriana and Joseph did talk to me about race as a category of difference in the context of their experiences of racism and how they saw skin colour affecting their opportunities, it was far from a simplistic category and intersected with other forms of difference and value. At the same time as praising London for allowing them freedom to aspire to certain markers of 'middle-classness' which they saw as inaccessible to them in Portugal due to local racisms, Adriana had also expressed a morally-inflected view on the visible lack of black families in our neighbourhood who

'just spend time together as a family outside...they just let them sit in Morley's³³ and eat chicken, you don't see them taking them to all these things that area available and free!'

This lack of visibility contradicted Adriana and Joseph's own stated family values, where 'lifestyle choice' meant working as little as possible so as to spend time with family and on hobbies. Following this remark, I had sat back and let them lead an obviously well practiced discussion on a crisis of black male masculinity. Adriana moderated her critique with a recognition of the marginalisation of black people in our area via institutional racism, which meant that even if both parents were around, they were more likely to be working unsocial hours and unable to spend time with their families.

I saw this framed in a different way one day when we were talking about changing gender roles and whether men and women should take equal roles in the house, allowing for equal opportunities outside of it. Adriana had shaken her head, incredulous, when I told the story of the banker's wives and their credit cards (at the beginning of this chapter) and exclaimed,

'these women, how can they just do that, live on their husbands?!'

I had explained that the girl in question had been made redundant whilst on maternity leave and was working out what to do next, but that the other girl, her sister, had willingly quit her job to be a stay at home mother. Adriana had laughed incredulously again at that. She had left lab work and done an additional Masters degree in educational management even before completing her PhD.

³³ A chain of fried chicken shops in South London

This, she said, was to work towards a 'better quality of life', and specifically, not to work weekends. Despite the early proclamations that she never wanted to go back to work after having her baby, towards the end of her maternity leave she had started talking more about returning to her job as an academic editor and a couple of weeks earlier had applied for a promotion and gotten it.

'It's been hard. People wonder why men don't take up the paternity leave³⁴. The government says because it isn't publicised enough, ha! How about because you barely get paid anything, you make a huge salary sacrifice. 60% pay for six months then nothing! Joseph has been maintaining me for the past three months!'

Joseph interjected,

'these companies say they can't pay, well of course they can, we need human beings don't we? Why should we have to make those choices?'

Adriana nodded, adding

'if you want to have children, it's so hard you are punished for doing it.'

It occurred to me at this point that this contradicted a conversation we had recently had about Sam, a black British mother in our neighbourhood. Her daughter was in the same nursery class as my son and we often bumped into them in the playground halfway between the block of flats where Adriana and I lived and the troubled housing estate³⁵ where Sam lived. Adriana's own little boy was due to start at the same nursery in three months once she went back to work. Sam wanted to go back to work too, I had told them, and her partner was on the scene, but she had five children and was unable to find a job with working hours that she could do in between school runs. Adriana had leaned forward and said,

'but tell me, why did she decide to have five children then?'

³⁴ At the time of writing it was permitted for two working parents to share 12 months of parental leave between them following the birth of a child, meaning that if one parent returned to work within those 12 months, the other could claim the remainder of the pay for the remaining months. In reality, the payout was calculated on a sliding scale and often drastically reduced after six months (depending on the company), meaning for many working families it wasn't a financially viable option.

³⁵ The estate was less than five minutes away and notorious for gang violence and economic deprivation (see Fig.5 p. 82). Lucy, a nursery worker who would eventually care for Sam's, Adriana's and my own child, had grown up there but had moved after her 14-year-old brother was stabbed to death outside their home the previous year. Like Sam and Adriana, Lucy was of mixed black and white heritage. Most of the gang violence in the estate was between black gangs.

Feeling slightly indignant on Sam's behalf, I pointed out she had left school without qualifications which made it harder to find a flexible job to fit around her children's school hours. Adriana was swift in her response.

'That's part of the problem then, people should take more responsibility.'

I was struck at the contrast between how they had just been talking about their own dilemmas regarding working and childcare, a discussion which itself had risen out of a comment Adriana had made about how her mother had 'warned her not to marry an African man as they don't help around the house'. Joseph had proven her mother wrong, she had said proudly, and had taken the decision to be a good husband and father. Joseph himself had then interjected with a grin at how much better he was at cleaning than Adriana and the conversation had gradually moved onto a discussion on whether men and women should take equal roles in the house, allowing for equal occupational opportunities outside of it. This was the point when we had brought up Sam. It seemed so complex to me. Adriana advocated gender equality in the workplace in order to allow the same opportunities for both sexes. This seemed to suggest that the capital afforded by higher education and middle-class status levied a certain morality around having children, which was shifted onto the employer—if only companies would support families structurally, allowing parents the 'right' to have as many children as their joint incomes could support which would leave them free to pursue the global middle class dream— the perfect balance of childcare, work satisfaction and family life. Sam, on account of her educational outcomes and lifestyle choices, which were complexly intertwined with institutional racism in the UK, did not have access to middle class/ professional capital and was therefore 'irresponsible', despite her desire to work. A change in employer culture and addressing of racial and economic disparities on a structural level would enable Sam as much as Adriana to enter/ continue in the workforce and support her children. Yet lack of resources (whether financial or ethical) on the part of employers manifested itself through Adriana's positioning of 'qualified' work as more deserving of workplace changes to accommodate lifestyle freedoms within it. Such moral constructions echoed a heated speech Adriana's mother, Dona Monica, had made to me some weeks earlier on what Adriana translated as 'benefit wasters' in the area her sister lived in East London (the same 'Little Guinea' community where Joseph's mother and brothers lived). These 'benefit wasters' shared nationality, skin colour and language with Dona Monica and her family, yet were portrayed as morally distinct due to their lack of adherence to the values and practices that made up a global middle class habitus, such as working hard and being independent from the state. Such an attitude towards benefits

was often repeated to me by other interlocutors around London, mostly in the context of how 'unfair' it was that they had to work such long hours whilst others 'sat around'.

Here we can see the conflictive nature of interweaving status and race positionalities alongside educational capital within emerging cosmopolitan non-elite subjectivities. On an initial level, these distinctions can be said to reflect certain values in the making of an ideal democratic citizenship, which Heiman et al (2012) link to the neoliberal nation state's new economic policies which are packaged 'in the ideological trappings of private property, entrepreneurship and 'personal responsibility'' (Heiman et al 2012:14). Indeed, Weiss (2019) points out how neoliberal values cultivate and support this reasoning through middle class subjectivities, which imply that 'our misfortunes are consequently a result of our having made poor or insufficient use of the time, energy and resources at our disposal; that society is nothing but a plethora of individuals implicated in each other's self-serving investments, sometimes as allies and sometimes as competitors' (Weiss 2019: 12). Recent political developments become relevant at this point too. Less than a year after the Brexit referendum, EU citizens such as Joseph and Adriana had been shifted into a realm of contested citizenship. This can be seen as part of 'a wider trend in contemporary western societies where questions of belonging and the hierarchy of membership within a given society are at the centre of heated debates about the boundaries of society itself and the place of immigrants within' (Gonzales and Sigona 2017: 3). In the case of Adriana and Joseph, I suggest that their movement into this realm of contested citizenship was a significant new assemblage, which was reflected in their attitudes to individuals such as Sam. Despite her lesser earning power, Sam's status as a British citizen gave her more access to certain rights (and subsequently state support) than Adriana and Joseph were entitled to. For the latter, who had to work overtime to pay for the same support that Sam received for free, this led to an enhanced distinction of their greater educational and social capital which was subsequently morally expressed through a narrative of 'deservingness'. Despite Adriana and Joseph having just been talking about how racism in the UK affected one's capacity to be socially mobile, a situation with which they identified after growing up in Portugal, their own inability to redress to state subsidies for education/ housing etc. appeared to outweigh any solidarity with Sam over shared experiences of racism.

As time went on and I had similar conversations with various other research participants, it became clear that being in receipt of welfare benefits only became a low social status indicator (as the term 'benefit waster' suggests) when attached to narratives of 'undeservedness' and 'responsibility' as detailed above. Apart from talking about Sam, Adriana had often commented

on benefits and who deserved them, to which I had one day responded that my family depended on the disability benefits we received for our son to be able to afford to live in the building we all shared. She had immediately put a hand on my arm 'that's different, you deserve it'. This logic also applied to Adriana's aunt in East London, who had a son with mental health issues. Adriana often said that

'coming here was the best thing my aunt ever did...she never would have got all the support for her son that he needs in Portugal. Never!'

Affective interpretations based on experience and kinship seemed to be significant here. Adriana's aunt and cousin were one of the 'deserving' recipients due to his health condition and the aunts previous 'work ethic'. Adriana's affection for my son and my family as well as our shared values and symbolic capital and a commonly-accepted positioning of health needs as the last bastion of deservedness³⁶ also perhaps overrode any potential utilitarian notions over whether it had been 'responsible' of us to choose to have him, despite knowing beforehand that he was going to have certain disabilities. Sam, on the other hand, as a non-kin 'other', had 'chosen' her situation by having 'so many' children, the implicit critique being she was taking advantage of her enhanced citizenship status to access benefits that non-citizens such as Adriana's aunt 'deserved'. The fact our children all shared a common social-educational space was indicative of how potential tensions between different levels of positionality, citizenship and social capital can be brought together by external factors, in this case, state policy. As a state-subsidised, community nursery, a means-tested system was employed, which meant that both Sam's and my own child attended for free due to our eligibility for different income-based and disability benefits and the fact that our children were older and qualified for certain universal discounts. Adriana and Joseph on the other hand were liable to pay the full amount, a huge chunk of their monthly income. Although as EU citizens they could have applied for certain benefits, various factors, not least their incomes, meant they would not have been easily available, further lending weight to the discourse regarding different types of 'hard-working' versus 'lazy' citizens and non-citizens.

³⁶ A discourse around the 'deserving/ undeserving' poor has existed at both policy and individual levels since the beginning of industrialisation and urbanisation in the UK in the 18th century but is particularly prevalent in the context of social welfare policies, especially when it intersects with discourses on immigration (Sales 2002; Anderson 2013). The perception of poverty as an indicator of class status in the materialist sense is thus interwoven into a complex web of values which rest on moral and symbolic constructions of 'deservedness'. This reflects the hegemonic political discourse of the ruling Conservative party in this sense, whose narrative of 'hard-working families' has driven policy since Thatcher accelerated the dismantling of the welfare state in the late 1970s (Sales 2002).

As sociologists Butler and Robson (2003) point out, these morally interpreted notions of 'deservedness' tell us a lot about spatial tendencies and policies, previous communities and new inhabitants and gentrification processes within London. They suggest that 'deservedness' arises from the competitiveness over limited resources between individuals with different social and educational backgrounds who the nature of the London housing market has thrown together in institutional sites of cohabitation. This competitiveness both obscures and highlights different forms of social capital which can be understood through the language of 'class' and translate into the ability to achieve a good life. This meant for Sam that whilst her long-term future in the area was more secure due to her social housing status, which meant a greatly reduced rent, her social mobility in terms of my initial definition of middle classness as an imagined site of promise was greatly restricted except in the access to shared spaces of socialisation for her children. She was unable to undertake any set of practices to bring about hope as futural momentum (Bryant and Knight 2019) and was therefore 'stuck', which as discussed in the last chapter, belied any chance for freedom as an open future due to a lack of existential mobility (Hage 2009) in order to go somewhere rather than being trapped in the present. Whilst the local job market under austerity was inflexible towards her finding a job around school hours, her options would also remain inflexible. Her situation indeed mirrored that of those who were unable to migrate in Portugal, Greece and other countries affected by austerity measures (Knight and Stewart 2016; Pine 2014). Despite a shared racial positioning with Adriana and Joseph, the differences in their daily habitus, which emerged from 'class' and educational and social capital, created a barrier of 'deservedness' which surpassed shared racial identities.

4.8 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have explored the idea of a 'global middle class' habitus as an imagined site of promise. I suggested that rather than arising out of a traditional materialist and status-based structural framework, 'class' is a temporal and affective concept in the sense that an awareness of past, present and future impacts upon people's perceptions of their status positioning and how they construct ideas of right and wrong. My Portuguese respondents engaged with a historically specific body of practices and expectations, household and leisure practices, which were embedded in value-laden notions of ideal citizenship, educational capital and changing ideals of marriage and masculinity. This concept interweaves with other categories of difference such as status, materiality, migratory habitus and race as a lived set of historically situated meanings and values. In this sense, a good life is not only marked by tension but also by

different temporalities. Counter-hegemonic experiences in the present as part of the ongoing negotiation and subversion of a labour market based on an 'English' work ethic are recognised as fleeting and so simultaneously experienced as both practices and aspirations towards a more permanent version of the good life, a safe harbour from the precarity of modernity where enduring truths such as familial warmth reside. These aspirations in turn are bound to certain structural conceptualisations of a 'good life' which have their roots in a rationalist view of opportunities that arose during the 'golden years' of the post-colonial Portuguese shift to a cosmopolitan modernity and which was subsequently challenged by the effects of the financial crisis. The subsequent spatial displacement to the UK as a site of aspiration is therefore in continual negotiation within a wider historical migratory habitus and the fluctuations of the world economy and local political turbulence.

One major structural consideration was the role of the housing market, rent commitments being understood as prohibitive to good life practices. The obtaining of a mortgage was seen as more stable and better able to allow a 'good' life in a counter-hegemonic fashion, i.e., one that avoided the ideology of 'hard work' whilst simultaneously maintaining notions of self-actualisation through career. In this sense, property ownership as a means of achieving entry to a 'global middle class' was spatially and temporally bound to the UK labour market as site of opportunity, the latter being seen to transcend other sites such as Portugal which were perceived as restrictive due to structural conditions and discriminatory practices.

I have argued throughout this chapter for the central importance of education in my research participants' configuration of a 'global middle classness'. Drawing on Bryant and Knight (2019), I have proposed this configuration as a 'teleoaffect' (Bryant and Knight 2019), a historically specific body of practices and expectations with which we can push towards a future good life defined by cosmopolitan subjectivities which also serves as a form of distinction from the 'old type' of Portuguese migrant. As members of the 'new middle classes', a lack of historical material privilege gives way to symbolic capital as a source of continued access to the labour market and connected housing market as sites of aspiration. Nevertheless, whilst a commonly held marker of status, I maintain that the conditions of history effect how 'development indicators', such as higher education access define aspirational subjectivities amongst sections of Portuguese society that benefitted from them in terms of becoming socially mobile. I suggest that for these 'new middle class', reactions to the precarious material basis on which such subjectivities are based are expressed via value laden narratives which serve as markers of distinction, such as those of certain university experiences being more 'worthy' than others. The worth of such achievements

is then made dynamic by temporalities which are informed by structural factors, such as the collapse of the labour market following austerity measure in 2011. Those who ‘succeeded’ in the ensuing years were able to retrospectively increase the symbolic capital of their earlier attainments, rendering the conditions of history less visible than their own ‘meritocratic’ achievements in their aspirations towards a good life.

I then went further into the concept of ‘a good life’ itself, and explored how discursive formations arising out of the height of the crisis years intermingled with longer established migratory habitus and changing local and global imaginations regarding certain categories of difference. I suggested that the fetishising of education, which reflected a concern with status and worth in the progress towards a good life, was embedded in a historical movement where class aspirations were repackaged as the democratic terms of modernity. Within this movement, however, I went beyond an emphasis on status and consumerism as a conceptual framework, proposing that they formed an ethical basis to the essential condition to which my respondents actually aspired to—the desire to experience meaningful action as counter-hegemonic, a form of ethical ‘freedom’. This ‘freedom’ as part of a good life is the desire to experience the material manifestations of the ‘global middle class’ habitus as a set of practices, i.e., property ownership, whilst simultaneously living a counter-hegemonic state of being *within* such practices. This freedom is therefore contradictory and reflects cosmopolitanism itself, the ability to pursue individual adventure when desired but to also have available the enduring warmth of the hearth. In other words, resistance to the system, enjoying its benefits, but on their own terms, without sacrificing bodily autonomy to the ravages of the labour and property markets that seeks to pit individuals against each other in an endless competition for resources.

The inherent conflicts within this goal were apparent in affective responses to the challenges in obtaining it, which were expressed as ‘democratic’ notions of ideal citizenship and ‘meritocratic’ value judgements. I explored this within the context of a complex intertwining of contemporary and historical understandings of materiality and status by considering the role of race in relation to postcolonial and neoliberal ‘new middle class’ aspirations.³⁷ Via further ethnographic examples from Adriana and Joseph, I unravelled how a colonial discourse of ‘benign colonialism’ and ‘absence of racism’ as well as the creation of a post-colonial Portuguese identity affected positionalities and reflects Portugal’s precarious hold on modernity. I suggested that these divisions underpinned Adriana and Joseph’s imaginations of the future and their strategic

³⁷ One of my supervisors argued that my decision to reveal Adriana and Joseph’s racial identity late in the ethnographic text is a thought provoking ethnographic device. It stops the reader from hierarchising race over class, as is often the case in many Anglo-Saxon contexts. In Portugal racial complexity is interweaved with class in complex and inseparable ways.

practices towards enabling 'a good life'. These practices were centred around choice, movement and a discourse of equal opportunities according to their level of education. As individuals and as a family they were aware of and challenged marginalisation on gender and racial fronts. When considering additional marginalisation on class/ education/ social mobility on the other hand, their moral systems became more complex.

I explored this at the end of the chapter via a consideration of 'deservedness', arguing that affective responses to material challenges to global middle class aspiration were situated within moral positioning regarding 'living well'. I asked to what extent global middle class habitus, as a moral distinction reflecting neoliberal constructions of an ideal citizenship based on 'personal responsibility', overrode other categories of difference such as race, gender and socioeconomic status. Whilst my research participants cited certain individuals amongst those they knew personally to be 'deserving' of statutory assistance, they rejected the 'right' to access these same benefits of those faceless individuals whose access effected their own possibilities of achieving a good life. Whilst categories of difference such as race and gender are extremely relevant for establishing solidarity between oppressed peoples and allowing individuals to articulate their oppression, I suggest that a shared global middle class habitus, i.e. shared economic and symbolic capital and a shared perception of what makes a good life, is more significant when it comes to overriding other categories of difference when there aren't enough resources to go around. This highlights the precarity of middle classness, whether 'new' or 'traditional', revealing the awareness held by both groups that mid-status practices are underpinned by precarity and the constant possibility of falling down into a lower status group according to the fluctuations of global conditions. This awareness of material precarity increases the need for distinction, whether through an emphasis on certain educational achievements being 'worth' more than others or more 'deserving' of wider cultural accommodations to ensure a family life that allows the counter-hegemonic possibility of both resisting and enjoying the fruits of 'the system'.

5.1 Introduction

Pedro seemed glum about his ongoing attempts to get work. Sucking furiously on his Marlboro as we strode through the streets of East London he didn't appear to feel the cold, despite his thin frame. He reiterated what a problem his lack of experience was when it came to finding a full-time teaching job. Mouth downturned and brow crinkled, his air was one of general despondency.

Entering the same café we'd gone into the first time I'd met him in Shadwell, around the corner from the flat he shared with an ever-changing array of European migrants like himself, I offered to get him a drink. He held up a nearly empty bottle of Coke and said not to worry before flopping into a chair and sighing.

'Yes, it's been hard I haven't worked for three weeks, and well, you should know I've had some romantic problems back in Portugal. We weren't treating each other well and it all went to shit. Power. All women want is power and they leave if there is a lack of power. Take me, I meet them, I'm charismatic, a lot of women like me but then we spend time together and I am criticised for having no job, no money, no home. Then they go on the attack or just disappear. So all this, I've been in a depressive situation, finding it hard to get the motivation to get up and go looking for jobs. You know how it is'.

I clucked sympathetically. 'How are Ali³⁸ and the baby anyway?' he asked and I told him they were fine, and passed on Ali's invitation for him to come over sometime for dinner. He swigged from his bottle distractedly. 'Sure, Lisa, but all in good time,' then started telling me about an upcoming interview with a tutoring agency I'd recommended to him a few weeks earlier. It was supposed to be that coming Friday, but another agency had just called him with three days of cover work starting the next day. What did I think he should do? Definitely take the work, I suggested, the interviews for the agency I had recommended were in groups and he could go to them on any day. 'They won't think I'm flaky though? For cancelling?' I told him as long as he was honest they should understand but he seemed unconvinced. He repeated his complaints about not having

³⁸ Pedro was a former colleague of my partner's, who had told me that Pedro's chaotic, disorganised teaching style and struggles to discipline a class were also a factor in his inability to find a permanent teaching position. Pedro had eventually been sacked from the South London secondary school they both worked at.

enough experience to be considered for the teaching roles he wanted and seemed to be getting dejected again. He was often morose when I saw him, having once told me

‘I came here because I wanted to travel and I’d really like to be able to go to all the different places every weekend like I see others do, fly away, discover Europe. But it’s been a money thing and, also, well I want to do it with someone, I’m not the kind of person who wants to do things alone. I just need a permanent job then I can be more stable, move to the suburbs, get a house, actually have a life!’

I’d asked him at that point if he had ever considered giving up and doing something else or going back to Portugal.

‘No! Although, that is actually a great question, did I think about giving up. I think not, because, what else would I do? I could go back to Portugal and work in a bar but, pff, why did I stay at university all those years to do that. I prefer to be here, trying, pushing than sitting at home in my town doing nothing.’

He’d gone out for a cigarette at this point and I watched him through the window, glaring into space and inhaling furiously. Coming back inside, he’d continued where he’d left off.

‘Life here is hard you know, it’s not for the faint-hearted. It’s easier for those who have good careers, good jobs. Like all my friends who are engineers for example. It took them a while to get set up but now they have their houses and it’s ideal, they can go back to Portugal whenever they want and still work in their area, doing what they enjoy! You have flexibility, you can have your car, your house, travel. Have it all! But me, middle class, lower middle class, it’s harder to get established. But like I said, certain areas, you have no choice really. Nurses, teachers...there isn’t the work back there. If I could get a teaching job in Portugal...that would be the dream, you have it for life then!’

Suddenly he sat up straighter, shaking his shoulders and smiled. ‘Anyway, you want to know about my life, right?’ and in an abrupt change of tone, started animatedly talking about his early years in a village near Torres Novas, in Central Portugal. He was often able to do this, switch suddenly from the depths of despair to a jollier demeanour. Unlike most of my research participants, he always spoke in Portuguese— a habit which seemed to bring about a more spontaneously articulated train of thought. From anecdotes on a past which had occurred before he was even born, to ruminations on the state of the world and the challenges of his life in London, he never seemed to let himself get down for long. This was one of his more endearing

qualities, perhaps the source of the ‘charisma’ he referred to when citing his attractiveness to women.

Pedro’s main stories were about his grandparents, about whom he seemed to know a huge amount, even their family trees and anecdotes about their uncles and aunts. I expressed surprise at how much information he had at his fingertips and he expansively opened his arms

‘there was no *infantario*³⁹ in my village, so I went to my grandmother, I spent my childhood surrounded by her stories.’

Pedro was three years old when his mother was sent to Braga, a city in Northern Portugal over 150 miles away, to do her *estágio*⁴⁰. After that she managed to secure employment closer to home but had continued to leave him with her own mother during the day. Smiling widely, he leaned forward and in a confessional tone said

‘I was a bastard! Very excitable and energetic. So, they decided I had better go to school to get me out of the way’.

This energy had not appeared to have left him in the 35 years since. In between updating me on his job quest, answering his constantly ringing phone (‘Agencies. I have to keep negotiating you know’) and asking for help with application forms, Pedro would speckle our discussions with technologically augmented references to his family history, especially his maternal grandfather’s connection with Rafael Duque, the dictator Salazar’s right-hand man, who had grown up in his village. This grandfather had been a local landowner,

‘he only finished fourth grade, as everyone did back then, but was a great businessman, lots of lands, businesses’.

Showing me photos of some *cavalos lusitanos*⁴¹ in a field on his phone, he told me they belonged to the nephew of Rafael Duque, who kept the horses on ‘*minhas quintas*’,⁴² which he quickly corrected ‘or my family’s anyway’.⁴³ The family’s status had been such that Pedro’s mother had been one of the relatively few women in Portugal who was sent to university in Lisbon in the

³⁹ nursery

⁴⁰ A compulsory training placement for newly qualified teachers

⁴¹ A Portuguese breed of horse

⁴² My ‘quintas’. Quinta roughly translates as ‘farm’ but also has deeper connotations related to status groups, (Pina Cabral 2003, Sobral 2000)

⁴³ He mentioned Duque a lot and reminded me a few times about the high standing of the University of Coimbra, his alma mater, which had also been that of Salazar and Duque.

1960s, further emphasising their connection with the *proprietario* class, Portugal's rural landowners who were locally powerful (Cutileiro 1971; Pina Cabral 2003).

Rubbing his fingers together and wagging his eyebrows enthusiastically, Pedro continued talking about his family.

'My grandfather, he was good with money. He was very intelligent. Noble, you know. My mother was the same, living in Lisbon, she saved her bus fares by walking everywhere so she could go to cinema. She lived with cousins near the university. Well, my grandfather's cousins. Four women, Single.'

His paternal grandfather was a taxi driver in same village,

'not as high up socially but very intelligent to in terms of working with hands'.

Pedro smiled as he told me that the taxi driver grandfather used to do a lot of work for free, and when he died that hundreds of people had attended the funeral.

'You see, not as high class as the other grandfather, but people respected him, he was someone to be reckoned with!'

Despite his father's 'lower class' background compared to his mother

'she fell for him as he was handsome and a sportsman...he used to be a professional footballer! That was very important in Salazar's time. Football, Fatima y Fado.⁴⁴ Then later on he made something of himself, he became an automotive engineer, won prizes you know.'

He pulled out his phone again and started googling various automotive parts that he excitedly told me had been inspired by his father's work. My head was spinning from the high-energy jumping from topic to topic but the downcast mood of a couple of hours earlier had left him so I left him to it, glad the despondency had passed.

⁴⁴ A commonly expressed notion which suggests that Salazar's fascist dictatorship was propped up by the three Fs— Football (especially Salazar's favourite team of Benfica), Fatima (the name of the town where three teenagers were believed to have seen an apparition of the Virgin Mary in 1917 and which is now a place of pilgrimage) and Fado (a musical form whose most famous star, Amália Rodrigues, was associated with Salazar and the regime).

5.2 Four children of the Beira from a multi-scalar perspective

In this chapter I expand upon the previous chapter's focus on a 'global middle class' habitus as an affectively experienced, historically specific body of practices and expectations which are embedded in specific 'categories of difference'. This expansion is via a consideration of how notions of status at the level of the household are temporally wielded. To do this, I employ an analytical framework of three inter-linked concepts— historicity, multi-scalar ethnography and a comparative analysis of the Portuguese post-colonial experience.

The first concept, introduced just now via Pedro, is the role of historicity and household memory within the creation of personhood during times of precarity and crisis. Exploring how my research participants made sense of the challenges they faced in London by drawing inspiration from symbolic figures within their own household ancestry, I particularly turn to Goddard (1996), who stresses that it is genealogical knowledge that fixes the individual in time and space, the retelling of family histories representing social continuity by providing 'the principal channels through which social identity is constructed' (1996: 217). I also refer to Pina-Cabral (2003), who centralises the role of family legends in the creation of personhood, and Bestard-Camps' (1986) notion of kinship being represented via lists of names in genealogies, reminiscences and discourses about family. These, he posits, are 'symbols that give meaning to relations between people...(delimiting)... several sorts of social experience' (Bestard-Camps 1986: 4).

Throughout the chapter I fuse the notion of personhood as this is emerging via household-based social memory with the idea of historicity in the context of fiscal crisis and the ongoing effects of austerity (Knight and Stewart 2016; Bryant 2016; Knight 2015, 2012). As a conceptual framework, historicity is defined by Hirsch and Stewart (2005) as the ways in which people experience social and historical time in lived experience, the 'ongoing social production of accounts of pasts and futures (which) assume present form in relation to events, political needs, available cultural forms and emotional needs' (Hirsch and Stewart 2005: 262). Departing from the notion that 'austerity throws the issue of human dignity into high relief as people set about deciding on the new minimum requirements for an acceptable life' (Knight and Stewart 2016: 2), I explore how the past informs the present via my interlocutors' discourses on ancestors whose actions provide their descendants with a source of pride as well as inspiration for their own futures during times of personal precarity.

As the chapter progresses I bring in three further characters, Joaquim, Nuno and Patrícia. They are linked to Paolo by locality, having grown up in the same region of Portugal, hence the chapter title 'Four Children of the Beira', which links into my second conceptual framework, that of multi-scalarism (Scheibelhofer 2018; Glick-Schiller 2015; Glick Schiller, N. and Çağlar, A. 2016). Biao Xiang describes multi-scalar ethnography as delineating 'how movements are constituted at different scales (smooth flows at one level can be disruptions or encapsulations at another), how migrants' scale-making projects intersect with states' scale management, and how we can locate multiple sites analytically' (2013:282). By recognising and highlighting the different scales (or levels) of analysis (local, regional, national, pan-regional and global), I can therefore shed light on how these scales intersect and transform each other as 'part of mutually constituting institutional and personal networks of unequal power within which people both with and without migrant histories live their lives' (Glick-Schiller 2015: 2276). Multi-scalarism is also conceptually related to the notion of global historical conjunctures, which Pina Cabral (2018a) describes as constitutive time/space continuums which both create and are created by individuals and groups of persons according to the conditions of history, as already discussed in previous chapters. For the purposes of this thesis, it means I can link considerations of relationships between people, things and ideas from the individual to the regional and global level across space and time.

By interweaving these ideas into this particular chapter, I explore not only 'structures of feeling' about migration emerging from the narratives of four individuals with different status backgrounds from the same region of Portugal, but also the implications of distinct migratory habitus and involvement in Portugal's colonial history. I locate this multi-scalar exploration of emerging notions of status and materiality within a geographically bound space within London wherein 'Portugueseness' is recreated, the area of Stockwell, which is known locally as Little Portugal. I suggest that within this spatial context, the four case studies I present here encapsulate the fundamental dilemma inherent in cosmopolitanism (Beck 2001; Theodossopoulos 2009); that is, contradictions that reinforce the overly simplistic binaries of 'new' versus 'traditional' middle class, 'old' versus 'new' type of migration, and 'educated' versus 'uneducated' as introduced in previous chapters.

Finally, I position a multi-scalar approach to historicity/ household memory within a comparative analysis of the Portuguese post-colonial experience. I do this by an ethnographic consideration of the white descendants of a historically specific group known as *retornados* (Corkill and Eaton 1998), those colonial settlers who were forced to return to Portugal following the fall of Portugal's African empire. This complements and contrasts my reflection of black Portuguese experiences in

the previous chapter. I take into account the role of migratory habitus (even though *retornados* would not consider themselves as being like migrants) and what this means in terms of class expectations. As a tri-faceted analytical framework therefore, I expand on the previous chapter's discussion of categories of difference (i.e., race, gender, migratory habitus) towards a wider consideration of the ongoing presence of family legends and what effect they might wield in terms of ongoing practices, reactions to the present and continuing processes of personal constitution within the pursuit of a good life.

5.3 Pedro and Joaquim—Embedded in the land: family, memory and status

Pedro's presentation of his past, which was laden with historically informed reflections on status and family going back decades, was very different to my conversations with Adriana and Joseph. As discussed in the previous chapter, the latter's references to the deeds of illustrious ancestors were noticeably absent in favour of reflections on their own achievements and challenges in the present and recent past. In the previous chapter I proposed that Adriana and Joseph, by dint of their migratory habitus and narratives of social mobility, can be considered as part of the 'new' middle classes that arose out of economic liberalisation and postcolonial cosmopolitanism in Portugal in the 90s. In contrast, Pedro's family were of a much more traditionally dominant status group, the landowning class of the Portuguese countryside (Sobral 2000; Cutileiro 1971; Pina Cabral 2003). Despite referring to himself as 'lower middle class' when it came to not having yet established himself in a career, Pedro was quick to emphasise his maternal grandfather's status as 'high class' through his position as a landowner (Sobral 2000) and connections to the Portuguese political elite of the day. This contrasted to the social and material conditions of Pedro's life in London which were significantly more precarious than those of Adriana and Joseph in terms of living the good life they all aspired to. Whilst particular historical conditions made the latter two of a lower status in Portugal than Pedro, their higher educational capital meant they were able to attain an upwards social mobility in London as part of a wider cosmopolitan 'global middle-class'. Pedro on the other hand had less educational and professional resources to draw on in the migratory context, causing precarity and despondency which he counterbalanced with historically situated narratives of ancestral status capital.

Let us now bring in a second 'child of the Beira'. Joaquim, who at 43 was six years older than Pedro, had grown up in the town of Tomar, just 13 miles away from Pedro's hometown of Torres

Novas. This was an area still referred to by many older people as the 'Beira Baixa'⁴⁵, in central Portugal. Both came from families of teachers and both had fathers who had been in Angola during colonial times, albeit in different contexts. Both had an easy, amiable way of talking to me, confident, fluent and with a tendency to go off on tangents regarding their families, Portugal and their opinions on London and the wider world in general. In contrast to Pedro, however, Joaquim was in a much more materially secure position in London. Despite declaring his love of the teaching profession and emphasising his family background in education over several generations, Joaquim had trained as a banker, a 'luxury crook' as he put it. He had worked for a Portuguese offshore bank in London's financial district for some years before deciding to run for local political office. When I met him he was living with his partner and worked as a councillor in the south London borough of Lambeth, where the majority of London's Portuguese community lived. Despite his claim at our first meeting that the political discord was becoming too much for him, every time we met up Joaquim's career was going from strength to strength and by the end of my fieldwork he had been promoted to deputy mayor of Lambeth.

Nevertheless, despite the differences in their life course positioning, both Joaquim and Pedro expressed a similar awareness of their ancestors, who they presented as important figures in the lives of their communities and in their own narratives of their families, what Knight (2015) calls 'historically situated status'. In the case of Joaquim, this is seen through his frequent references to a grandfather who he referred to as a 'big man' in the local town.

'He actually set up his own school! It was for boys who had been excluded from other schools, it was the only one of its kind, it was famous around the Iberian Peninsula! Look,'

and he got his iPad out and typed *Colegio Nuno Alvares* into Facebook. I asked if it was still open.

'No, it closed, after the fall of Salazar. Modern times. But back then, it was very well known! It was against the establishment, against the regime. My grandfather said, this regime? I will go my own way! They had a very French style of education. Discipline. To make strong boys. Salgueiro Maia, who led the Carnation Revolution, he went there. That's the sort of boys my grandfather inspired.'

He then started telling me a story about how his grandfather had challenged Salazar's education minister to a duel for sending spies to his school. Roaring with laughter, he put his hand over his heart, declaring 'I love my grandfather, what an amazing man!' I was surprised to be subsequently

⁴⁵ The 'lower Beira', a province of Portugal which was abolished in 1976. It lies below the 'Beira Alta', or 'upper Beira' and is still referred to as such by older people I met during my fieldwork.

informed that they had never actually met, the grandfather having died three years before Joaquim was born. 'But I know all about him though,' he said proudly, 'he was such a great man!' This was only one example of how, both during our conversations and on his social media page, Joaquim would interweave stories of his grandfather's social standing and legacy with reflections on his own successes and challenges as a politician and community figurehead, drawing an unsaid parallel between the two. This direct link between his family's past and his own construction of self is what Marcus (2000) calls the 'dynastic uncanny', the intergenerational legacy of personhood wherein the individual lives within the enclosure of their own family past.

Pedro's reminiscences of his grandfather, however, were somewhat distinct from those of Joaquim when we consider what the former perceived as a diminishing social status. We have already seen this via his reflection that 'all women want is power', which he then went on to state he was unable to access because of his lack of social and material capital. This loss is an effect of conjunctural circumstances on the former Portuguese rural elite, who Jorge Manuel Sobral described as having lost 'their gamble with history...they made some bad choices in the conversion process, although a few seem to have done reasonably well. They acquired university degrees and professional identities in a society where such things attract admiration (but also, therefore, envy); but in the process they moved away from the rural base that constituted quite literally the grounds of their authority' (Herzfeld 2000: 231). For Pedro, his awareness of his diminishing social status and personal crisis (as a result of wider austerity crisis) is somewhat alleviated by looking back into the past. By focusing on figures within the family who were of higher status (in the case of the first grandfather) or who surpassed social difficulties (in the case of the second) he was able to relate to his own historical position in world. Bestard-Camps refers to this use of genealogies as 'symbols that give meaning to relations between people' (Bestard-Camps 1986: 4) through the delimiting of a specific social experience. In this case the specific social experience is that of migration and finding oneself in a situation of precarity where life is on hold. Drawing on tales of ancestors anchors the person to a narrative of an enduring noble past which can provide respite from the despondency of ongoing struggles to achieve a good life in an uncertain future. Whilst this notion evokes Hodges's (2010) suggestion of epochal thinking serving as a 'resource, moral and temporal' (Hodges 2010: 116) by which his interlocutors 'could interpret the vagaries of daily existence and invoke their collectivity' (ibid), in this case it is achieved not via the conceptualisation of history into historical epochs but rather the individual invoking of household familial legends. Nonetheless, it is the temporal aspect of both epochal thinking and genealogical thinking in this context which serves to establish 'an existential provision for inhabiting the uncertain, globalised, ultimately processual timescapes of

contemporary...modernity' (Hodges 2010: 126). Past actions and future hope are thus linked together as examples of the enduring through the production of genealogical discourse which has an embodied effect, what Pina Cabral (2003) refers to as a 'complex chemical reaction which is updated in every one of us' (2003: 167) every time family legends are discursively produced. In this way, historical materialities and status echo into the present and engage with future-oriented structures of feeling, allowing individuals to deal with changing structural elements which allow lower status groups to become materially and socially mobile by means of capital obtained through institutional changes such as changing access to higher education.

In the next section I examine the relationship between this loss of authority of historically specific status groups in a particular socio-geographical historical space and the construction of difference between Portuguese status groups in an area of London where 'Portugueseness' is recreated transnationally.

5.4 Stockwell: Us and Them: Two communities, one city and everyone in between....

At the time of writing the Portuguese diaspora in Stockwell consisted of around 20,000 people, having been a destination for Portuguese migrants since the 1960s (see Chapter One). Most of these were what my university-educated research participants of all backgrounds referred to as 'old style' Portuguese migrants, i.e. uneducated and rural. Attitudes to Stockwell fluctuated between somewhat negative discourses on its population, which was often referred to as 'very different', 'closed' or 'weird'- to more positive tales of experiences involving its location as somewhere to celebrate 'Portugueseness' with friends during important football matches, to buy specialist products such as *bacalhau* (salted cod imported from Portugal) or to bring non-Portuguese friends to try 'typical' food before returning to their 'normal' lives. Pedro, for example, described Stockwell to me as a 'weird place' which he hadn't known about before arriving in London, although over the months I knew him he started to go more often to meet up with a friend who was a manager in one of the restaurants there. Marisa too had never heard of Stockwell before arriving in London, and although she went to visit one day out of curiosity, reported back that 'it was kind of like a Portuguese Disneyland' but that it had been nice to buy some *bacalhau* as the suitcase-full her mother had sent her home with had run out.

Joaquim, on the other hand, was an important figure in Stockwell and provided a unique insight into the place, both as a community leader and as a historically high status individual. When

referring to the Lusophone communities he encountered through his political work in South London, he blended the occasional reference to class terms with a more frequent description of 'deprived' and 'elites', confirming the idea that class references in Portugal are self-conscious and more often referred to in terms of 'elites' by Portuguese themselves (Pedroso de Lima 2000; Pina Cabral 2000)⁴⁶. With this in mind, I asked him about what many research participants had commented on in their summaries of historical changes in Portugal, specifically, that the post-revolution cohort of parents had been pitching their children away from agriculture and towards the universities with the aim that they had an easier life in an office and not out in the field.

'Yes, well there is that *classe media-baixa*⁴⁷, what is really working class over here but over there is *media-baixa*, and they push kids, you know, they are really willing to invest in their education, in getting ahead. They are aspirational, they want their kids to have more than them. Let me tell you one example, these girls that came to see me in London, Portuguese but of African descendancy, they had so many aspirations and I helped them, with internships at the council, jobs. This is such a contrast to the white people complex that you find here in London. They grew up in a multicultural city in the 80s and 90s, their attitude is can do, but these white kids, their parents own the café and they are lazy. Whereas Portuguese society expects Africans to follow parents in cleaning, whatever, but themselves, they have plans, they want to do things and I hold these people up as examples to the others who are lazy! The white middle class, I'm not saying some aren't aspirational and they go for jobs like doctors, lawyers etc., but many of them are lazy and just spent their time out in Cascais⁴⁸ and go to parties, pose in the latest clothes.'

Here, Joaquim referred to an aspirational lower-middle class (what I refer to throughout this thesis as new middle class) within which he subsumed traditional/ old-style Portuguese migrants (or the 'deprived' group) — a newly urbanised group of peasant or working class origin but aspirational for their children to have more than them (which I discuss in the next section) — as well as a cosmopolitan new middle class of postcolonial Portugal which included Afro-descendants such as Adriana and Joseph. These various elements to the lower-middle-class sat in contrast to what he called the 'white middle class', the elites with their comfortable material backgrounds. As I discussed in the previous chapter, these categories were complicated and overlapping (as can be seen in Pedro's self-identification as lower middle class despite what I have suggested is a traditional middle class family background) and within the context of Joaquim's

⁴⁶ Within this thesis I have referred to them as 'traditional middle classes' for reasons discussed in Chapter Five.

⁴⁷ lower-middle class

⁴⁸ A beach town on the coast near Lisbon which is a popular destination for the rich and beautiful

discourse, didn't always mesh with his parallel narratives regarding two Portuguese communities in London. This narrative was one that echoed what many of my interlocutors had told me and which Joaquim described as follows:

'The elites, they live all over London. Mostly, these elites with their education and jobs, they only come here [to Lambeth] to show off the national food to their friends⁴⁹ and leave again, they don't engage with their own people. A global middle class. The Portuguese people, they are like a great body but no head, no-one to lead, no unity.'

He named some of our mutual acquaintances, educated Portuguese who could 'lead' the community.

'I'm trying to push the elitists into embracing the city. They only socialise with their friends, other elites who work in the city and in good jobs around London. I try to encourage the embassy to invite popular leaders. It's a global educated elite, all the same family names, foreign influence. Of course, I am in that elitist circle myself, my family is very established, like my grandfather had the school, my full name is Joaquim Rosa Lopes. And Paula⁵⁰, she is Paula Sacadura Cabral, one of Portugal's big families, that PP leader, he is her relative.'

He cleared his throat and continued.

'Then there is the deprived group. Lambeth was always where the country, rural people came, those from Madeira and the different islands. They were mostly on benefits and need social assistance, they don't work or declare the work they do. They need a lot of social support. That sort of thing, I have to be against it officially because I work for the council I can't officially approve, but they do what they have to do, claiming benefits you know, I prefer to not encourage it, suggest other options to break out of that circle of deprivation, as I call it. Integrate, engage, volunteer, learn English, talk to their neighbours. So many of them never break out of that Portuguese circle. They've created a Portugal within this city but one that reproduces the same inequalities as back home. It's a reflection of Portugal, a stratified society ruled by the cities and the popular, rural are forgotten, there is a huge difference. They transplant whole communities here. Take Mangualde,3000 Mangualdes live in Stockwell!'

⁴⁹ Many research participants backed this up by telling me they only went to Stockwell on special occasions to go to the Portuguese restaurants there or watch big football matches in the Portuguese cafes and bars

⁵⁰ His girlfriend, who he met through his political work in the Portuguese community

Joaquim's use of deprived-elite/ rural-urban binaries had already caught my attention but it was his citing of Mangualde, a small city in the 'upper Beira' about 90 miles from his hometown in the Lower Beira', as an originatory location of the population who inhabited his Stockwell 'circle of deprivation' that immediately made my ears prick up. Just a few weeks before I had met a Stockwell *Mangualdense* who both contradicted and emphasised what Joaquim said in dramatic ways. Our third 'Child of the Beira', Nuno was 34 and had just arrived from Lisbon to start a new life in London. Not, he stressed, because he 'had to', the common refrain of the university-educated 'new-style' Portuguese migrant, for he had a prestigious job in Lisbon. He was here through 'choice', as a 'break', to first and foremost reconnect with his mother and younger brother who had been in London for four years already. They had moved there after his mother lost her job as an administrator in Mangualde at the height of public sector cuts during the initial years of austerity. However, I soon learned that Nuno's family had been migrating to and from the UK for at least two generations and he now had more relatives in Stockwell than in Mangualde, including his mother, brother, various cousins, aunts and uncles. The Beira in general, he informed me, was 'Portugal's migration heartlands' and, he added, extremely undeveloped in terms of opportunities and infrastructure. He had already left once, to go to Lisbon to university, where he laughingly said he had 'felt like a peasant'. He'd taken up a job in Lisbon after graduating, working on civil engineering projects at what he always emphasised was one of the most prestigious universities in Portugal, where he rubbed shoulders with illustrious members of the Portuguese building industry and government representatives. However, by the end he'd described it as

'a nightmare in the end, no quality of life, I was getting home at two in the morning sometimes then knowing I would have to be back there for nine the next day. That wasn't a good life for me.'

Like many of my research participants his age, as we saw in the last chapter, Nuno talked often about a 'good life' and what it meant to him. Although educational prestige was important to him— he'd had the

'chance to do a PhD but it wasn't for me. The salary wasn't enough for a good life',

— further probing revealed that what he perceived a good life to be wasn't so much based on money but what it translated to in terms of future options. Echoing what Pedro had told me at the beginning of this chapter, and Adriana and Joseph in the last one, this was principally a house and a family and a chance to practice the profession he had been trained in but on his terms, without being a slave to 'the system'.

‘My pay was OK, I brought home about 1300 euros after tax. My housemate, she worked as a market analyst, it was 800 euros a month but then it was plus commission. That’s a middle-class salary, although that was considered good only as starting salary. It’s good if you don’t have children. It’s hard to live in Lisbon on that with children. Lots of people I know are moving to the outskirts in order to afford a house.’

He’d shrugged and smiled brightly. ‘Anyway, there’s no rush. I’m here now, with my family.’ He seemed very relaxed and content when talking about the family element.

‘In Lisbon I had lots of external things. Money, career etc. But the most basic and essential was missing. Family are the bottom of the pyramid. Now I am here, yes, I am starting over but with the secure base. It’s different but it feels right.’

Like so many others who could be considered ‘new middle class’, Nuno’s capacity to aspire towards a ‘good life’ as a future-oriented field of hope wherein he might access what I referred to in the last chapter as a global middle class habitus was based on his high educational qualifications. With these, he hoped to subsume the structural constraints of his position in history. There was a strong temporal aspect to this conceptualisation of good life, which appeared in all of my interlocutors’ descriptions of life in Portugal versus what they saw as the opportunities of London. Life in Portugal was emphasised as precarious, a liminal space where the ability to look towards the future was constrained by circumstances. Knight (2016: 33) refers to this liminality as ‘temporal vertigo’, a time of uncertainty where previous expectations of the future have been undermined and new ones are yet to be constructed. In a similar vein, Veena Das (1997, 2006) refers to crisis as an annihilation and recreation of worlds. Within these responses to crisis, the use of symbols and stories of the past are significant in the way they provide an orientation towards modes of action. For many with a tertiary level of education in Portugal, these actions consisted of migrating. For Pedro, for example, the liminal nature of his life in London, i.e. one where had not yet achieved a good life, was counterbalanced by his perception that it was still possible to move towards one, as opposed to life in Portugal, which he described as ‘sitting at home doing nothing’, i.e., being stuck. This returns us once again to a concept of hope as already discussed, which is based on momentum as opposed to being stuck. London was portrayed as somewhere where the establishment of a permanence was possible, in contrast to the liminality of post-crisis Portugal. This idea of permanence was very different from being stuck, as the latter was seen as restrictive whilst the former was flexible, what Nuno referred to as the ‘base of the pyramid’ from which to pull the future forward and activate hope. In the previous chapter I drew on Arendt’s (1958) notion of natality in referring to this as a sense of the enduring, an existential

safe harbour of temporally nuanced enduring time which ‘is not in constant movement, but whose durability and relative permanence makes appearance and disappearance possible, which existed before any one individual appeared into it and will survive his eventual departure’ (Arendt 1958:97). This ontological position allows the precarious elements of modern living to be reconceptualised as ‘adventure’, an individual capacity for positive action— as long as the warmth of the hearth remained as a possible refuge. In other words, a permanent job (which equalled stability), a permanent house (from which to create a home) and a permanent companion, all of which would allow the flexibility to attain the practices of a good life— travel and European-wide transnational activities. Such goals were the basis of new anticipations acted out through practice bubbles or ‘teleoaffects’ (Bryant and Knight 2019: 133) which would directly lead to their achievement.

These conceptualisations of a good life were echoed amongst all my respondents, for whom a university education and their presence in London represented a door through which they could yet obtain a future that was not marked by unemployment, career restrictions and being stuck. As already discussed in previous chapters, educational capital could on an initial level be therefore posited as a meritocratic force, transcending distinct status backgrounds such as those which separated Nuno and Pedro, in order to enable access to the benefits of what fellow *Beirense* Joaquim referred to as a ‘global middle class’, a materially prosperous form of living which came with significant leisure time formerly only accessible to by ‘the elite’. Nevertheless, this access was understood within continuing practices of distinction. Whilst acknowledging the high value of his Stockwell family in his attempts to achieve the good life that had eluded him in Portugal, Nuno also constantly engaged in Bourdieuan practices of distinction by presenting himself as ‘different’ from them, and definitely not part of the ‘community’ in which they were so embedded. Here the categories of ‘class’ and ‘migrant’ once again become intermingled. Nuno’s family had been part of the great rural-urban exodus of the 1960s and 70s which had created what Joaquim referred to as the *classe media-baixa* (lower middle class) or Estanque as the ‘new middle class’ (Estanque 2016, 2017). However, those amongst my research participants who fit this definition (such as Nuno) described themselves not as ‘new middle class’ but as a ‘new’ migrant, a discursive category which was shared by those Portuguese migrants of ‘traditional’ bourgeois backgrounds who were the first in their families to migrate. Nuno himself expressed this the first time we met when he echoed Joaquim in his reference to

‘two types of 21st century migrant, those with education who come and spread around London and those with less education, tried to make life in Portugal first but failed so came

he had put it down to the expansion of 'inferior' universities that offered 'useless' degrees, which, in turn, saturated the Portuguese job market. It seemed that when it fit his narrative, i.e. university education as part of a historical sense of success against the odds at the household level, education was presented as status capital. Whereas when over-education as contributing to a saturated job market which had led to Portugal's current problems was more fitting, Nuno's own prestigious educational background was what was emphasised and used as a force of distinction. This links to my argument in the last chapter regarding educational status within the 'new middle class' being made dynamic by temporal forces which lend them retrospective worth, as proved by material markers such as salary increases or status recognition. In this and many other ways Nuno shared many background similarities to Adriana as members of the 'new middle class', most specifically, migratory habitus. Those who had historically 'migrated', such as Nuno's and Adriana's families, were always described by those 'who didn't need to', like Joaquim and Pedro's families, as lower status, uneducated and lacking in 'choice'. However, it is important to note that Adriana's ethnicity formed a more visible link to Portuguese post colonialism which immediately distinguished her from 'White African' Portuguese like Nuno and Joaquim and impacted on her experiences in Portugal, as discussed in Chapter Six. At the same time, despite Nuno's and Joaquim's families sharing a status of being White Portuguese settlers in Angola (which I discuss further below), it was only Nuno who in the Portuguese worldview would be considered as coming from a family of 'migrants'. This consideration was based not on the specific low-status background to his family's colonial experiences, but on the impact of that low-status background some years later, i.e., the ensuing migratory habitus of years of coming back and forth from England and France,

We can see here several overlapping binary discourses, that of educated/ uneducated migrants, rural/ elite, 'black' and 'white' Portuguese Africans and in/ out of the Portuguese community of Stockwell. Through taking a multi-scalar approach to cosmopolitanism via an examination of the first three of the 'Children of the Beira' as detailed thus far, we can begin to unpack this binary in a new way. In the case of Nuno, although daily household, kinship and leisure practices positioned him within 'the community', his own educational capital and self-perception as an educated elite created an effect of inhabiting both spaces. This draws on a key aspect of cosmopolitan theory according to Hannerz's (1992) definition, that of the true cosmopolitan being distinct from merely globally mobile people through a culturally open disposition and interest in a continuous engagement with a cosmopolitan project of global governance, a sense of globality which is integrated into everyday life practices (Tomlinson 1999). The global labour market of the London civil engineering sector to which Nuno aspired to join is an example of a cosmopolitan project of

global governance within which he could engage in a sense of globality and distinguish his practices and aspirations from those of 'the community'.

However, Nuno's case also undermines Hannerz's (1992) suggestion of 'working class' transnationals not being 'true cosmopolitans'. Indeed, through his engagement with a cosmopolitan worldview, Nuno can be argued to be an example of what Werbner (1999) describes as a non-elite transnational who is developing new cosmopolitan subjectivities and identities. The overlapping of his practices and educational capital with Paolo however, shows just how complex these new subjectivities can be, especially when considered alongside the impact of status and material historicities in the present. For example, Nuno had many practices, experiences and sources of capital in common with Pedro, indeed, more than Pedro did with Joaquim, despite the latter two's shared status background. Nuno and Pedro both graduated from university in the years following austerity measures and the collapse of the job market, whereas Joaquim had already established himself in a career before the crisis hit. Both Nuno and Pedro had recently arrived in London and felt stuck in a liminal position whilst looking for a permanent, secure job and awaiting the start of a good life. Both men described a good life as consisting of a permanent home, family and opportunities for leisure. Whilst both drew on ancestral narratives of success, however, it is the status contexts behind these reminiscences that their commonalities diverge. The basis of Nuno's capacity to receive the benefits of embodied kinship-based care practices (i.e. living with his mother and brother, what he calls the 'bottom of the pyramid') arose from the longstanding migratory habitus of his family to and from London. Although this habitus made Nuno lower-status than Pedro in the perception of 'old versus new types of migrants', at the same time, Pedro's higher ancestral status also meant he had no long-standing kinship network in London, those of elite backgrounds never having previously 'needed' to migrate. This had a negative affective impact on Pedro's ongoing residential practices as he had to live in an impersonal house-share with a high-turnover of people, further underscoring his insecurity and liminal status and defeating 'hope' as an open-ended momentum towards the future. In contrast, individuals from lower status backgrounds, such as Nuno and Jorge (previous chapter), were able to maintain hope by living amongst local support networks precisely because their lower status as 'old type migrants' translated into a locally embedded migratory habitus. Pedro referred to this insecurity as a 'lack of power', his status-based confidence and tendency to recall his illustrious ancestors undermined by the lack of symbolic capital within his current practices. Pedro's situation highlights the key relationship between knowledge, identity and the constitution of power, which conjunctural factors had construed to make the Portuguese rural bourgeois, families such as Pedro's, lose 'their gamble with history' (Herzfeld 2000), as discussed

above. Nuno, on the other hand, occupied an emerging space wherein the descendants of the former peasants could aspire to access the world of the elite through cosmopolitan projects of global governance.

This emerging space was intrinsically linked to the historical conditions that brought it about, regardless of how it was occasionally portrayed by my research participants. In the next section I will start this discussion with a consideration of contemporary aspirations to the 'global middle class' by 'cosmopolitans' in the context of postcolonial historicity at the household level.

5.5 Illustrious Ancestors, Retornados and Migratory Habitus

The three 'children of the Beira' I have mentioned so far all had a connection with Angola from when it was a Portuguese colony. Pedro's father as a soldier, and Nuno and Joaquim's families as settlers. Pedro cited his father's experience as negative, pointing to his head gravely when telling me about it for the first time and saying

'very messed up, he never liked to talk about it. He was always really jumpy when I was a kid.'

Nuno and Joaquim, on the other hand, portrayed their families' colonial experiences positively, albeit each in a distinct manner to the other. Both Joaquim and Nuno's mother, Lurdes, had been born in Angola. Their parents were white Portuguese settlers, who had moved there to work in the 1950s and 60s, before returning to Portugal in the 1970s as teenagers. Their families were amongst the 900,000 or so *retornados* (Machado 2011; Corkill and Eaton 1998; Pena Pires 1984) who were estimated to arrive back in Portugal between 1974-1976 following the violent revolutions that characterised the fall of the Portuguese empire in Africa. Indeed, as mentioned in Chapter One, around half of the white Portuguese I got to know in London were descendants of *retornados*. This is a factor that, as we shall see in the following section, was not insignificant in their subsequent decision to migrate and in the fact that many of them would also describe themselves as the 'first members' of their families to migrate. As I shall also shortly expand upon, this highlights the role of status and education in the ambiguous position of the *retornados'* later position as 'migrants' in the Portuguese imagination. Nevertheless, my respondents' narratives back up the literature in showing that they arrived in a country that was unprepared for them. Nuno's stories approached this historical challenge through a reflection of triumph in the face of adversity. Describing his family's struggle to adapt to Salazar-influenced Portugal, he said

‘it was so hard for them coming back, going from this big city to a country that seemed third world! They went to the village and the women wore these long skirts, so traditional, and my mum in her short skirt! They were there on holiday and then the revolution happened so they just couldn’t go back. They had to leave everything and start completely again!’

Like Pedro and Joaquim, the ancestral figure towards whom Nuno looked back as an inspiration was his grandfather, who he referred to often, describing him as a ‘big man’ in Mangualde,

‘the only one with car in village, he used to pick everyone up and just take them where they need to go!’

These tales were interwoven with reflections on his mother’s brothers, who he described as lesser men as they had ‘allowed the family [wine] businesses to decline’. Springing to life one day when I mentioned to him what I’d read about *retornados* reinventing Portuguese society despite their disparaging treatment in the beginning, Nuno exclaimed

‘Yes! My grandfather, Antonio, he was a butcher but also did many other things and regenerated the family fortunes after Angola. He built it all up from nothing, he became a designer at the council and had the wine business, he was incredible. He was the youngest of five and back then the youngest didn’t get anything so he went to Luanda all those years ago and built himself up there, then came back to Portugal and did it again.’

This narrative reconstruction of the opportunities that Angola as a colony offered to families such as Nuno’s across space and time offers extra layers of complexity regarding the diminishing status of the rural elite and interweaving of educational capital with the effects of migratory habitus to make a new ‘cosmopolitan middle class’. It also highlights the nuances within the *retornado* experience, which the literature homogenises to some extent. For example, whereas Joaquim’s parents had been assigned to work in Luanda, where Joaquim was born in 1973, he was quick to point out that his parents had not been ‘colonialists’ but teachers. ‘It wasn’t like migrating at all’, he explained, ‘Angola was part of Portugal so it was like going to work in the Algarve for example’. By describing his parents as civil servants rather than ‘colonialists’, Joaquim was denying a migratory habitus and so distinguishing his family from historically lower status families such as Nuno’s, whose own grandparents had chosen to travel to Angola from rural Portugal to settle and make a new life. We can also see the ambiguity between definitions of ‘migrants’ and *retornados* in the context of Portugal’s African experience through briefly returning to Ricardo, the architect who was ‘the first in his family to migrate’, who we first met in Chapter Three. I had asked Ricardo

if his parents, his father a bank manager and his mother a state functionary, had ever lived abroad, to which he had replied

‘No, it’s a new thing. Mine was the first generation to migrate, there were no opportunities for my parents’ generation as the borders were closed during Salazar’s time and the only people who migrated had to flee in middle of night. Anyway, they were lower class, who would be concierges etc.’

‘What about Africa?’ I had said.

‘Oh, well of course, my father fought. In Mozambique. He never talked about it, it’s hard to get through to him. It was all covered up. All the men were like that. A whole generation. Doesn’t believe depression exists, his whole generation, they’re all messed up but they act like everything’s ok. They’re also racist— not because they meant to be but having fought in Africa, told to go and kill the black man, seeing friends killed by Africans. Although, yeah, my grandparents had land in Mozambique. They had to flee when war broke out. Everyone always talked about how they had to leave, ‘these Africans’ took their land. And my father later going back as soldier!’

Having eventually arrived at this revelation, I realised that Ricardo’s self-identification as being ‘the first in his family to migrate’ provided a valuable insight into the ambiguous nature of Portuguese transnational movement over the last 50 years. Like Nuno and Joaquim, Ricardo’s parents and grandparents had all been amongst the thousands of *retornados* who arrived back in Portugal following independence in Africa. However, the subsequent distinctions made by all three men— who in terms of age, were less than ten years apart— on their understandings of their families’ ensuing experiences can be posited as being directly informed by their differing levels of status through time and space, as well as their roles in Portugal’s colonial wars. Joaquim’s and Ricardo’s ancestors were already high status when they went to Africa and remained so afterwards. In Joaquim’s case, this was reflected in his narratives of his ancestors. These focused not on a sense of conquering adversity as *retornados* and more on continuities of status capital transferred ‘within Portugal’, such as through his grandfather’s influence through his school, a frequent topic of conversation for him. For Ricardo, however, his grandparents’ experiences in Mozambique were only mentioned in passing during the many hours I spent talking to him, his main topic of conversation being current affairs, architecture and his relationships with those around him. Nuno, on the other hand, referred to the grandfather who had gone to Angola to ‘build himself up’ on a regular basis, interweaving his anecdotes of his

ancestor's successful 'search for a better life' with his own struggles in finding a foothold in London.

This brings us back to the role of historical status capital in the retrieval of family legends and how they are used in the present as a means of aspiring towards a future that seems challenging.

Despite Nuno's description of the *retornado* view of Portugal as 'third world', it was the *retornados* themselves who were originally branded as 'failures' for their lack of material wealth on their arrival from Africa (Machado 2011; Pena Pires 1984; Lubkemann 2002). During Nuno's frequently thwarted attempts to find a job that he felt reflected his abilities, the narrative of his grandfather 'beating the odds' was ever present. Like Pedro, he would pass through periods of despondency when the plans for the future he was anticipating were thwarted. It was at these times, when the future he had imagined as so close he could almost grab it was ebbing away, that the more distant past became 'thick' through recollections of ancestral glory, such as how his grandfather had undergone a similar setback and subsequently 'regenerated the family fortunes'. Bryant and Knight (2019) suggest that this thickening and thinning of temporal horizons is a response to ongoing ethical problems and practical dilemmas. In the case of Nuno this was observable through the way his temporal horizons specifically ebbed and flowed according to the precarity of the liminal period during which he was attempting to establish himself in London as a recently arrived migrant.

I saw how the thickening and thinning of temporal horizons manifested as legends ebbing through time and space, and their impact on evolving notions of personhood, most strongly whilst having a drink with Nuno in his cousin Ze Pedro's bar in Stockwell one evening. Ze Pedro was about 10 years older than Nuno and had been in London since his construction firm in Portugal went bankrupt after the collapse of the Portuguese building industry following austerity measures. He'd only recently transitioned from the construction to hospitality industry in London, and Nuno had been despairing over his lack of business sense. Ze Pedro had been bringing us drinks and snacks unbidden all night and Nuno had eventually stopped him as he went past and asked how much we owed. There was a lot of head shaking and gesturing, and he touched Nuno's arm. 'We'll talk about it next week' and scuttled away. Nuno shook his head.

'He wouldn't accept money. I don't know what to do, I feel awkward...should I shove it in his hand?'

He sighed.

‘This is why they don’t make much money, the family, they don’t live well, but he does this!’

‘Maybe it’s because you’re family,’ I suggested. He shrugged,

‘well I think we’re not the only ones he does it do. But he really admired my grandfather. His wife’s mother and my grandmother were sisters, and when my grandfather learned he wanted to marry her, he called him up and talked to him seriously, asking him what his plans were.’

He laughed.

‘He was a great man, the family hero, the one who built everything up from nothing when they had to leave Angola. I’ve told you about him before, haven’t I? It was a great family tragedy when he died.’

The narrative of hero/ failure through the example of his grandfather was very strong in Nuno’s everyday relating with his family and their history and, he seemed to be suggesting, was so too for Ze Pedro, the ‘uneducated’ cousin he constantly portrayed himself as so different from. Both men enacted respect for this familial figure in various and overlapping ways, Ze Pedro through insisting that Nuno, as the grandfather’s direct descendant, not pay for anything and Nuno through the frequent references to him. Although he wasn’t a landowner or educator, as Joaquim and Pedro’s higher status grandfathers had been, he was nonetheless a strong symbol that gave meaning to the relationship between Nuno and Ze Pedro and which was enacted through practices such as gifts of beer and *tremoços* and constant reminiscences (Bestard-Camps 1986). As a source of familial pride for his actions in ‘building up’ the family, the presence of Nuno’s grandfather, both as an individual within a specific genealogy and as a member of the *retornado* class, was located within a narrative of triumph against the odds at both Nuno’s individual/ household level and at a wider level of *retornados* as a historically significant group. This pride reverberated as a historical consciousness, a *historicity* (Hirsch and Stewart 2005), which was able to shape constructions of self during times of crisis in the present. This once again links us to the Arendtian notion of the relationship between individual action (as a form of freedom, hope and creative resistance against fate and stuckness) and enduring permanence, the private hiding place where a heroic adventurer can return to for respite (Arendt 1958). The enduring and the heroic as interweaving historical consciousness can be seen in Nuno’s narratives of his grandfather, in practices such as his migratory habitus, i.e. Nuno’s instinct to migrate to ‘better himself’, as well as the everyday relationality between his grandfather’s descendants. Nevertheless, the esteem inspired by the

family hero through space and time also entwined with different and conflicting values. The respect shown to Nuno by Ze Pedro in the bar that night transcended material considerations of needing to watch profit and loss as a priority, much to Nuno's disapproval when he subsequently expressed a value judgement on these actions being the reason the family didn't 'live well'.

This portrayal of his grandfather made status awareness within other parts of Nuno's family even more significant in their absence, such as in the case of his father. Having never talked about him, I wondered if he was dead and hesitantly asked him so. 'No!' he looked appalled, 'he lives in Lisbon!' I said I wasn't sure because he'd only ever talked about the mother's side. He shrugged. 'My father's side, there's isn't much to say. He had six or seven half brothers and sisters but he and his mother didn't do very well after his father died, they were left destitute, the other siblings were of more affluent mothers. He was the last one. So, after that he went and worked for the council as a painter. That's where he met my mother. He has a half sibling here actually, in Peterborough, but I haven't gone to see her yet. Haven't gotten around to it. I used to see my father in Lisbon, say every two weeks or so. I'd go around for lunch.' He shrugged again, not expanding any further.

As an illegitimate child, Nuno's father's position was much less prevalent on his ancestral radar than that of his grandfather. Whilst they maintained a relationship which Nuno said was 'OK', the lack of narrative presence in Nuno's life underscores the importance of other ancestral figures in his genealogy, who were predominant in their appearance throughout his everyday practices and narratives, not just from Nuno but within different relational experiences in his family. This lack of symbolic relevance in Nuno's ongoing constructions of personhood echoes what studies on dynastic identities say in terms of intergenerational legacies of personhood (Herzfeld 2000; Marcus 2000; Pedroso de Lima 2000). Despite Nuno's family's lack of status capital to place them within what would be considered elite status groups, his grandfather's symbolic relevance worked in a similar way, providing an ongoing network of relations between his descendants based on gift-giving and demonstrations of respect.

The *retornado* experience in the case of Nuno's family therefore gave rise to a narrative of beating the odds in the face of prejudice based on historical materialities. This was shaped by socio-historical factors as well as the categories of difference already discussed—status, materiality but most significantly, race. Upon arrival from Africa, *retornados* didn't see themselves as lower class, despite their initial reception, and proved themselves not to be so through their subsequent dominance of Portugal's creative renaissance during the 1980s (Lubkemann 2002; Machado 2011). Black citizens of the former empire who arrived in mainland Portugal at the same

time, however, faced quite a different experience and barriers to their ability to move forward. In order to understand the difference in reception between white and black Portuguese citizens from the former empire, we must therefore return to race as a category of difference.

Nuno's recollections of his parents and grandparents' reminiscences on colonial Africa are echoed in the wider literature on that of *retornados*. This describes an idyllic African paradise, where prosperous communities, both white and black, lived in harmony in a 'land of opportunity' (Machado 2011). Nuno himself, referring to his mother's stories of Africa, told me

'it was a paradise, seafood just given to you with the beer, every day on the beach!'

What was universally emphasised by Nuno, Joaquim and the other *retornados* and their descendants, was that living in Angola and Mozambique was not 'migration', because they were 'provinces' of Portugal, just like the islands of Madeira are now. This was marked by an assumed normative 'whiteness'. Nuno told me firmly,

'it was Portugal overseas, so of course everyone considered themselves Portuguese. Angola wasn't abroad. Yes, it was Africa, but there was no racial conflict, from what my mother says, that was all in the countryside, in the cities the whites and black went to school together, everyone got on.'

This point of view contrasts with Adriana and Joseph's assessment of racism in Portugal, as discussed in the previous chapter. As an undercurrent in Portuguese society, race is a great, implicit factor within Portuguese postcolonial identity (Vale de Almeida 2008a, 2008b) and far too extensive a topic to be able to go into much further in this thesis. As a category of difference, however, I suggest that the blackness of one type of African migrant contrasts with the whiteness of the other to the extent that the latter benefited from a racial normativity in post-dictatorship Portugal which enabled a performance of class expectations to a greater advantage and the setting up of a new dynastic-style narrative of family legends which could be drawn on transnationally. On the other hand, black Portuguese in London occupied a distinct social space, or 'scale-making project' (Xiang 2013). This project allowed them to become, in the words of Joaquim, 'aspirational' members of a cosmopolitan middle class that drew on both African and Portuguese identities and attained social mobility and a global middle class habitus through means of a different set of historicities (as is shown in the previous chapter's discussion of Adriana and Joseph). These related but distinct social spaces both disrupted 'traditional' continuums of deprived-elite and rural-urban as categories of difference, whilst giving rise to a new category of person over both spaces which was uniquely shaped by particular migratory

experiences, such as that of perceiving oneself as a cosmopolitan migrant. This is the essence of multi-scalarism— the smooth flow of transnational scale-making projects at one level being a disruption at another, the local, regional, national, pan-regional and global this intersecting and transforming each other.

5.6 Cosmopolitans, Migratory Habitus and 'it's different now'

I refer to Nuno, in the previous section, as a cosmopolitan, someone who encapsulated certain ideas regarding a modernity that arose out of the structural conditions of 1990s Portugal. As already discussed, this placed him as dialectically distinct through his actions, attitudes and opinions from the 'old migrants' with whom he nevertheless remained at the same time relationally embedded. In this final section I explore further the discursive interweaving of 'old' and 'new' migrants and 'traditional' and 'new' middle classes and their impact on differing positions regarding migratory habitus, self-identification and 'othering' between and within these dialectics by introducing a final 'child of the Beira'.

Patrícia was another Stockwell cosmopolitan, whose bedroom window, unbeknownst to either of them, overlooked Nuno's. Like Joaquim and Pedro, Patrícia was from a town in the *Beira Baixa*, less than 50 miles away from Tomar and Torres Novas. She knew Joaquim through Facebook, although they had never met face to face, and it was she who had suggested I contact him as a 'big name' in the Portuguese community in London. A freelance Portuguese teacher, Patrícia had come to the UK for an 'adventure', armed with her Portuguese university degree with which she had accessed a UK teaching qualification and therefore the potential to work in any international school she chose (which was also Pedro's stated aspiration). Like other migrants who had initially presented their choice to come to the UK through the narrative of 'adventure', Patrícia later revealed that she had been fed up with the job insecurity in Portugal and had been attracted to the UK by a teaching job with regular hours and a higher salary than back home.⁵¹ Patrícia's status as cosmopolitan was further heightened in the sense that she had social connections outside of the Portuguese community through her long-term English boyfriend, which meant she could be said to have what Hannerz (1992) refers to as 'a willingness to engage with Other' which is the mark of the 'true' cosmopolitan.

⁵¹ As is empirically corroborated by Pereira (2019), teachers and nurses were the two major groups amongst my research group who stressed they came here not because 'they had to' but 'for adventure' before later revealing that working conditions in their chosen professions in Portugal inhibited them from living independently.

Like Nuno, Patrícia can be considered a 'new-type' of migrant, despite a long family history of migration, because of her increased cultural capital obtained through the expanded higher education network that was a product of Portugal's economic growth during the post-EU economic liberalisation of the 1990s. Along with Nuno's parents and grandparents, Patrícia's parents had made up the body of 'uneducated' migrants who had emigrated to France, Switzerland, Germany (and to a lesser extent, England) from the Portuguese countryside during the 1960s and 70s. This was the group referred to as the 'other' or 'old' type of migrants, 'completely unlike us' by dozens of my interlocutors who came from more established urban bourgeoisie families and were the first members of their families to migrate, as well as by migrants such as Nuno, who distinguished themselves from their migratory habitus by their cosmopolitan outlooks.

These distinctions are not just material or discursive. We have already examined the impact of differing migratory habitus, status, discourse and class distinctions throughout this thesis. At this point, however, Patrícia's story provides yet another distinct angle from which to examine how household memory and status play out in the creation of cosmopolitan personhood and the usefulness of the analytical construct of 'non-elite cosmopolitanism' (Werbner 1999). She did not receive any financial assistance from her parents, like Marisa in Chapter Four, nor the local support of a London household, like Jorge and Ana in Chapter Five or Nuno in this chapter. Nor did she maintain a narrative of ancestral high status or renowned practices like Nuno, Joaquim and Pedro in this chapter. In the following section I ask in what ways Patrícia contradicted the binaries already discussed, as well as the role of conjunctural factors—e.g. the condition of austerity.

Nearly two years after I first met Patrícia her parents agreed for me to visit them in Portugal. Like their parents and grandparents before them, Victor and Sandra had both been born and still lived in the hamlet of Cimadas Cimeiras, an hour's drive from the nearest train station in Proença-a-Nova, in the *Beira Baixa*. Sandra told me that she and Victor had known each other since they were children, become a couple when Sandra was 15 and married when she was 16. Softly spoken and tiny, Sandra was almost a foot shorter than her willowy daughter. Her first child, Marco, was born when she was 17 then Patrícia arrived when she was 20. Sandra had wanted to be a teacher but, she later told me, that hadn't been an option after getting married as she needed to contribute to the house and there was no money for studies anyway. She'd instead helped her mother in her fish shop in Proença-a-Nova and lived with Victor's parents as they couldn't afford their own home. Victor went to Switzerland to work in a factory when Sandra was pregnant with

Patrícia and was back and forth for four years before finally moving back to Portugal with enough money to build the large house in which they still lived, just outside Cídamas Cimeiras. When he permanently moved back from Switzerland Victor trained as a librarian. This career change was 'easy back then', he informed me, as there weren't many educated people around and they had a great need for librarians in the region, which wasn't the case any longer.

When the children were born, each time Sandra was back at work within a couple of weeks and her grandmother and great-grandmother brought up Patrícia and her brother. Like Pedro, Patrícia's stories of her grandparents were detailed and affectionate but focused not on illustrious deeds or local status, but more on how cared for she had felt and the beauty of the countryside surrounding the family home. It was Sandra who later gave me more of an insight into the material conditions of the family.

'We didn't used to have anything',

Sandra told me, as she drove me around their village and pointed out the tiny stone house she had grown up in,

'but I think people were happier. There were less expectations, now it is so different, people want all these things, all these experiences and its harder for them to be satisfied. Before we worked hard all day, ate well, family, we were happy, yes.'

Sandra scolded Victor for talking about the 'corrupt political class' which he insisted was the main class divide in Portugal. 'No!' she cried, giving him a smiling tap on the arm, 'be positive! What will she think of us? Tell her Portugal is wonderful! Don't be a pessimist!' But Victor had batted her away, 'I'm a realist, that's all!' and carried on telling me about the crisis, the lies of politicians, the self-interest etc. Nevertheless, he too highlighted 'changing expectations' as a central part of the shift in migration attitudes.

'This area, we have always needed to migrate, to make enough money to come back and start life properly. But now it's different, they go and they stay away. There's no point coming back, life here can't meet their expectations. Look at Patrícia, I don't think she'll come back. Before, you went, you saved then you came back and built your house, ready to set up here. Now, they know here they don't have the same recognition, they studied but there is no financial motivation. We used to go to France, Switzerland and work hard to come back. Me, I went to Switzerland and I brought lots of others from the town. Every time they needed people I would send word here and more would come to work for the

same factory and they saved to come back. But now they can go with their studies and they stay because life is better.'

Victor's framing of Patrícia's choice as 'changing expectations' along with his political opinions and assessment of the impact of the financial crisis on opportunities for work in Portugal linked his view of his daughter's future to Bryant and Knight's (2019) assertion of expectations emerging from a conservative teleology that gives thickness to the present through a reliance on the past. In this sense, the structural conditions of contemporary Portugal can be said to have impacted upon Patrícia's decision to migrate not so much because of changing expectations but because she was faced by an immediate state of liminality. This liminality caused a disjuncture between the end point of what a certain set of past practices had been leading to and an emerging set of new anticipations. However, her distinct set of assemblages also meant her constructions of a good life were distinct from those of some of my other interlocutors, as detailed above. We can explore this further, beginning with the insight that Patrícia's life in London over the two years I knew her didn't fit neatly into either her parents' narratives nor any of the other discourses regarding 'two types of Portuguese migrant' that I had heard so often. It is true that her situation in London, lack of references to historical familial status and migratory habitus had more in common with Adriana and Joseph, as members of the aspirational 'new middle classes'. Like Adriana and Joseph, Patrícia's practices and conceptualisations of a 'good life' drew not so much on family capital but on individually attuned constructions of the good life which were based on material comfort, job satisfaction and an emphasis on local households. On the other hand, the location of Patrícia's London residency and migratory habitus echoed those of her neighbours, the rural-origin Portuguese community of Stockwell. However, when I asked her if she had chosen to live there to be surrounded by Portuguese she firmly shook her head. She 'never went to the cafes', she told me, but had just chosen to be there 'because she liked it' but did not engage with the 'community' at all. I assumed that she meant those 'others' within the 'circle of deprivation' that Joaquim referred to, as her immediate household was a shifting array of mostly Portuguese girls (with the odd Italian or Spanish girl) with university degrees like herself.⁵² She had looked abashed when she told me once that she had pretended not to be Portuguese when she had arrived home to find a group of Portuguese men drinking on her doorstep.

'They are always there. I don't want them to know I'm Portuguese! I pretended to be Spanish. I just didn't feel comfortable around them. They were there all night, drinking. I

⁵² Her flat was rented by the room so she had lived with a variety of people over the years. The landlord was an old Portuguese man who, because Patrícia had been there the longest, gave her a say in any newcomers who arrived.

know they don't have jobs, they are there all day in the summer, they like our doorway because it is sheltered. It's just easier to distance myself.'

This direct refusal of a form of Portugueseness which would link her to the 'traditional' community contradicted Patrícia's oft expressed intention to engage with Stockwell sociality, as part of Joaquim's 'galvanise the elites' movement. When Patrícia had first told me about Joaquim she mentioned she had always 'meant to contact him' to offer her services as a volunteer English teacher 'but never had the time...I'm always so busy'. Indeed, Patrícia ran a tightly packed timetable of classes and was always rushing off after our lessons to get to far-off Croydon or Putney. Shaking her head bemusedly she often said

'so many people want to learn Portuguese, English people who want to move there! It's good for me but I get so tired sometimes.'

There was also a conflict between her stated motivations, which echoed those of so many others, and her particular experiences in London. On the one hand, she talked about having come there for 'opportunities', financial independence and her plans to take advantage of all the cultural activities London had to offer, such as doing a Masters in linguistics, studying aromatherapy or Portuguese literature at the *Instituto Camões*⁵³. Whenever I arrived from a drawing or writing course paid for with my PhD research fund, she always sighed enviously.

'That's what I want to do, London is full of courses, opportunities to better yourself. Like you, you are always doing stuff! I wish I had time...and money...and I would spend the whole time doing courses!'

On the other hand, we often had moments of stillness where we would talk about our futures and the unaffordability of London to do all those exciting cultural activities and she would flap, throwing her hands up saying,

'why am I here, this is no life! I should go back to Portugal and teach just Skype lessons, I'd have a great life!'

When I asked her why she didn't just do that she'd blush and I was sure that the English boyfriend who she frequently referred to was the reason. They had met a couple of years previously when he was her student, having decided to learn Portuguese to travel the world. A few years older than her, he was a labourer in his father's business in Lewisham, South London. Her face always lit

⁵³ The Portuguese cultural and educational centre in the UK

up when she talked about him and how interesting she found him, especially when she described his dedication to the part-time degree he was doing in History and Portuguese at a local evening university. I suggest that this places relationships and kinship at the root of Patrícia's conceptualisations of what a good life meant. They served as a 'permanence' within the inherent conflict of cosmopolitanism, a full acceptance of the 'Other' by relationally becoming one in terms of establishing a new household, what many of my research participants referred to as 'having it all'. Whilst this was the case for all my research participants to a certain extent, with Patrícia there was notably less of a focus on personal ambition in terms of career actualisation compared with her contemporaries. Although Patrícia's articulations of a good life often were expressed through the standard cosmopolitan narrative of university-educated Portuguese emigrants in London, (i.e. improving herself, the openness of London, career opportunities), more than anyone else she also maintained a parallel portrayal of a paradisiacal 'home' based on household memories which drew on figures of loving ancestors. Unlike Pedro, Joaquim, and Nuno, Patrícia's way of conceptualising the past and applying it to her ongoing personhood did not focus on status or triumphing over the odds as something to aspire to and lift her out of precarious times but were instead strongly relational, based on memories of how her interactions with her grandmothers and great-grandmothers, who had brought her up, made her feel at home, at peace. Once again I return to the idea of a relational 'permanence' within an aspired-to good life for my research participants, what Nuno referred to as the 'base of the pyramid'. It was both a state of peace and a place to where they could return to at the end of a day of realising more individualised notions of self-actualisation. At first glance this notion of the enduring home as a safe haven challenges the narratives of Patrícia's parents regarding 'different expectations', which they each proposed were based on experiences unattainable in Portugal, self-actualisation through career and improved material prosperity. However, I suggest that these narratives actually lend weight to the argument regarding the nature of 'a good life' as mentioned above through their emphasis on conjunctural shifts, even if the focus is on material consequences. Specifically, the fact that in the 1980s when Victor returned from Switzerland, it was still possible for somebody without a tertiary level of education to train as a librarian, build and construct his own house and for Sandra to get a white collar job in a travel agent in the local town, achieving a level of self-actualisation through relational 'permanence' and a materially comfortable life. The shift in structural factors which made this lifestyle less accessible for a large part of the population, who would previously have migrated for a few years before coming back to Portugal with increased capital, was interpreted as 'changing expectations'. In this sense, the inherent contradiction of cosmopolitanism once again arises through the meshing of embodied narratives of migrant ancestors, who were mobile

and 'adventurous' across nations and continents in order to access a specifically imagined future of permanence and stability, which local labour markets constricted with austerity measures. Enduring aspects of this cosmopolitan contradiction, i.e., adventure versus permanence, once again emerged within the expectations of a specific cohort group who came of age at a time when education as a national institution proposed an alternative version of permanence without the risks associated with migration. The liminal period which led to emerging anticipations for individuals such as Patrícia then gave rise to what Werbner (1999) refers to as new working class cosmopolitan subjectivities, the gaining of knowledge and familiarity with other cultures not merely as part of a 'diaspora' but rather 'specific kinds of focused networks that ultimately create diasporas as focused spatial extensions marked by flows of goods and patterns of gifting and consumption.' (Werbner 1999: 20)

The embodied effect of this contradiction is interpreted by individuals in various ways depending on their histories and different manifestations of personhood, which also constantly change and develop. The commonality is the drawing on household memories in order to root understandings of structural challenges and articulate emerging desires and aspirations. In Patrícia's case, despite often proclaiming that she wanted to go back to Portugal for a 'great' (i.e., more relaxed life), she carried on with her plans of signing up for courses, saving for a flat deposit with her English boyfriend and working as hard as possible whilst whispering to me about her latest online shopping expeditions, which she confessed with a furtive air. She added once that she often felt much more British than Portuguese now, with her 'love for privacy' and 'addiction to Amazon'. In between her declarations of thwarted plans to do self-development courses, she talked enthusiastically about her students and how much she enjoyed getting to know different people, the weekend breaks she went on with her boyfriend and their plans for the future. Despite her occasional bursts of frustration with London, Patrícia more often gave off a general air of contentment with her life in the UK and didn't refer to past familial glory as a way of making sense of present day precarity, as for example Pedro did. At the time of writing I'd met up with Patrícia once since visiting her hometown and she'd blushing told me that she and her boyfriend had finally found the perfect flat and were about to move in together. Several months later a photo popped up on Facebook of them both with a baby snuggled in her arms and her father's words came back to me.

'She has a good life there, why would she want to come back here where life can't meet her expectations?'

It occurred to me that Victor had been referring to career possibilities rather than having a transnational family. However, I suggest that the impact of labour movement, shared educational parameters and equal labour market access between European countries in the first two decades of the twentieth centuries' brought about not just enhanced career opportunities but a shift in orientation— the possibility of a spatially distinct cosmopolitan good life via 'permanence' for individuals such as Patrícia, Nuno, Pedro and Joaquim to that of their parents. Within this emerging notion of good life as an 'everyday' cosmopolitan subjectivity is a common desire to establish one's own household as a universal safe harbour. Once again I borrow Nuno's notion of 'the base of the pyramid' as a condition which is aspired to via a genealogically embedded state of personhood that draws on the past, whether through narratives of status, glory or affective memories of peace. The past and the familiar in their permanence make the precarious nature of individualistic, hegemonic aspirations towards 'professional actualisation' more manageable and serve as a source from whence one can both draw on for inspiration and use to look towards a future good life which is strongly relational.

5.7 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have explored the role of household memory and legends within ongoing practices, reactions to the present and continuing processes of pursuit of 'a good life' based on 'permanence'. I have argued that the challenges in achieving this permanence are first and foremost faced by drawing on household memories and stabilising them as narratives in order to deal with structural challenges and articulate emerging hope as a futural orientation. This hope has a historic context, i.e., the aspiration towards cosmopolitan ideals of self-actualisation and travel, but it also relational in the desire to establish one's own household.

In order to thoroughly explore this concept of good life, in this chapter I have drawn on the idea of 'Four Children of the Beira' to dig deeper into the previous chapters' conclusions regarding discursive formations of 'our generation' and the 'new' and 'traditional' Portuguese middle class and role of status, materiality and migratory habitus. Beginning with the notion of a 'new middle class' and 'cosmopolitan' status groups in Portugal, I introduced a more nuanced and 'multi-scalar' notion of status that takes into account embodied status effects which emerge from genealogically inspired, ongoing constructions of personhood within households across space and time. As members of historically high status groups in Portugal, the cases of Pedro and Joaquim presented the idea of historically informed status effects through genealogies and their impact on

ongoing construction of self and understandings of one's historical positioning the in the world around.

I then took into account different historically and geographically informed spheres of power to examine the repercussions of Portugal's imperial history and how it reverberated through contemporary selves through the descendants of *retornados*. This was complemented by a spatial consideration which linked the Beira with Stockwell via various individuals whose diverging status backgrounds and conjunctural conditions might make the categories of difference between them in Portugal seem vast. Although, as Joaquim suggested, Stockwell can be seen to replicate the stratified society of mainland Portugal, it remained a spatially bounded arena within which to perform Portugueseness. In other words, somewhere Portuguese citizens of all status backgrounds, ethnicities and material positions of success in the present could converge to undertake different roles within a community linked principally by language and history that faced a larger Other, that of the non-Portuguese world around it. Within this geographical and historically shaped Portugueseness, I treated my Portuguese case studies as cosmopolitans, firstly with the example of Nuno, who I suggested straddled the false binary of 'old' types of Portuguese migrants, i.e. those with a strong migratory habitus whose ancestors were traditionally uneducated and rurally based, and the 'new' type, those with higher education whose motivations were presented as 'completely different' from the former group. By interweaving considerations of postcolonial African movement, I used his household as an example where descendants of *retornados* questioned class expectations and the effects of historical categories of difference such as status and race. I suggested that illustrious deeds which brought about social mobility and were enabled by the colonial experience allowed families like Nuno's to establish ancestral narratives that were just as powerful as those held by families with traditionally high status ancestors, such as the grandfathers in the families of Pedro and Joaquim. I counteracted the case study of Nuno with Patrícia, another cosmopolitan. Her narrative encapsulated emerging understandings of what it meant to be both a 'new' and 'old' type of Portuguese migrant but, in contradiction to Nuno, she didn't do this by drawing on status or action based narratives of glory but rather on temporalised, idealised kinship relationships, which she centralised as part of her own aspirations to a good life.

I concluded with the idea of relationally and household-based 'permanence' as part of emerging understandings of what a 'good life' meant. I linked the ostensible contradiction of 'permanence' with 'adventure' as equitable to the inherent contradiction of cosmopolitanism itself by suggesting permanence, in its capacity as a safe harbour, was an essential condition from which

to maintain hegemonic narratives of higher-education based 'success' and 'opportunities' in the international labour market. For Pedro and Nuno, this was something to aspire to in a future which in the meantime was measured by opportunities for self-actualisation as a means to achieving 'permanence'. During my fieldwork I witnessed Patrícia make the transition to the next stage of good life through the establishment of a permanent household and (transnational) family of her own after the birth of her baby. Despite her strongly affective connections to her hometown as 'paradise', her 'permanent' life became linked to her work practices and relational choices in London. In a similar vein, despite his narratives of ancestral glory as a means for locating his own experiences as a community figure, for Joaquim the establishment of his own London-based household after the birth of his baby (soon after Patrícia's) was also a significant element in marking 'permanence' as a base from which to integrate enhanced meaning into his more individualistic expressions of personhood. In other words, Joaquim had sufficient material prosperity for an ongoing 'good life' which enabled him to live between both countries, maintain a continued standing as a person of significance in his hometown as an important part of his personhood, as well as establish the family he said he had always wanted and create new connections with his ancestors. As Pedro put it, this is 'having it all', going back to Portugal whenever he wanted to, whilst also being able to work in a specific area in which he felt he had invested time and energy. By doing so he imagined achieving a sense of fulfilment, the material expressions of a good life and a base of 'permanence', that of his own household.

Despite their differing status backgrounds and migratory habitus, Joaquim, Pedro, Nuno and Patrícia all shared an engagement in cosmopolitan projects such as global governance, higher education, professional aspirations and a desire to access the world of the 'Other'. I have argued that this cosmopolitan project is part of a historically contextual indeterminate teleology of hope towards which these individuals were able to aspire through their presence in London rather than Portugal. At the same time, they remain relationally and affectively embedded in their own household memories, legends and Portugal's history in the world. This suggests a need to conceptualise a subjectivity of cosmopolitanism that encompasses the idea of the transnational family wherein certain individuals manage to reconcile ideas of 'the traditional', through household memory and present household relationalities, and 'the new', i.e., the fulfilment of professional expectations which were thwarted by the crisis and cosmopolitan potentialities for travel, material comfort etc. Indeed, this compromise within the supposedly inherent conflict of cosmopolitanism indicates the potential for a new type of non-elite cosmopolitan subjectivity, where the 'new' and the 'traditional' are able to co-exist in mutual and ever emerging negotiation. This is termed 'having it all' and is the discursive focus of 'a good life'.

Finally, a multi-scalar approach allowed an appreciation of this reconciliation on various levels across space and time. From the individual through to the regional, national and the global, a consideration of the effects of history on different scales revealed the legacy of the financial crisis following a decade of prosperity within which cosmopolitan ideals were able to infiltrate the Portuguese education, economic and social systems. This combined with a wider consideration of the effects of Portuguese post-colonialism and the ongoing impact of categories of difference such as status, race, migratory habitus etc. The notion which unites these categories of difference across time is the human capacity for enduring and mutually impacting relationships across time and space. Through memory and narrative, the past and the familiar were in a constant state of re-emergence to make the precarious nature of ongoing cosmopolitan projects of global governance more manageable. This was an affective experience of a good life which drew on the memory and anticipation of relationships past, present and future.

6.1 Introduction

Coming out of Stockwell station into the dank February night I realised that although I was late, Nuno was even later. He had excitedly called me a few days earlier saying he wanted to invite me to ‘do something typically Portuguese’. This ‘something typically Portuguese’ was revealed to be watching a football match together in a bar. It wasn’t just any football match though. Porto FC were facing Juventus at their home stadium in the second round of the Champion’s League and the match was being shown live at the bar Nuno’s cousin ran, which was part of Porto Football Club’s official London headquarters, right in the heart of ‘Little Portugal’.

I waved. Nuno was approaching through the rain, bedraggled and smiling apologetically. ‘Sorry, we’ll have to rush, it’s about to start!’ I pulled my hood over my head and we started walking quickly. Grimacing as the icy wind whipped around my ears, I told him I was glad I’d braved the packed rush hour tube⁵⁴ instead of cycling as usual. ‘I’ve only used the tube a few times actually,’ he replied, ‘each time there has always been someone crying. Just quietly, to themselves. It made me feel really bad’. ‘That’s sad,’ I said, ‘I’ve seen that too. Lots of people having a shit time.’ He gave a bitter laugh, ‘Yes, like me! I’m having a shit time at the moment.’ I asked what was going on. The last time we’d met he’d seemed quite positive about starting a new life in London. He sighed.

‘I didn’t think it would take this long. To get a job. A Portuguese friend I met, a nurse, she told me her brother came last month, he has lower qualifications, in recruitment or something like that, he’d only ever done an internship in Portugal... but he got a job within a few days! Me with my higher qualifications and I’ve sent about 11 applications and nothing.’

This was the first time I had seen Nuno’s confidence waver. He’d always positioned his superior qualifications from what he told me was ‘one of the best universities in Portugal’ as his passport to success in the London labour market. Whilst identifying with Portugal’s *geração à rasca* —the ‘trashed’ generation of chronically unemployed university-educated young people (Gray 2016), he also took care to differentiate himself from those who had attended universities ‘that were not well regarded’ and studied what he called ‘inferior’ degrees in oversubscribed areas such as

⁵⁴ the London underground is known colloquially as ‘the tube’

teaching and healthcare. All he had to do to release his potential, he told me, was improve his English and this is where I came in. We'd met on a language exchange forum where I had created a profile explaining my PhD research and he had contacted me. After explaining that he had lots of stories to tell which I might find interesting for my research and that he spoke English but 'not enough to pursue a career that meets my qualifications', he'd suggested that we 'help each other'. Despite initially taking on a more traditional language exchange format of speaking half in half in each language, our conversations had progressed to being mostly in English after he had made a point of telling me how important it was for him to improve his language skills as quickly as possible and be able to commence 'expanding [his] network'.

6.2 Networks in Anthropology

Throughout my fieldwork, the differences between different types of networks emerged as a vital link between historicity and temporality at the household level (as discussed in the last chapter), and wider transnational practices across space and time within the creation of a cosmopolitan 'good life'. The study of networks has seen methodological challenges within anthropology, particularly following the use of traditional Network Analysis in the urban anthropology of the 50s-70s (Amit 2007). Acknowledging these challenges, throughout this chapter I follow Hannerz (1990) and Amit (2007) in evading network-as-method in favour of a more network-as-paradigm style of thinking. More specifically, the avoidance of an *a priori* focus on any one type of organisation or social concept, such as ethnic collectivities, when conceptualising networks. Instead, I propose in this chapter to explore different types of networks and the relevance of their use in relation to the wider themes of this thesis. These networks include not only those based on long-standing *intimate* links (family, close friendship) and ideological commitments to communal, *ethnic* identities but also those based on *bureaucratic* terms of reference and procedures promulgated by international institutions.

To examine this latter type of network in the context of global consultancy, Amit (2007) uses sociologist Mark Granovetter's (1973) term of 'weak ties', i.e., relationships limited in scope and intensity which serve as a conduit along which information/ influence can pass between respective contacts. Linking the concept of weak ties to modernity itself, Amit suggests that such professional networks are a spatially more extended version of processes of abstraction, which separated economic activity from other social relationships/activities and have characterised the development of 'Western' economic practices since the 18th century. According to Rapport

(2007), these same processes are inherently cosmopolitan, having emerged from Enlightenment ideals which are the basis of contemporary theorisations of cosmopolitanism as a 'worldwide community of humankind' (Rapport 2006:23). In this sense, networks are another conceptual angle from which to examine cosmopolitanism, especially if we follow Tomlinson (1999) in his definition of bureaucratic professionalism as one of cosmopolitanism's projects of global governance (Tomlinson 1999). I expand upon this idea throughout this chapter, beginning with the notion that the distinction between the underlying principles of connection of different types of networks reflect an ongoing historical ideological conflict at the household level. This conflict, which Rapport (2007) suggests is inherent to cosmopolitanism as a historical paradigm, is between Enlightenment ideals of rational universality and a Romantic focus on collective containers of identity and practice such as nationhood, intimate sentiments/ obligation and kinship networks. I explore the nature of this conflict by examining the relationship between 'traditional' networks based on family connections and ethnic collective identities, referred to as *cunha* by my research participants, and 'new' weak ties networks based on meritocracy, universally recognised qualifications and conjunctural expectations regarding modernity (Mapril and Blanes 2018). By asking how *cunha* is manifested and ethically interpreted across Portuguese status groups in London with differing migratory habitus ('old' versus 'new' migrants, as discussed in the previous chapters), I posit that, rather than being diametrically opposite, the capacity for 'new' networking as 'weak ties' actually emerges from and is dependent on local and transnational 'traditional' household networks of care and kinship. My arguments draw upon literature on care, kinship and networking (Drotbohm 2015; Bestard Camps and Contreras Hernandez 1997; Amit 2007).

In the second half of the chapter I begin with the premise that it is impossible to discuss the conflict between 'new' and 'traditional' types of networking without examining the emerging role of the digitalisation of networking, relationality, and information across space and time. Apart from the moralised narrative on the enhanced legitimacy of 'new' networks of digitalised information as part of a discursive formation of a pan-European, highly educated 'new generation', I also ask also what the increasing digitalisation of communication technology means for relationality at the level of the most fundamental of networks, that of the household. In order to explore the effects of this latest manifestation of long-established communication technology networks on relationality and networks of care at the household level, I interweave analysis of the ethnographic data on Nuno with that of another research participant from previous chapters, Marisa. I introduce the concept of what is 'real' in the context of digital communication, drawing on Long and Moore's approach to a 'new theory of sociality' (Long and Moore 2012: 1). Sociality is

a contested term, but I follow Long and Moore's specific definition of it as a focus on the processes through which humans relate to each other, rather than a static view of 'society', a 'dynamic and interactive relational matrix through which human beings come to know the world they live in and to find their purpose and meaning within it' (Long and Moore 2012: 2). This focus on processes allows us to consider how emerging innovations in science and technology impact upon how we relate to each other transnationally, dissolving borders of space and time. In order to do this effectively, I also refer to a related inter-disciplinary body of literature on affective attachments to media environments in the migrant context (Tuan 2004; Vertovec 2004; Leurs 2015; Marks 2000; Elliott and Urry 2010; Madianou and Miller 2012).

6.3 *Cunha Vs Weak Ties*

Nuno had cheered up a bit by the time we arrived at the bar. It was completely packed with different groups, linked by their affiliation to Porto FC and a shared sense of Portugueseness which, for this night, surpassed other categories of difference, as referred to in previous chapters. There was a big table filled with suited, older men, 'the Porto team representatives here in London', Nuno whispered. There were also a couple of smaller tables with people in tracksuits at front, ('construction workers') and a medium table of younger, well-groomed men at the back ('I don't know who they are, probably look like professionals'). There were only four women in whole bar, two at the suited table, one at the tracksuit table and me. Muttering that he'd told his cousin to reserve us one of the tables that were already occupied, Nuno pulled up a couple of stools at the bar and pointed out his cousin, Ze Pedro. A short, grey haired man with a paunch came over and they slapped hands. After a quick consultation, Ze Pedro placed an enormous plate of chopped *persunto*⁵⁵ and country cheese in front of us with a basket containing what looked like a whole loaf of bread. It was joined by various other snacks and two bottles of Super Bock,⁵⁶ which would continually be replenished the second they were less than a third full. Some of the guys behind the bar were looking at us and smirking. I got the impression they thought we were on a date. I asked Nuno if he knew them.

'No, although my cousin has just taken on a partner, that guy, he's the owner of the Portuguese bakery. I think in a year or so, my cousin won't be here. He's a bit of an amateur. This place has so much potential but he doesn't run it well. He doesn't take

⁵⁵ ham

⁵⁶a popular brand of Portuguese lager

notice of the profit and loss, what goes in or out. Never heard of TripAdvisor. How many bars do you see with them all drinking behind the counter?’



Fig. 7: Ze Pedro's Bar (Cartoon by the author)

They did indeed all have bottles of beer in their hands and were nibbling food from plates on the bar in between serving customers and moving in and out of the kitchen. Because it was a special occasion maybe, I suggested.

‘No, they always do. My cousin, he used to be in construction in Portugal, he had his own company, then he came here, maybe 10 years ago, worked in odd things, also construction, he’s only had the bar a year. But those guys over there at the big table, they are the real bosses, they administer the funding from the club for this place.’

Settling down to watch the football, which was being shown on a Portuguese satellite channel, the conversation turned towards Nuno’s living situation. His mother was looking for somewhere bigger for the three of them as at the moment they were all squashed into a one-bedroom flat. When I suggested that their money would go further if they moved somewhere a bit less central, he laughed and said his mother was insistent she wanted to stay in Stockwell.

‘The Portuguese community is important to her. Her family is here, she likes being able to go to the shop, she trusts it here. So this one we like, it’s a two bed, my mum wants me to

share the second bedroom with my brother but I'd prefer to be in the living room. Have my own space.'

I reminded him that he'd told me his mother liked keeping the house neat and suggested that maybe she wouldn't want him and all his things permanently installed in the communal living room. He looked shifty and grudgingly agreed.

'We'll see. We're in negotiations. They want my name on the contract but I don't want to, I don't know how long I'm going to stay, do I? My mother and brother, I had been living away from them for ten years before coming to London and they welcomed me into their home but it is their home. I know I am welcome and can stay for as long as I like and I will, but if I get what I want from this Masters, I have the potential to do all sorts of things on my own.'

This was an ongoing theme during our conversations. He was unwilling to look for work in the Portuguese community because he was waiting to be recognised for his qualifications, which he felt should facilitate access to the labour market 'outside'. This aspired-to field of action was one which he positioned as meritocratic, as it focused on individual, quantifiable capital obtained through cosmopolitan, modern processes rather than relational capital. In other words, a system of networking based on Granovetter's 'weak ties' as part of a pan-European labour market (Amit 2007) within a 'culture of modernity' (Stirrat 2000; Carrier 1998a; Carrier 1998b). By allying himself with this way of living, Nuno was distancing himself from 'traditional' ways of professional networking as practised by his relatives in the Portuguese community as well as from obligations to his kinship network itself. Indeed, as a systemic feature of global bureaucracy, Nuno positioned these weak ties as more legitimate than the emotionally charged 'strong ties' of core affective links, encapsulated within the Portuguese concept of *cunha*, or 'favour'. *Cunha*, he had explained to me on a previous occasion, was what made Portuguese society so corrupt and was what had prevented him from flourishing there. I had recalled how Joaquim, a community figurehead introduced in the previous chapter, had also talked to me about *cunha*, describing it as

'asking a favour, *'dar uma cunha'*. You know, family connections. And it has destroyed Portuguese society in two ways. First, the kids are given these jobs through family connections, public sector jobs where it is impossible to sack people, so they have stability, for life! But it's not their dream job so they don't do it well and the country stagnates. And the second thing is that meritocracy doesn't exist, the aspirational intelligent ones who might change things, if they don't have the right family, connections,

they emigrate and it's the same people in charge! Not just now but for centuries! The revolution, that really didn't change that, the rich families went to Brazil but then they came back and there was space for them.'

As one of the 'aspirational, intelligent ones' without family connections to prosper in Portugal, Nuno's presence in London located him in a narrative, shared by Joaquim and many other of my university-educated Portuguese research participants, which enabled him to imagine himself as on the cusp of something 'better', creating an arena of hope which manifests as a disposition that conditions practices (Jansen 2016). These practices rested on a paradigm of knowledge/rationality based on disembedded protocols of evaluation, the legitimisation of 'expertise' via transnational institutions and networks. Specifically, recognised higher-education qualifications, English language ability and 'meritocratic' networking through digitalised mediums such as TripAdvisor. It stood in opposition to the 'traditional' concept of *cunha* and 'corrupt' kinship networks, both in Portugal and in the Portuguese community of Stockwell, the latter of which Nuno posited as an expansion of old world nepotism. His relationship with his family at this point was therefore temporally bound by his unwillingness to commit to their future, positioning him in an almost child-like liminal period of freedom from responsibility to the household whilst he awaited the fulfilment of his anticipations towards a specific future (Bryant and Knight 2019). However, capital offered by the household itself was simultaneously the very reason he was able to undertake a historically embedded set of practices which would lead to a specific goal of individualist self-actualisation through a professional career. The deeply embedded affective links within one type of network were what provided Nuno with the emotional and financial support to pursue a future-oriented momentum towards 'something better'. Throughout this thesis I have referred to this 'something better' as 'global middle class aspirations', but at this point I start to examine in greater detail the embeddedness of these global middle class aspirations within the cosmopolitan modernist project of 'weak ties' networking and its relationship and interdependence with 'traditional' family networks and *cunha*.

6.4 Settling in for the Long Haul

Shortly after that night in the bar Nuno was offered an unpaid internship as a project manager at a Portuguese construction company based in Stockwell. He had found the job through *Neto's* a Portuguese recruitment agency his cousin had recommended, which was widely used by the Portuguese community in South London. Initially reluctant to follow his cousin's

recommendation, Nuno changed his mind after some weeks of not having any success finding a job on LinkedIn or through other jobs boards online and had grudgingly contacted the agency. Although incredulous at how overqualified he was for the role, he accepted and was soon taken on as a salaried member of staff. The job was permanent, but Nuno was quick to emphasise how it was just a temporary solution, which would enable him to save and achieve his professional dreams via an alternative route. He had decided that he would be better placed in the local labour market if he had a qualification from a UK university and was in the process of applying to do a Masters degree in Town Planning at the London School of Economics, one of the most prestigious universities in the country, which he hoped to start the following year. The tuition fees were £12,000 per year⁵⁷.

Nuno had been working at the construction company for about three months when I saw him at Pop Brixton, a complex of bars and restaurants made out of shipping containers just down the road from where he lived. It was an unusually balmy early summer day and we took turns buying each other overpriced pints of Red Stripe Jamaican lager and wandering around.



Fig 8: Pop Brixton (cartoon by the author)

⁵⁷ In London at the time of my fieldwork, this was equivalent to the annual rent for a one-bed flat in the area he was living, or the annual take-home pay working 35 hours a week on the minimum wage.

I asked how work was going, noting that he didn't seem quite so happy as the last time we had met, shortly after starting work, when he had much more a spring in his step compared with the night a few weeks previously at the football.

'It's OK. You know what is funny, a year ago I was sitting down with interior ministers.... this year with builders, from one extreme of society to another! I'm so conscious at how my life has changed, the people at the top and now the everyday people. I really appreciate the change in perspective, I think it's very good for me. Also, I am being paid much more talking with the lowlier people than with the higher one, what an irony!'

I noticed his English was less accurate than before and asked if he had many English colleagues. He laughed shortly. 'Everyone there is Portuguese', he said,

'well mostly, a few of the labourers are Latin American. Lots of people have left though. There were like 40 when I started and at least 10 have quit or been fired. He is crazy, the boss. He's Madeiran. He's was just a construction worker himself, but he was a bit cleverer than the rest and started this company. But he has no idea how to run a business. He sacks people for nothing because he knows he can, they make one mistake and he sends the home. He's OK with me though, I think he likes me because I am more educated. I'm the longest person there now! You'd think he'd think things ahead a bit more—after Brexit, there might not be as steady a flow of construction workers and he'll have to treat people better!'

He shook his head.

'As soon as my MA starts though, I'm out of there! It's not what I want to do. It's a joke. But it's OK for now. It's a job isn't it. I don't have a contract so I can leave any time. It's good for me to work, but I'll be like lots of people and leave. I can get something better with the Masters, I know it. I'm you know...'

and he shrugged his shoulders up and down playfully with a smile 'hopeful for the future.'

In the absence of the immediate acquisition of the internationally valued professional job he had initially been expecting through a weak ties network, Nuno had experienced a personal crisis which threatened his cosmopolitan belief in the power of weak ties. As a means of maintaining hope, he had undertaken a short-term coping strategy to bridge the present and the near future by reconceptualising his definition of 'success' in the few months since I had met him. By setting a

definite goal, he had created what Bryant and Knight refer to as a targeted 'transitive' hope within a general 'intransitive' hopefulness as part of a 'limited timespace of hope' (Bryant and Knight 2019: 153). In Nuno's case this consisted of shifting his gaze away from the fact he had gotten the job through his personal networks rather than through the weak ties of his qualifications. Instead, he had reconfigured his anticipations by focusing on the higher salary he was being paid in London compared to Lisbon and the opportunity for personal growth, treating the job as a stepping stone to an adjusted goal of doing a Masters, which would help him to achieve a good life. What's more, he was further able to distinguish himself from the association with *cunha* that came with working in an ethnic collectivity by not only focusing on the distinction between what he described as his superior educational capital and that of his Portuguese 'everyday people' construction worker colleagues, but also by allying himself to others with shared educational achievements and professional values within the same company. He'd told me previously that at that company, apart from construction workers, 'there are a lot of guys there who came from the crisis for example, civil engineers, architects'. He'd given me the example of Filipa, who had come with her boyfriend to London, the latter having been recruited in Portugal for an IT job. Asking about how Filipa was coping with the boss, he answered

'she has left now. She is an architect and one of the only women. Do you know what he did? He tried to make her work in the secretarial pool once he had gotten rid of the secretaries! She was disgusted and left and now she's working in an architect's firm, an English one, and as an architect.'

He shrugged his shoulders and thinned his mouth in a 'see?' kind of way. Here we can see how Nuno was able to hold onto hope in the face of what could have become a personal crisis which challenged his initial hopeful plans for a new life in London. Although he described his new life in similar terms to the one he left behind in Lisbon, i.e. — he did nothing but work and save to pay the £12,000 Masters fees — by drawing on the experiences of those with whom he shared an educational affiliation, he was creating a 'scene of negotiated sustenance that makes life bearable as it presents itself ambivalently, unevenly, incoherently' (Bryant and Knight 20189: 153). This lends weight to the argument by Bryant and Knight (2019) that limited timespaces of hope are often experienced collectively through clear directions and goals, which they liken to Aristotle's definition of hope as a disposition that leads to flourishing. In other words, for Nuno, the difference between Lisbon and London was that he was not stuck and was able to maintain hope for an alternative future. In terms of networking, Nuno conceptualised this same educational capital as a form of collective protection from wider precarity on the horizon by political changes

such as Brexit, a protection he posited was unavailable to the ‘uneducated’ construction workers whose position might be challenged. Here once more Nuno transcended ethnic commonalities and located himself within an educated peer group, a mobile, cosmopolitan elite who would be able to negotiate political events such as Brexit and the crisis by dint of their educational capital, which placed them in a non-political sphere of action, ‘above’ political precarity. This positioning placed localised Portuguese *cunha* and traditional networking as dichotomous to global, cosmopolitan, meritocratic laboral practices.

For Nuno, at this point, the thought of the Masters not leading him to the specific ‘good life’ based on status-based self-actualisation was unthinkable. When he first arrived in London his trust in weak ties networking had been open and unaffected by negative experiences, as discussed in the last chapter. In other words, his expectations drew on a thick past (Bryant and Knight 2019) of his qualifications in Portugal having led to a prestigious job there, even if the conditions were physically taxing. The unexpected nature of his current practices, however, challenged his previous expectations. His ability to cope with this change was dependent on a more immediate anticipation of a future so pressed forward that he was constantly enacting, rehearsing and experiencing it (Bryant and Knight 2019), specifically, through the activity of saving money to access ‘meritocratic’ forms of capital which he hoped would lead to professional recognition and the opening of the doors to a good life. This re-shifting of the goalposts of ‘hope’ had already had an effect on part of the good life Nuno had been envisioning when we last met, that of moving out of his mother’s house and striking out on his own as befitted his superior qualifications. He shrugged nonchalantly as he explained.

‘I’ve realised moving out of my mother’s house is unattainable for me at the moment. Without money here, you have nothing. A good life is out of your reach.’

Having previously referred to himself as a ‘new type of migrant’, a member of the ‘new generation’ and now allying himself as moving within ‘new’ types of networks (dichotomies which are indeed the focus of this whole thesis), Nuno maintained his distinction from ‘old’ Portuguese networks of *cunha* within the ‘old migrant’ community of Stockwell. However, as suggested at the beginning of the chapter, his ability to maintain meritocratic cosmopolitanism as an aspired to way of life was dependent on traditional household networks and being embedded in the Portuguese community for labour purposes.

Let us examine this through a specifically cosmopolitan conceptual lens. Nuno’s cosmopolitanism was based on his position within the ‘new’ global middle class which arose out of Portugal as a

result of increased scholarisation during the 1980s and 1990s. Through his kinship networks and family history, however, he simultaneously remained embedded in a migratory habitus of the 'traditional Portuguese migrant'. This put him in a liminal situation, dependent on the community and household-based networks whose longstanding migratory habitus had created labour networks, which he saw as less legitimate than the 'meritocratic' ones arising from neoliberal-inspired mass scholarisation, whilst at the same time drawing on these networks in order to aspire to a future which released him from both obligation and dependence, leaving him free to pursue a specific good life. This liminality, despite his cosmopolitan orientation and set of anticipations, is what put Nuno in a distinct position to that of 'traditional migrants', both within 'the community' and his own kin/ peers.

6.5 Cosmopolitan Identities

At this point it is worth unpacking the concept of cosmopolitanism further in order to examine the challenges of using it as a theoretical framework. Let us do this by briefly returning to the example of Jorge, whom we met in previous chapters. Like Nuno, Jorge lived with his family in the Portuguese community in South London and aspired to be independent of his household, principally by using the tools of higher education. Like Nuno, his vision of a 'good life' consisted of a global middle class lifestyle of home ownership, international travel and a career, which he hoped to access via the weak ties enabled by an internationally recognised qualification, his higher education degree. However, Jorge's daily practices and attitudes to traditional networking differed from Nuno. Jorge had moved to London with his parents as a child, meaning he simultaneously embodied what Nuno was working towards— fluency in English and a UK degree— and what Nuno distanced himself from— long-term embedding within the Portuguese community via his leisure and social activities (see Chapter Five) and ongoing activities with various kin households within the surrounding area (see Chapter Three, Four and Five). In this latter sense, Jorge fulfilled less Hannerz's definition of a cosmopolitan as someone who is willing to engage with the Other and more his description of a transnational, someone who had created a 'surrogate home...with the help of compatriots, in whose circle one feels most comfortable' (Hannerz 1992: 248). Despite this somewhat simplistic binary, it is true that Jorge's daily practices and affective energies were located within a heavily networked migrant community which was seen by Nuno as nepotistic, by Joaquim as a 'mental ghetto' (Chapter Five), by Marisa as a 'Portuguese Disneyland' (Chapter Five) and other interlocutors such as Patrícia (Chapter Five) as

‘recreating the world of the village’. On the other hand, Jorge’s fluency in English, educational qualifications, position and possibilities in the UK labour market and, most importantly, willingness to engage with global processes of weak ties in order to achieve his own personal vision of good life highlight the flaws in Hannerz’s overly simplistic transnational/ cosmopolitan distinction. Instead, I suggest that what we are seeing here is the possibility for individuals to fluidly move between different social spaces according to the necessities of different spheres of one’s life.

We have already seen the prevalence of localised, kin-based networking amongst certain research participants’ families who resided in South London in the current and previous chapters, such as Ze Pedro’s generosity at the Porto bar and Jorge’s family’s mutually beneficial labour exchange. Such practices countered Joaquim’s attempts, for example, to create alternative networks based on nationality (led by elites). However, despite those from outside ‘the community’ (such as Marisa, Adriana, Paolo) and cosmopolitans within it (such as Nuno) referring to it in the blanket terms described above, within ‘the community’ itself there were also nuances which challenged the simplistic old/new migrant binary. These were mainly understood as the distinction between mainland Portuguese and Madeirans. The latter were the majority ‘first wave’ of migrants to the UK in the 1970s (Giles 1991, 1992) and were referred to by others as ‘lower class’ and less educated, as seen in Nuno’s description of his employer. Jorge distinguished himself from Madeirans, saying how ‘most don’t go onto further education’ and ‘a lot of them just end up doing what their parents do afterwards, driving vans, etc.’. He cited the example of his best friend, a Madeiran in his early 20s, whose girlfriend had just fallen pregnant. Musing on his friend’s future possibilities, Jorge concluded that ‘I think for him it’s easier as his father owns a Portuguese café in Stockwell and he can just work there, son of the boss, so he can have a managerial position’.



Fig 9: Casa Madeira in South London (photo taken by the author)

In this sense, Jorge's engagement in the global middle class dream through his aspiration to a career based on higher education qualifications linked him to Nuno. However, his life world, as mentioned above, indicated that the household was less of a site of conflict with respect to conjunctural discourse narratives of a meritocratic 'new generation' who undertook 'new networking' as opposed to the 'traditional networking' by 'traditional' migrants. This conflict for Nuno, which I referred to in the previous section as 'liminality' and was evident in his narrative, located him in a more complex position. His cosmopolitan identity was more ambivalent, revealed in his simultaneous positioning of his family as the 'base of the pyramid' which he needed to start a good life but also as a stepping stone to 'something better' than kin and community-based networking.

Cosmopolitanism as a concept can shed some light on this disruption of paradigms, which, in the context of this thesis, is apparent in the meeting and subsequent conflict between two sets of values— 'traditional' networking (i.e., *cunha*/ kinship networking) versus 'modern' types of networking (i.e., meritocratic, digitalised information exchanges based on the neutral 'weak ties' of bureaucratic structures). Referring to the inherent conflict of cosmopolitanism, Beck (2002) posits a Global—Local dilemma, bringing the idea of diaspora to the fore. Suggesting that social tension and division arise between cosmopolitans and locals because the former are rooted in no place whilst the latter are in one place, he nonetheless points out that cosmopolitan forms of life and identities are ethically and cultural simultaneously global and local. However, this does not go far enough in explaining ambivalent cosmopolitanisms, such as how Jorge and Nuno both moved between the global and the local according to different needs but with different approaches. Both maintained an individualist attitude within their households, what Beck (2002) refers to as the 'root' of cosmopolitanism. Nuno did so by temporally distancing himself from responsibility to the household through not signing his name on their lease, whilst Jorge was determined not to commit to any further forms of dependence by refusing his father's offer of a loan (see Chapter Four). Unlike Jorge though, for Nuno, cosmopolitanism was further maintained through an ongoing distinction between himself and other members of his kinship group. For example, upon my suggestion that he create a social life by going to the Porto bar to see his generous cousin, he replied:

'Well, I have some news about that! They've gone! From one day to the next the family have left London, they went back to Portugal at Easter. His family in Mangualde, they have money, they own lands and I think he is trying to sell these and get some money together. We were asking them, when are you coming back and they said soon, soon,

until one day they announced they were going to stay. I don't know what they're thinking, they had everything set up here, work, house, everything. He went bankrupt there before and that's why they came here. I don't know the real reason, maybe it was just because they missed Portugal.'

He looked thoughtful.

'I think my mother will go back at some point too, she is waiting until she's old enough for the pensions and then for sure she will go back. But not just yet, she likes the people she works for, they're Portuguese, they work at the LSE⁵⁸ and she looks after the children, they've just had the second child and she loves it and I think she will stay for the third child. So, she's got a few years.'

Nuno had told me a lot about his mother, always emphasising the value she put on the Portuguese community and the affective bonds with the children she looked after. By placing kinship and local networks at the centre of his mother's experience (what in previous chapters I have referred to as an enduring 'permanence'), Nuno ascribed to her a form of meaningful existence, which was dichotomous to his own which was based on cosmopolitan meritocratic values, 'weak' ties and transnational networks. As we walked around the different pop-up food trucks surrounded by young people with fashionable haircuts and the smell of wood fired oven pizza, he elaborated. Shaking his head and laughing, he told me

'do you know what I've realised? My mother, she may work in London but in her head, she is in Portugal. She spends all day on her phone and looks up and tells me oh, guess what, this thing happened... and it's in a small town in Portugal. She has no idea about what is happening outside. No idea about any of this'

and he gestured around us.

Nuno's own use of technology was something he positioned as distinct to his engagement with 'all this', the physical, cosmopolitan field of practice of Pop Brixton. The latter was presented via a morally infused expression of it being 'more real', despite it being ground in a similar engagement with digital information sharing — our meeting online, the ongoing job search through LinkedIn and other online communities, and the use of TripAdvisor to assess the merits of the businesses

⁵⁸ The London School of Economics, a prestigious London university to where Nuno would eventually apply for a Masters. In fact, it was upon the recommendation of his mother's employer that he applied to this particular university, the latter eventually helping him with his application essay.

around us. By connecting his mother's use of emerging forms of digital communication technology with affective and emotional attachments to a Portugueseness across time and space, Nuno established an overlap wherein digital communication technologies, a central element in the creation and maintenance of 'new' forms of networking, were also associated with a general parochial mentality, linked to 'old' networking.

At this point, it is worth pointing out that English language ability, specifically, the performance of language, was a key consideration in the self-differentiation between cosmopolitan 'new networking' and the 'old networking' of both 'traditional Portuguese migrants' (who were associated with a lack of English language ability, which kept them separate from local communities) and the 'parental generation' of families such as Marisa's who never migrated. We can see this in the moral inflections of Nuno's positioning of digital networking sites such as TripAdvisor, which an inability to speak English well put out of reach to 'traditional' Portuguese migrants (such as Nuno's cousin Ze Pedro) who had to rely on word of mouth (*cunha*). Indeed, when describing the 'traditional' Portuguese community in Stockwell, Joaquim cites the reason that English classes fail as

'It's impossible. They're not interested, there is no need for them to speak English, they live in their bubble and they have no motivation to leave it. There are older ones who have been here for years and retire here because they're comfortable with their lives here, it's not Portugal but they get free transport, housing. Why change?'



Fig 10: A poster advertising English classes for Portuguese speakers at Stockwell Library in South Lambeth

Nuno's status as a cosmopolitan is significant here as his mother—who 'would never leave Stockwell, the community there means a lot to her'—didn't speak English, so would struggle living anywhere else (although Nuno said she understood more than she pretended to). Indeed, the fact that both Nuno's relatives in Stockwell and 'traditional' mid status parents of research participants such as Marisa shared a very basic grasp of English was significant. It linked Marisa and Nuno, who both sought to speak English well as quickly as possible and both abandoned the Portuguese parts of our conversations as their confidence in English grew along with their ability to use it as social capital. Indeed, after about a year of knowing her, Marisa proposed I started coaching her on how to speaking with 'a proper British accent'. Sitting in a café with her one day, I had tried to keep a straight face as she ordered a cup of tea from the waitress in an exaggeratedly aristocratic English accent. She caught my eye and, slightly pink cheeked, said

'I need to practice. This is what my voice coach told me to do. Rooound my ooooo'

and she made a circle with her mouth, waving her arms as if conducting an orchestra and giggling. She sat up straight and looked at me, 'do you mind if I practice on you?' and started telling me about her week in the same accent. This was the latest development in her plan to become an actress and stand out from the crowd, for which London was 'the place to come you know, we'll see what happens!' Determined to study at one of the big schools, she was spending all of her meagre babysitting and waitressing wages on voice coaching classes. She stopped. 'What do you think?' 'Very good', I said diplomatically, 'although I'm not sure you really need to change your accent to get along.' She shook her head slightly. 'I mustn't sound so foreign' she said firmly then sighed and switched into Portuguese. 'It's tiring though!'

This last point suggests that it was not just ability to speak English, but how it was performed and what this performance meant to the individuals involved in terms of gaining cosmopolitan capital. Although Nuno's brother was able to speak English fluently, having migrated to London as a small child, Nuno told me he seldom left Stockwell, or engaged with people outside of the Portuguese community, which Nuno put down to shyness and being 'attached' to 'the community'. This is another parallel between Nuno's brother and Jorge, neither of whom I focus on as cosmopolitans because of their distinct relationship to Stockwell, but both of whom 'sound' much more British than Marisa or Nuno⁵⁹.

⁵⁹ As discussed above, Jorge's education and language ability enabled him to exercise a form of cosmopolitanism by moving between different encounters and networks with the 'Other' to the extent that older members of his family did not. However, if we take the inherent conflict and ongoing processes of distinction and individuality of Nuno's form of cosmopolitanism as the focus of this chapter, we can self-consciously apply the Hannerzian definition of 'transnational' to both Jorge and Nuno's brother at this point. Nonetheless,

Nuno and Marisa were also linked in a shared outlook of the perceived differences in digital practices between themselves as cosmopolitans and their parents, which to some extent superseded status differences between them. Indeed, online networking sites such as Facebook, LinkedIn etc. connected educated Portuguese migrants around London, despite distinctive migratory habitus and class backgrounds. The discourse of the latter took on a moral slant regarding how this form of networking differentiated them from the localised, traditional networks of care and networking such as is seen in Stockwell. Although the 'traditional migrants' were similarly engaged in digital networking, and indeed, used many of the same social media sites to network, the implication was that doing it to maintain networks within the Portuguese community was less legitimate than using the sites to expand 'weak ties' or connections based on shared educational experiences outside the community. The contradictory nature of this attitude is apparent when we observe how Marisa used digital networking to establish new networks which may not have been locally-ethnically bound (i.e., not in Stockwell), but were transnationally-ethnically so (for example when she met a Portuguese friend of a friend in Liverpool Street Station, which I will discuss further in the next section).

Let us examine the above by applying Amit's (2007) argument of 'weak ties' in the context of the 'new' migrants' way of interacting being suggested by them as somehow more legitimate than *cunha* or community ties. Marisa's meeting of the Portuguese friend-of-a-friend is acceptable because their ethnic commonalities were superseded by their conjunctural commonalities, i.e. having the same aspirations towards a cosmopolitan 'good life' in London, achieved via educational capital. Nuno's implied critique of Ze Pedro's use of *cunha* in the bar, as well as his lack of engagement with TripAdvisor in its capacity as an English-language dominated, pan-European network of reviews foregrounded his own search for work. The latter was positioned as 'meritocratic' as his qualifications were part of a European-wide network, which nonetheless was not recognised by 'low class' colleagues at the building firm, with whom he struggled to engage. Here we can see the important role of status and social and educational capital, which were significantly associated with a neutral conceptualisation of the nation. More than one of the 'new' educated migrants suggested the Stockwell Portuguese were living in a 'Disneyland' version of Portugal created by themselves, which didn't exist back home anymore and made them 'less Portuguese' than the educated migrants who were more connected with the 'real' Portugal. We can further see this through the self-conscious nature of Nuno's invitation to the football match at the beginning of this chapter. His suggestion and interest in my work was anthropological in its

this is a somewhat simplistic binary but a lack of more extensive data on the longer-established Portuguese community in London makes it a potential area for further research.

awareness of the centrality of football in any study of the ‘culture’ of the Portuguese and indeed can be seen as a distancing of himself as an object of study as part of his cosmopolitanism— an awareness of anthropology, the study of ‘other’, as a cosmopolitan field of study (Rapport 2007).

At this point the significance of the digitalisation of networking, relationality and information across space and time to what is being discussed in this chapter becomes central. Whilst Nuno positioned his own use of digital communications as part of a cosmopolitan approach to the world which valued higher education and a global middle-class habitus based on ‘meritocratic’ values of a ‘new generation’, he framed his mother’s use of digital technologies as less connected to reality, as she used them to maintain Portugueseness and associated *cunha*. This brings us onto the embodied/ phenomenological nature of technologies used in communication and their role in taking the migrant on an out of body experience. In the following section, I expand upon this idea, the ‘reality’ of digital communication as an embodied/ phenomenological experience and its role in the conflict between ‘traditional’ and ‘new’ forms of networking across time and space.

6.6 The Digital Age—What is Real?

In a café on Deptford High Street with the thrice weekly market bustling outside, Marisa was telling me about her new iPhone. Her brother, who was studying for a Master’s degree in Barcelona, had ordered it for her on Spanish EBay and then taken it back to their family home in Portugal for her to pick up the next time she was there. ‘But now I think I have to send it back! The battery doesn’t last!’ and she shook it in frustration. Starting to tap away at the screen, she explained,

‘I didn’t have room for the Facebook Messenger app on my old one, just Facebook, but now I have Messenger ... oh my god, I spend so much time on it! The bus on the way back the other night, the whole journey, I was chatting with everyone, ping ping ping, my mother was there and she just wanted to chat and I wanted to!’

She laughed and shook her head.

‘Typical Portuguese mother hen! She needs the constant attention, she misses me. My father, he doesn’t need so much contact, he is happy with face to face, but my mother, yes.’

She paused and wrinkled her nose, 'but at the end I felt strange. It didn't feel natural'. Smiling apologetically, she finished using her phone and pointedly put it back in her bag. She looked thoughtful.

'I struggle with social media actually, I'm usually so independent, but with this I distract myself so easily, I only mean to look up one thing and suddenly I'm there for hours chatting. I think it's stopping people being able to engage face to face. I study theatre and there we learn how to communicate a message with our faces, but with computers you can't do that! I'm not a very tactile person, not so emotional, but people on Facebook chat to me and say things they wouldn't dare face to face! They send hearts, I send hearts ... do I mean these hearts? It's not real! It's not human! I wish I could ignore them all.'

Like Nuno's assessment of his mother having 'her head in Portugal', here Marisa was also suggesting that changes in relationality and networking across time and space were unnatural and antisocial. Describing her sudden increase in digital relationality as 'not real' and affecting her 'independence', the impact of Marisa's more technologically-advanced phone formed a direct contrast to how she had understood herself until then— a theatre student who communicated with her face, who valued 'real, human' interactions over digital ones, and somebody who was 'independent' from her family networks as a cosmopolitan individual. Referring to an incident the week before, when she had been trying to meet another Portuguese girl for the first time in Liverpool Street station after her phone had died, she said,

'I knew what she looked like from Facebook, but we hadn't said where to meet ... I realised how dependent we are on these things now, for the most basic tasks! But, in a way, I liked it, being escaped from the phone. I would like to escape in general, I wish I could delete myself from social media sometimes! But like I said, my mother, she likes to FaceTime. Me, I use WhatsApp, Facebook, but that's it! No Instagram, no Snapchat, it's enough, there's too much out there!'

As if on cue, her phone beeped again and rolling her eyes, she took it out, explaining that she was expecting a message about a job interview the next day. Watching Marisa's face glow with an otherworldly light reflected from her new machine, it struck me what she had said about it bringing about a new 'reality' when it came to relationalities and family as well as weak ties networks. The device's enhanced memory meant she now had more apps and more connectivity. She had always texted me in the past as she couldn't afford to update her mobile data every month for WhatsApp messaging. Now she had found a new package, with increased data, to

complement her increased storage. The pay-as-you-go mobile phone packages on offer in the UK had greatly expanded in the past year, with a lot more flexibility afforded to those unwilling or unable to commit to a two-year contract. For Marisa, buying her own handset at a cut-price rate on the online black market had immediately activated a new form of relating to existing kinship networks whilst at the same time enhancing her accessibility to potential weak ties networks which would assist her in achieving her cosmopolitan ideals of good life. Putting her phone away again, she teased me for being 'left behind' on my older Android operating system which kept crashing. Laughing along, I was struck by the ever-increasing power of global networks, normally associated with a globalised, cosmopolitan modernity (Appadurai 1996, 2004), over the most intimate of networks, that of the household. Maintaining the increased visibility and frequency of contact, which had become the norm for transnational families, required not being 'left behind' but ensuring access to constantly evolving technology.

This is not to take a technologically-deterministic view however, as Marisa's own reflections revealed her to be not a passive consumer but a mindful user of technology. A consciousness of the power of social media over her daily activities was clear in her constant negotiation with it as a medium to maintain her relationships, which evolved and changed according to how they were mediated. As Boellstorff (2008) points out, technology has long been a central part of human experience, as both a tool and product of human effort. Citing the example of the printing press, he reminds us that whilst technology has revolutionised human existence in the past, throughout, we have remained essentially human, albeit with new kinds of potential. However, I suggest that in the case of evolving smartphone technology, their algorithms have not merely replaced previous forms of communication, but also embodied a suspension of time and space which stimulated the senses in a completely new way and manifested as a feeling of 'strangeness'. In Marisa's case, her uneasiness with her changing digital kinship practices was expressed most when the intensity of her family household in its changing forms began to impact upon the rhythms of her new life in London. Marisa described this discomfort in a sensorial way, the restriction of certain senses in favour of others. Her ability to engage with materialities in the open space around her body jostled with how she experienced intimate spaces of vision and hearing, activating what Marks (2000) would call 'cultural memory' via a material form (her phone). Marisa's cognitive experiences of her childhood household world (memory, the performance of kinship, intimate communication), now intermingled with those of her outer, London world which she associated with a new, cosmopolitan reality: the sounds of the train station, the smell of fast food, and the bright lights of the train platforms.

This 'strangeness' could be posited as a further example of the conflict between 'new' forms of networking by the cosmopolitan 'European generation' who migrated in order to 'have an adventure' and explore routes to self-actualisation, which were facilitated through the explosion of information sharing and digital networking. Like Nuno's conclusion of his mother's dependence on Portuguese networks through her phone as being disengaged from the 'real world' around them, Marisa also interpreted her parents increasing presence throughout her day, afforded by new technology, as 'strangeness'. Both Nuno and Marisa's understanding of this 'strangeness' was intertwined with a disconcerting awareness of their ongoing dependence on their kinship networks. The constant possibility of interaction with her mother via her phone (in Marisa's case) and his ongoing presence in his mother's house (in Nuno's) served as a constant reminder to them both of their ongoing dependence on 'traditional' networks of family support whilst they articulated their desires to fulfil their ambitions through weak ties cosmopolitan networks. This was underscored by the fact that despite the differences in their backgrounds in terms of socioeconomic capital and migratory habitus, Marisa and Nuno shared a way of describing the world in terms of 'us', the 'new' generation of cosmopolitan, highly educated migrants who had more in common with their European counterparts than what they perceived as the culturally and linguistically bound communities of the 'old' generation of Portuguese emigrants.

6.7 Digital Kinship Networks

I was sitting in Lidia's kitchen in Matosinhos, a suburb of Porto, where she kept up a steady patter of family anecdotes and opinions on everything that was going on in the world as she flurried around. She looked just like her daughter, Marisa, with her short, wild black hair, bright black eyes and hands enthusiastically moving about with many of the same expressions and gestures. Throughout our conversation, Lidia would frequently consult the device lying on the counter. 'Ah, you like *francesinha*⁶⁰? I'll ask Diogo the best place' or 'I have no idea how to get into the Wi-Fi, here, let me ask Fernando' and, in a graceful dance between the handset and the sink of potatoes she was scrubbing, she would WhatsApp one son in Belgium or the other in Spain. Seconds later, a reply would buzz with instructions for the router or a link to a restaurant.

⁶⁰ A type of hot sandwich consisting of several different meats and lots of cheese which is drenched in a tomato sauce. A speciality of Porto, it was allegedly brought back by Portuguese returning migrants from France.



Fig.11: After Diogo sent the link to his favourite *francesinha* restaurant Lidia took me there that very afternoon, after which she sent her son a copy of this photo.

Communication technology has always had a particular relevance for migrant families, where transnational kinship relationalities have long been negotiated via constantly evolving forms of technology such as letters, cassettes and phone cards (Appadurai 1996; Madianou and Miller 2012; Thomas et al 1996; Thompson 2009; Parreñas 2005; Vertovec 2004; Wilding 2006; Uy-Tioco 2007). Indeed, Madianou and Miller (2012) suggest that transnational mothering through instant technology mediums is a way to exercise long-distance forms of control from mother to child, allowing the continuing ‘performance’ of motherhood, whilst alleviating the guilt migrant mothers feel for leaving their children. In Lidia and Marisa’s case, however, the balance of reciprocity was far more nuanced. Like her daughter, Lidia’s relationship with her phone was an example of the integration of an emerging form of non-human materiality into the ongoing construction of a world shared with others. (Dis-)Continuities of space were made more stark by the physical absence of her children, which contrasted with their virtual presence, accessible through her phone. As with Marisa, the temptation to be constantly connected was facilitated by the sophistication of the apparatus and the increasing availability of affordable data packages and high-speed internet connections. Therefore, the form of the phone as an object in her life was not something external within a ‘network’, but an integral part of an emerging form of ‘reality’ which went beyond the limits of sensory physicality in a way more static forms of past communication were unable to do. The disintegration of the phone’s material boundaries had been woven into Marisa’s and Lidia’s life-worlds through habitual use, via what Merleau-Ponty would refer to as ‘knowledge in the hands’ (Moore 2012: 46), the repeated sharing and manipulating of relational flows which are both affective and informational.

Nevertheless, it is true that there was an element of obligation in Marisa's need to remain engaged with social media, in order to continue allowing her mother to perform her 'mother hen' role, notwithstanding the emotional labour involved for both women. Marisa's understanding of digital communication use sat alongside her personal system of cosmopolitan values and the complications of a relationality within her family that was both intensified and maintained by transnational communications. Laughing as I told her that my parents were far more attached to their devices than anyone I knew who was our age, and often ignored me when they came to visit, Marisa replied

'Well, they do love their phones, but they're not quite that bad! My Dad has completely changed his initial attitude, I remember when there were first emails and he was like, Email, Email? Write letters! Letters! But now he is always posting stuff on Facebook and typing away. My Mum too, she has her iPad and I think they are old and they have had enough of each other, haha, maybe like your parents! So, when they are together maybe they use their phones and iPad. But when we are together no, we still talk, still engage, social!'

This conversation came back to me when I spent time with Marisa's parents a few months later and the nuances of their intra-family relationships became clearer. We were drinking *vinho do porto*⁶¹ after dinner one night when a WhatsApp videocall came from Marisa. 'Ha!' said Lidia, wagging her finger at me, 'it's just because you're here! Normally she wouldn't bother'. Dinner had been tins of *conservas* (tuna and other fish, a speciality of Matosinhos) and bread, which were now piled up around us, tiny material remnants of Matosinho's collapsed industrial past releasing the scent of tuna into the air.



Fig 12: The *Monumento Tragedia no Mar* on Matosinhos beach.⁶²

⁶¹ Port wine, the local speciality

⁶² A five-minute drive from their home, Lidia took me to see it on her tour of the area and explained that it represented the suffering of the families of the 152 sailors from the area who lost their lives at sea during a 1947 storm.

The night before, Lidia had been texting and attempting to videocall all three children throughout dinner. Diogo, Marisa's older brother who was doing an internship in Brussels, had picked up and the phone was subsequently placed at the end of the table for us all to see him. Tonight Marisa could be seen walking home from the bus stop, the desolate streets of North Greenwich behind her, drizzle falling softly and occasionally plopping onto the screen. Lidia pulled her chair up close to me and, reaching over to plug in her phone, rested it against the tins of tuna, instructing me to fill Marisa in on our day. I felt awkward and tried angling the phone to include Sérgio, who had been a quiet bystander during most of Lidia's dinnertime conversation. Lidia moved around, tidying up, and we had a four-way conversation about dinner and Marisa's evening waitressing job, Sérgio saying little but sitting up a little straighter, his eyes a little brighter as he spoke to his daughter. I was very aware of how many places, bodies and temporalities had flitted in and out of their small flat on the outskirts of Porto in the last couple of days, Marisa and the London summer rain at the end of the table where Diogo, sitting in a dark living room in Brussels, had been the night before.

Viewing transnational kinship in action, it seemed to me that the processual construction of familial networks (or socialities) had been transformed from a base of what I have decided to call 'micro-moments'. I define these as the thousands of expressions of everyday affect and communally constructed memories which make up family life and take place face to face. This concept describes the form of interaction which Marisa referred to as 'real' and 'social'. Ever more sophisticated communication technologies in recent years, however, a result of the increasing knowledge-sharing of late modernity which was fundamentally linked to my research participants cosmopolitan ideals, had brought about an emerging form of household relationality based on what I term 'meta-moments'. This is a sociality which has appeared as a result of the temporal and spatial reconfigurations of the long-distance video call. What is actually said in time-compressed meta-moments can be perfunctory and functional but nevertheless contributes towards a new form of kinship, which goes beyond spoken language, activating the shared memories and affective experiences of micro-moments and serving as a bridge between periods where the household can be physically united and construct more micro-moments. At this point the micro/ meta moment analogy seems conceptually diametrical to the concept of 'weak ties'. Where the latter is defined as a bureaucratic professional relationship, the experience of both 'micro' and 'meta' moments is so intimate that it is felt less through spoken words than by affect, memory and family connections. In that flat in Porto digital kinship felt like it was at its vortex, at the site of the original household where micro-moments existed as the ghosts of past relationships, ongoing conflicts, and affections of present and future imaginations, weaving in and

out of each other during the meta-moment of the phone call. The backdrop was the smells and sounds of the Portuguese summer evening and their northern European equivalents, so close to those on one side of the screen, and simultaneously a great distance away but still perceptible to a less or greater extent through memory or the senses to those on the other.

Despite initially appearing not so, commonalities between 'weak ties' networks and family sociality, the strongest of 'strong ties', are poignant in their overlap. Amit (2007) points out that whilst standardisation via weak ties provided the opportunity for individuals such as Nuno and Marisa to 'find themselves' in the cosmopolitan, global labour market, it could also lead to disposability and the constant potential for the spontaneous dis-embedding of social relations. In other words, at any moment Marisa's zero-hours contract catering job, which afforded her independence, could be taken away from her if the company decided they didn't need her the following week. The nature of global capitalism meant her ability to survive in London through professional networks was constantly precarious. Indeed, the weak ties of her professional network at times were so weak they were in danger of breaking altogether, meaning she would have to take recourse to her familial network once more. The linking together of micro-moments in meta-moment phone calls consequently not only enabled an ongoing performance of enduring affect and kinship, although this too was a significant effect of the call, but also emphasised the interdependence of one type of network on the other. If Marisa lost her job she could video-call her parents, using not just language but facial expressions and gestures to communicate instantly what she needed to survive until she found a new job. In this instance, the meta-moment experience would become so infused with the weight of affect and emotional intensity to blur the boundaries with what I previously referred to as micro moments, i.e., a spontaneous, emotionally charged experience normally performed face to face. In this sense, we return to the idea of an emerging form of reality which I described at the beginning of the chapter, a reality which stretches the boundaries of sensory physicality in new ways, dissolving material boundaries.

Unpacking this further, I propose that digital meta-moments should not be seen as mere bridges between the 'reality' of micro-moments. Back in Porto, as I sat alone in Marisa's childhood bedroom late at night writing up notes, surrounded by her stuffed animals and theatre posters, I wondered about the tense atmosphere between her parents after dinner that evening. As soon as their children were offline they had sat on opposite ends of the living room and not said another word to each other, Sérgio on his iPad and Lidia next to me on the sofa, showing me videos on her phone. Sitting at Marisa's little desk after they'd gone to bed, my own smartphone, which was connected to their Wi-Fi, started flashing with a flurry of instant Facebook messages from Marisa.

She explained that her parents were going through a hard time in their marriage and telling me not to worry if it felt weird. It gave a new meaning to her previous comments, back in London, about their ignoring each other in favour of their devices as 'perhaps they were bored of each other'. Expanding on her own analysis from my position as a guest in their home, the atmosphere I had picked up on whilst I was present was indeed lightened by the virtual 'presence' of one of the children when they did respond. This virtual presence could therefore be seen as an emerging household strategy to manage an emerging intra-family sociality, a new reality across space and time.

In the context of this, let us return to the oft-referred to mother-hen analogy. On the one hand, Lidia often described herself as an 'animated person', a description Marisa's twin brother Fernando would rephrase as 'hyperactive and annoying' when he arrived the next day on a weekend home from Barcelona. Marisa, too, had referred to her mother as 'constantly energetic'. This seemed to tally with Lidia's energetic hopping from question to answer via the instant gratification of her iPhone, i.e., that being 'animated' was a big part of Lidia's sense of self at the level of her family. However, when I observed her face-to-face interactions with people in the neighbourhood, such as local shopkeepers, she presented a more still, stoical acceptance of her children's lives abroad. 'What is there for them here?' she would say with a rueful shrug to the sympathetically nodding fish seller, 'I have to let them get on with it!' Lidia later told me she often lay awake worrying about her children's futures and found it hard to relax. Lidia's energetic use of digital communication to maintain contact with her children can therefore be posited as a solution driven reaction to the alternatives of stoical acceptance of their options and choices on the one hand, and worry regarding their long-term futures on the other, against a backdrop of an unhappy marriage where the possibilities of ongoing positive micro-moments were diminished. The capacity for constant communication meant that Lidia could attempt to achieve a new form of traditionally face-to-face micro-moments by accessing specific moments of her children's daily lives in a sensorially-rich way throughout the day.

However, the restriction of time and space meant that often these interactions were necessarily fleeting and unsatisfying. I propose that it is this hybridisation and ebbing and flowing between micro and meta moments which resulted in feelings of 'strangeness' and awareness of obligation for Marisa and frustration for her mother. Nevertheless, for the latter, I suggest that the possibility for instant relationality as offered by digital communications throughout the day enhanced, rather than diminished, the psychic engagement and ongoing maintenance of transnational kinship networks that the physical separation may otherwise have threatened to

remove. In a more poignant sense, it also allowed the expansion out of the (uncomfortable, lonely) intimate, shared collection of micro-moments which was her unhappy marriage towards a wider shared household, albeit one mediated by, until recently, unfamiliar versions of temporal and spatial reality. The temporary digital reunification of the household through technology in this context therefore provided a space which suspended ongoing hostilities—the compressed ‘micro-moments’ of positive and negative affect which are a natural part of family life—into a ‘meta-moment’ of a performed, idealised kinship.

6.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I started from the notion that my research participants’ expressions of individualist self-aspiration and ‘a good life’, according to the global standards of ‘weak ties’ meritocratic networks, were embedded in ongoing household networks of inter-dependence. I then suggested that it was the conflictive nature of these two distinct but mutually dependent forms of sociality which was particularly notable within the narratives of my Portuguese respondents in London. I examined this conflict throughout the chapter by taking into account concepts already discussed throughout this thesis, specifically, the status-element to the intertwining of networks and the role of educational capital and migratory habitus. In doing this, I found it particularly useful to return to the conceptual lens of cosmopolitanism to examine networks.

The goals and aspirations of my respondents outlined a conflict between what they saw as ‘old’ and ‘new’ experiences within their lives in London, at the workplace and at the household level. I suggested that for individuals such as Nuno, cosmopolitan practices of distinction were fundamental to the ‘limited timespaces of hope’ that emerged as an outcome of the meeting of certain historical status conditions and emerging structures of feeling regarding a good life and the role of further education/ value on ‘weak ties’ forms of networking. This was explored through the football match at the beginning of the chapter, which revealed practices of ‘traditional’ networking at community and household level. Here cosmopolitanism was again maintained by Nuno through processes of distinction on both an individual and a collective level, which links us back to the first chapter on generation and also other categories of difference such as class, familial heroes etc.

At this point it is also useful to distinguish between different forms of cosmopolitanism. We saw that for Nuno, his desire to engage with processes outside of the enclosed cultural world of ‘the

community' in which he was relationally embedded made him what Werbner (1999) would call a non-elite transnational who had developed new cosmopolitan subjectivities and identities, a working class cosmopolitan. In Marisa's case on the other hand, coming from a family where she was the 'first generation' to migrate (within living memory anyway), her narratives more fully encapsulated what Hannerz (1990) calls true cosmopolitanism through her exhibiting of a culturally open disposition and her interest in a continuous engagement with other cosmopolitan projects. There was less conflict between 'new' and 'old' networking ideals within the daily practices of Marisa's household in London, which was made up of individuals who share her cosmopolitan outlook but whom were simultaneously digitally disembodied in their own distinct transnational 'traditional' networks. I later explored the impact of increased levels of digital kinship on cosmopolitan individuals' perception of themselves. Before this increased focus on digitality, however, I again examined the impact of Nuno's being continuously physically surrounded by the history, obligation and networking opportunities of the local Portuguese diaspora because of his migratory habitus and local household. To maintain his cosmopolitanism, Nuno distanced himself from this type of ethnic-collectivity based networking by discursively positioning himself as a 'new' type of migrant by dint of his education. In doing so, he distinguished himself from his family and emphasised his adherence to digital networking as a means of creating new ties. As a systemic feature of global bureaucracy, Nuno positioned these 'weak ties' as more legitimate than the emotionally charged 'strong ties' of core affective links, encapsulated within the Portuguese concept of *cunha*. We saw this in the vignette showing kinship-based networking in action (Ze Pedro and preferential treatment) and how Nuno morally interpreted it as 'amateur' and 'not professional' meaning it was 'their own fault they don't live well'. This feeling was further expressed through a discourse on gendered roles which didn't recognise cosmopolitan qualifications, as well as through commentaries on uses of English. Language capital particularly was a key concept in the ongoing self-differentiation between cosmopolitan 'new networking' of Nuno (and other research participants previously mentioned such as Marisa, Adriana etc.) and the 'old networking' of both 'traditional Portuguese migrants' (who were associated with a lack of English language ability which keeps them separate from local communities) and the 'parental generation' of families such as Marisa's who never migrated. It was significant that it was not just an ability to speak English but how it was performed and what this performance meant to the individuals involved. Again, this transcended 'traditional' status markers, particularly so when we recall that although Nuno and Marisa's parents were very different in their status background and migratory habitus, none of them spoke English. Here the concept of cosmopolitanism was again useful, as despite their different forms of

cosmopolitanism, both Nuno and Marisa shared a mode of cosmopolitan being which was expressed as a 'perspective, a state of mind, or— to take a more processual view— a mode of managing meaning' (Hannerz 1990: 238) in which relationships were maintained with a plurality of cultures. This is in contrast to Jorge and Nuno's brother (both second generation immigrants who were brought up in London), who sounded more like native speakers, but through their less ambivalent positions within local Portuguese networks, were also less uneasily located between the two ways of seeing the world.

Building on this notion of ambivalence, I went on to suggest that 'new' and 'old' networking paradigms were actually interdependent. I suggested that Marisa's experience of 'strangeness' and uneasiness with her changing digital kinship practices was expressed most when the intensity of her family household in its changing forms began to impact across time and space upon the rhythms of her new life in London. This was not only a shift in relationality but a constant reminder of her ongoing dependence on 'old networks', an interdependence which was also significant within the case study on Nuno. This shared dependence on 'old' networks during times of precarity was both contradicted and rendered invisible by their narratives of cosmopolitan weak ties aspirations.

Following on from this, I approached interdependence through a specific lens of the digitalisation of networks in the migrant context, asking how the conflict between 'new' and 'old' networks manifested across space and time. We firstly saw this through the false binary propounded by the 'new generation' regarding 'traditional' versus digitalised 'new' networks, which was disrupted by the fact that both the 'old migrants' and the mid-status 'older generation' back in Portugal were also heavily engaged in technology. Indeed, the latter's use of technology overlapped with that of the 'new generation' in terms of setting up and maintaining a newly negotiated form of networking. The migration literature I have cited throughout this paper shows that this has always been the case, the most advanced mode of communication at the time always having linked generations of transnational families across the centuries. These studies put forth the idea of the older generation's increased dependence on technology being a means to fill the gaps their children have left in the household and explored how this was experienced by the children themselves (Madianou and Miller 2012).

Expanding on these studies, I led onto a discussion of how the shared digitalisation of networking, relationality and information across space and time with the 'new generation' was morally and sensorially expressed as 'strange' and 'unreal' by their migrant children when not specifically linked to cosmopolitan practices of establishing weak ties networks. In the featured case study,

we see that whilst this expanding relationality fed Lidia's natural energy as a 'mother hen', as well as the constant concern about her children's precarious migratory situations, for her daughter Marisa the integration of kinship socialities across space into her daily sensorial practices was simultaneously felt as both a struggle and a gradually accepted new form of family sociality. This struggle manifested as a conflict between the 'real' and the 'unreal', challenging the meaning of sensorial experiences and contradicts previous forms of personhood and daily practices. It was not a denial of but part of the process of creating forms of relationality, achieved by dwelling in environments of relationships, spatialities and experiences as part of an enduring permanence and kinship. Consequent reactions to emerging new relationalities as 'not real' had differing impacts on the senses, such as being felt as encroaching kinship obligations and emotional labour. 'Strangeness' intertwined with an awareness of an ongoing dependence, which was also experienced as 'strange' and uncomfortable as it challenged the notions held by the cosmopolitan 'our generation' who had migrated in order to 'have an adventure'. Nuno's conclusion that his mother's dependence on Portuguese networks through her phone meant she was disengaged from the 'real world' and Marisa's positing of her parents increasing presence throughout her day as 'strangeness' further highlights how both Nuno and Marisa's understanding of this 'strangeness' was intertwined with a disconcerting awareness of their ongoing dependence on their kinship networks.

Apart from being experienced as strange, this new reality also had other influences on transnational household relationality on a phenomenological level. Whilst recognising that such relationalities have always been impacted by emerging communication technologies, I argued in this chapter that the differences between current technology and previous ones had led to an enhanced phenomenological experience. This was especially observable in the case study example of transnational mothering, where I expanded on Madianou and Miller's (2012) linking of instant technology mediums to long-distance forms of control from mother to child. Whilst such mediums allow for the continuing performance of motherhood, they also impacted on the balance of reciprocal affect on several different levels. I elaborated on this via a conceptual distinction which I referred to as 'micro-moments' and macro-moments'. 'Micro-moments' stand for the thousands of physically enacted expressions of everyday affect and communally constructed memories, which make up family life, whilst 'meta-moments' are digitally enabled performances of remembered or imagined kinship at the individual and family level on a basis that is temporally and spatially constrained by technology. I proposed that despite these spatial and temporal constrictions, meta-moments can be seen as an emerging household strategy to

maintain the affective bonds of a newly configured, wider practices of relationality, reviving the effect of thousands of micro-moments.

More significantly however, I emphasised that micro and macro moments are not distinct forms of relating, but intrinsically linked, feeding off and enabling each other and to a greater and lesser extent, merging. On the one hand, micro-moments, as the unsaid, unseen ghosts of past relationships, ongoing conflicts, and affections of present and future imaginations weave in and out of the meta-moment of the video-call, enabling the latter to serve as a new form of kinship. In this first sense, meta-moments go beyond spoken language, activating the shared memories and affective experiences of micro-moments and serving as a bridge between periods where the household can be physically united and construct more micro-moments.

On the other hand, the bridge analogy can be posited as just one way of understanding digital kinship. Whilst Marisa disparaged the use of digital devices during the 'real' sociality of her family 'all being together', (i.e. creating micro-moments), she justified her parents' lack of engagement in their own micro-moments (i.e., engagement with each other) in favour of their devices when their children were absent (physically or digitally) as 'being bored of each other'. This suggests that when the household is physically fragmented, the ethics of 'real' sociality/ micro-moments, which require physical engagement, do not apply. However, in terms of this blurring of boundaries regarding exactly what a micro-moment and a meta-moment are, I suggested that meta-moments as household strategy could also be posited as an emerging *alternative* form of micro-moments by accessing specific moments of the lives of loved ones across time and space in a sensorially-rich way throughout the day. Restrictions of time and space brought about challenges in making this a satisfying encounter, these interactions being necessarily fleeting and constrained and therefore difficult to transform on a phenomenological level. Nevertheless, this attempt at hybridisation left an affective impact, being felt as obligation for Marisa and frustration for her mother. For the latter, the possibility of instant communication as offered by smartphone technology throughout the day enhanced, rather than diminished, the psychic engagement and ongoing maintenance of transnational kinship networks that the physical separation may otherwise have threatened to remove, as well as alleviating the physical reality of a tense intimate space of two. Meta-moments in this sense can therefore be posited as not merely a bridge but also a source of respite from tense micro-moments, the suspension of ongoing hostilities of negative affect, which are a natural part of family life, alleviating them into a conduit through which to perform idealised kinship.

I suggest that the nature of the micro/ meta moment analogy parallels that of the cosmopolitan 'weak ties' versus traditional *cunha*/ kinship networking. In other words, for an individual reaching towards a good life based on weak ties, frequent barriers arise due to the disposability inherent in the very system it arises from, that of global capitalism. Whether posited as the search for 'an adventure' or 'a good life', Marisa and Nuno's ongoing capacity for survival was dependent on the strength of their intimate ties to provide a safety net in times of precarity. The linking together of micro-moments in meta-moment phone calls accordingly not only enabled an ongoing performance of affect and kinship, what I have previously referred to as an enduring 'permanence', but also provided the potential for immediate alleviation of the consequences of precarity and emphasised the interdependence of one type of network on the other. This interdependence was often rendered invisible by cosmopolitan narratives, but nevertheless was the relational/ intimate basis of the system of cosmopolitan weak ties, meritocracy and neutral bureaucracy. In times of capitalist crisis these intimate and household kinship networks were the ones which were drawn on in order to sustain hope. Both the struggle against and acceptance of these ever-changing elements can therefore be said to be part of ongoing processes of personhood within temporally nuanced, enduring historical time.

7.1 A Reflective Vignette

Having first met Marisa, who, along with her mother, became one of my key respondents and a good friend, I then got to know her employer and family friend Vanessa. Vanessa in turn introduced me to her neighbour, Lucia. Vanessa and Lucia had met when they overheard each other speaking Portuguese to their children in the playground below the luxurious, recently built apartment building⁶³ in Greenwich where they both lived, which looked over the River Thames. Like Vanessa, Lucia's husband was an investment banker who lived in Canary Wharf. Meeting her towards the end of my fieldwork in London, her stories and experiences seemed to pull together all the themes that would become the main analytical points of my thesis. Describing herself as 'the generation who migrated for adventure' rather than 'needing to', she later revealed that her husband's job in Portugal was precarious because of problems at the bank. Using her husbands' 'weak ties' networks had enabled them to move to London and maintain the 'global middle class' good life they had been used to beforehand whilst simultaneously reinforcing an attitude in Lucia, which throughout this thesis I have described in the context of other respondents as a historically mediated cosmopolitanism. Lucia's talk was peppered with references to changing expectations and visions of the future within a dichotomy of 'old' and 'new', the nature of which has been a major focus of my analytical references to temporality.

After arranging to meet her in the park one day with our children, Lucia, an energetic and bubbly 36-year-old, agreed to a further coffee date at the café halfway between our two flats. This was the only time we saw each other without the distraction of children and it turned into a four-hour chat, during which Lucia enthusiastically told me about her life and move to London and reflected on the changes migration had produced in her. Specifically, she referred to a

'change in myself, I see it in all my friends here, your mind becomes much more open, ready to accept things. My friends here, lots work in architecture, some economists like my husband...and they say in Portugal you have a job and you are too afraid to change because you are stable and you are scared to change that, but here it is your skills that are valued, not even your qualification. Being here there are so many opportunities, the companies, they are willing to invest in you, to make you grow and make something. But

⁶³ The building was marketed as luxurious and the apartments' purchase prices were correspondingly high, however Vanessa and Marisa often complained that the workmanship was shoddy and things kept breaking down.

you have to have the ambition to come and make it happen and some people don't, they get used to a certain way of being.'

Although initially saying it was 'a personality thing, choosing to migrate', Lucia's narrative was also interwoven with a pragmatic attitude where she described migrating as simultaneously 'an adventure' and a calculated decision to make her professional profile more competitive in Portugal, to where they 'definitely were going back, no questions asked...maybe in five years or so'.

Like many of my highly educated respondents, of both elite and lower status backgrounds, Lucia was the first in her family to go to university, where she had studied psychology to Masters level. The fact her parents had not gone, however, emphasises the relatively recent role of educational capital as establishing contemporary notions of status, as her family could nevertheless be considered as part of the Portuguese elite. Lucia and her husband were both from the industrial region of Guimarães, and both sets of parents and grandparents had owned or worked in the family textile factories throughout the region. Before this, like Pedro (Chapter Five), Lucia's great-grandparents had been landowners, had streets named after them, and had never migrated as they 'never had to'.

From landowners three genealogical generations ago to the subsequent two generations owning textile businesses, Lucia described her family's factories as having done 'really well, everyone in the family worked in them', meaning they thrived during the dictatorship years, when, because of its restrictions, only the 'low class' migrated, mostly illegally. For Lucia's ancestors however, 'it wasn't a necessity' and they had been able to give their descendants up to Lucia's generation a 'good life where we could do what we wanted'. It was during the structural crisis of the mid 1990s when things started to change. Lucia's awareness of the impact of global neoliberal policies which opened up east Asia as a major production hub on her family's fortunes being expressed as

'it started to go wrong with the third generation my mum's cousin, he took it over, it was him, my mum, her sister...but they were girls and he was a very macho type, he started to manage it and I think he wasn't very good with the accounts because it collapsed. It was China, everything became so cheap and they couldn't compete'.

Despite her claim therefore, that they 'didn't have to migrate...it was an adventure', Lucia then described how a stable job in Portugal for young people graduating in the years following austerity was no longer possible, and certainly did not include the option of changing careers for self-development, as Lucia described was possible in the UK.

‘So many of my friends back home, they are in the same job as when they graduated, 2004, and it is the same salary, maybe a little bit more now. Ours is the last generation to have that, we were lucky but no-one wants to risk change, imagine coming out of that and have to start again from nothing and the salaries so much less now, no, that is why people don’t want to change. They are stable, they like things the same. But it is different for young people now, it is very hard and the public sector pay less.’

Lucia’s narrative of adventure therefore existed alongside a recognition that what a ‘good life’ meant in Portugal for those in possession of a degree, regardless of status background, had been fundamentally altered over the last few years. Like many of my respondents, Lucia described this in terms of expectations having changed. I have used Bryant and Knight’s (2019) notion of expectations and anticipations as heuristic devices which draw on different temporal ‘thicknesses’ throughout this thesis to analyse what these changes mean theoretically. At the start of this conclusion chapter, however, I will define a good life and expectations through Lucia’s voice—

‘a good life, it’s about having the things you had when you are growing up, the things your parents gave you that you expect to have yourself. Not about luxury or having the best car or best house, just being able to live well. What you’ve been brought up to expect from your upbringing and how you have lived your life until that moment, not luxurious, just enough to have what you’ve always had.’

7.2 Summary of Arguments

As seen in the above vignette, my original research question, which set out to investigate how highly educated Portuguese migrants in London experienced the desire to live ‘a good life’ in the years following austerity, generated a complex and multi-layered answer, which was impacted by different historical assemblages. The concept of a highly educated, ‘new type of Portuguese migrant’ was revealed to be nuanced according to level of education, migratory habitus and historical status. Furthermore, the impact of social and economic changes on opportunities in Portugal echoed through my respondents’ narratives and experiences as part of both the ‘new’ and ‘traditional’ middle classes. These changes were a result of not just the 2008 financial crisis, but the longer structural crisis since the ebbing of the first wave of prosperity and enhanced access to education following European integration and the violent fall of the Portuguese empire in Africa.

As is suggested above, a central aspect of my research findings concerned how these changes in local and global structural forces over the years were articulated via a narrative of ‘old’ and ‘new’, which I suggested was carried out within a historically specific cosmopolitan orientation, and further shaped by the migratory process. I explored how this dichotomy—between old and new migrant identities—represented my participants’ temporal understandings of their experience, employed in everyday life as a resource with which to deal with the challenges of migration. As a specifically historical consciousness, throughout this thesis I linked this idea to the conflict inherent in cosmopolitanism itself. In other words, the epochally expressed ‘new’ adventurous predisposition as a source of meaning, within the permanence of eternity, the ‘old’ and unchanging which was simultaneously an enduring source of comfort and warmth from which to undertake positive action.

In order to clearly lay out this conclusion in more detail, I will begin by briefly recalling my theoretical framework, which consisted of three interlinked concepts. The first was *cosmopolitanism*, which I defined as a sense of global commonality underscored by inherent conflict. Secondly, a theory of the *good life*, which I linked to not only individual experiences and the conditions of history, but also certain universal aspects of the human condition, such as the need to relate to others and to pursue a life worth living on one’s own terms. Finally, I interwove theories of *temporality*, which I defined as a consciousness of time. I underlined this conceptual framework with a Deleuzian understanding of the individual and collective human condition as made up of *assemblages*—the meeting of bodies, things and ideas across time and space. I used the idea of assemblages to consider variances in people’s experiences, such as educational capital, ethnicity, household status and materiality, migratory habitus and the use of different networks.

Throughout the next section I will go over these variances, how they related to a tension between ‘old’ and ‘new’ in my fieldwork and how they are narrated and lived by my ‘new Portuguese migrant’ respondents.

Generations

Ricardo, architect, London, 2016

‘(My parents) generation are afraid to rock the boat, they know if they complain they might not be able to get another job so they just accept things and do nothing! They don’t understand how we can be so adventurous and daring’.

*Lyrics to Deolinda's 'How Stupid I am'*⁶⁴—a viral song released in 2011, subsequently referred to as 'the story of a lost generation' in Southern Europe (Gray 2011: 62)

I am of the generation without wages,

I can't bear this situation,

How stupid I am.

Because this is bad and it's going to go on,

Even getting an internship is lucky,

How stupid I am.

And I stop and think:

What a stupid world,

Where in order to be a slave,

You need to study!

I'm of the generation who live at home,

If I already have it all, why want more?

How stupid I am.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ *Parva que Sou*. My translation

⁶⁵ *Sou da geração sem remuneração.*

E não me incomoda esta condição.

Que parva que eu sou.

Porque isto está mal e vai continuar,

Já é uma sorte eu poder estagiar.

Que parva que eu sou.

E fico a pensar:

Que mundo tão parvo,

Onde para ser escravo

É preciso estudar.

Sou da geração 'casinha dos pais'.

Se já tenho tudo, p'ra quê querer mais?

Que parva que eu sou.

My translation

In my first chapter I focused on different articulations of the migration experience in generational terms and the factors that impacted upon the ways in which this notion was lived and felt, such as distinct life course positionalities and family backgrounds. Theoretically, I particularly drew on Bryant and Knight's (2019) notion of collective expectations (as a future orientation which relies on a thick past) and emerging anticipations (reconfigured orientations towards the future based on historically specific practices, which are affectively expressed through epochal thinking). I posited different discursive constructs of generation which emerged in my fieldwork, such as the 'adventurous, EU generation' and the trashed *geração a rasca*, as examples of epochal thinking. I concluded that their use was a way of exercising agency and accepting and understanding arrested expectations and emerging anticipations.

I firstly explored the idea of generational discursive constructs via Marisa's case study. An enthusiasm for London was expressed as serendipitous opportunity for self-improvement and her self-identification was articulated within a narrative of an 'adventurous generation' of cosmopolitan individuals, who didn't care about nationalist collectivities or politics as sources of identity. In this context, I noted the discursive conflation of 'community' with 'politics', 'nation' and being 'stuck' as a diametric opposition to 'our generation of adventurers'. I suggested that her particular reference to 'our generation' as adventurous is an example of epochal thinking and served to cement emerging anticipations into truth. It also represented a form of hope, a future-oriented field possibility, enabled by the migratory act, global labour process and certain structural conditions.

I linked this sense of movement and means of pressing into a future to a specifically temporal concept of freedom which drew on Hage's (2009) notion of existential mobility, a sense of going somewhere rather than being 'stuck'. This can be seen on a more collective level as the replacement of the collectively felt temporal suspension of hope and betrayed expectations at the height of the crisis with the introduction of alternative futures or anticipations. This was an emerging perspective of time which was experienced and understood through ongoing processes of distinction by a self-identified cohort of adventurous cosmopolitans (as opposed to the unadventurous 'parent generation' and 'uneducated' or 'old type Portuguese migrants' who were both 'stuck'). I suggested that this perspective allowed certain of my research participants, such as Marisa, to face an unknown future without fear and, indeed, with positivity and hope, transforming the unknown into the establishment of new anticipations as 'the new normal'. Bryant and Knight (2019) refer to this transformation as the concreting of 'new expectations', a process which thickens the present into a recent past and gives us something to base our

aspirations towards the future on. As we saw in this particular case study, this means the further-away past is then posited as irrelevant, as is seen in Marisa's description of her father's Carnation-era politics as 'boring'.

The Adventurous Generation as Cosmopolitans

Sofia, 34, Engineer, London, March 2017 (married to Bruno, below)

'Well, we're a bit different, as in I had a job in Portugal, a good job, so I didn't come because I had no job there. My husband, he got this academic job at the LSE, with the LSE cities programme and it was great opportunity so we came because of that'.

Bruno, 35, Academic, London March 2017 (married to Sofia, above)

'We are children of the EU, of the 80s, we grew up with it, so we had that whole lie of this is the way you do things, you go to university, study something sensible and you can have a better life than your parents. But that wasn't the case, our parents told us that but they were part of the lie, they didn't lie I mean but they were tricked too'.

In the second part of Chapter Three I linked the narrative of the 'adventurous generation' to cosmopolitanism as an analytical concept, pointing out that as well as both being carried out by processes of distinction and individualisation, that they also shared a state of inherent contradiction. Building on the idea that the discursive construct of a cosmopolitan adventurous generation specifically emerged from the Europeanisation of Portugal in the 1980s and 90s as part of a cosmopolitan turn, I proposed that this narrative of cosmopolitanism both masked and depended on the fragility of Portuguese modernity. This was through rendering certain structural factors less visible at the household as well as the national level. As a first line of analysis, I then explored how the 'adventurous generation' as discursive construct, which was especially prevalent amongst relatively privileged, mid status individuals of a certain cohort generation who were first generation migrants, highlighted the inconsistency between their self-representation and other assemblages. Specifically, the material and relational household support upon which they were dependent. Furthermore, I suggested the lack of a 'thick' past regarding precarity allowed these same individuals to maintain an identity as an independent adventurer, whereas older members of the household who had experienced precarity saw younger members' choices not as adventurous but rather as reckless.

Looking at it from another angle, I presented a different household, that of Ana and Jorge. Here, material conditions were historically more insecure, which in turn had an effect on the younger members' use of generational discursive constructs. This case study made the contradictory, fragile nature of both the cosmopolitanism narrative and Portuguese modernity all the starker. Firstly, the similarities and differences in Ana's use of discourses compared with Marisa allowed an insight into how they were used as way to conceptualise ones' pursuit of the 'good life'. I suggested that Ana's use of a distinct discursive formation of generation to that of Marisa, despite their shared cohort positioning, was a distinctively temporal strategy with which she came to terms with the challenges of daily living. The *geração a rasca* narrative referred to events which Ana was not immediately impacted by. Nevertheless, it was a notion that she drew on alongside the competing discourse of having made a pragmatic choice, a notion which also appears within Marisa's adventurous generation narrative. This disjuncture between competing discourses is highlighted in Ana's case by her distinct household experiences which related to her migratory habitus, meaning memories of arrested expectations mingled with pragmatic choices made a few years later. This mingling can be theorised via the notion of habituated and doxic logics of aspirations (Zipin et al 2015). I proposed that the continually merging nature of these aspirations through a hopping back and forth in time was much more contradictory than Bryant and Knight (2019) make out in their theorisation of expectations versus anticipations. In Ana's case, memory and hope intermingled with affective reactions regarding her experiences as she lived them and her changing desires amidst a changing world. This contradiction, as I have said already, is the root of cosmopolitanism and highlights the way the cosmopolitan nature of hegemonic/ doxic discourses of modernity, meritocracy and post-class are contradicted by material inequalities and habituated logics, such as long-term migratory habitus.

In order to further appreciate the need to take a nuanced approach to the notion of collective epochal responses even within households, I discussed how for Ana's boyfriend Jorge an initial dissatisfaction with the present transformed through a shifting of desires towards an open ended hope and positivity regarding 'being free'. Expanding on Bryant and Knight's theorisation of Anticipation, i.e., the pulling of the future into the present rather than relying on existing 'thicknesses' of the past, I suggested that Jorge had recalibrated the past in terms of what it meant to 'be free' in London. Although like Ana his views were temporally and spatially expressed, it was not done within the context of a discursive formation of generation. I linked this to the idea that Jorge has been less exposed to the structural conditions that formed these narratives, having already moved to London years previously, albeit residing within the Portuguese community of Lambeth. I surmised then that narratives are differently impacted by

habitus and structural conditions even within households, highlighting an ongoing conceptualisation of hope which is processual and wielded across time and space. I further emphasised this idea by returning briefly to Marisa's family, suggesting that the awareness of precarity as expressed by her mother was similar to that of Jorge and Ana. This underscores the importance of historical materialities and difference experiences of past expectations when considering discursive understandings of generations as sources of identity and hope.

Class

Ricardo, 33, Architect, London 2016

'The only people who migrated had to flee in middle of night. Anyway, they were lower class, who would be concierges etc. Not educated like us'.

Sérgio, 63, Doctor, Porto 2017

'There is no longer a Portuguese middle class. The middle class in Portugal is dead. Now they're all in England washing dishes'.

Following on from my concluding discussion in Chapter Three on the relationship between discourse and materialities in the context of future orientations, I started Chapter Four by suggesting that discursive constructs of generations hide certain inequalities that can be explored through the notion of class. Acknowledging the ambiguity of 'class', both on an emic and an etic level within my research, I highlighted the importance of status, habitus and symbolic capital in the configuration of a 'global middle class' as an ideological and imagined phenomenon. Throughout, however, I maintained the validity of class as a theoretical concept in the context of cosmopolitan-inflected neoliberalism as a middle-class site of contestation. I pointed out that any theory of new subjectivities of a good life within a cosmopolitan theoretical framework needed to underline the contradiction between materialist/ status ideas of class, moving towards a more cultural/ moral/ affective examination.

I first linked the idea of class, education, status and migratory habitus in order to reveal the complexities of a global middle class status. I suggested that my research participants' notion of a 'good life' was fundamentally intermingled with that of education as a source of distinction. I proposed that this distinction assigned certain values, which were made dynamic through the temporal activation of different sources of capital (such as professional status and salary).

I then advocated going beyond a conceptualisation of a cosmopolitan, middle-class good life based on status, educational or otherwise, and consumerism, which is prevalent in the good life literature. Instead, I discussed a theory of 'good life' which rests on the socially situated negotiation of the ability to experience certain practices as counter-hegemonic whilst maintaining certain material benefits and status capital. I concluded that this freedom to form ethical selves and obtain a good life was the ethical basis for subsequent democratic notions of ideal citizenship and meritocratic value judgements.

The narratives of my respondents suggested that the role of education had been reimagined through a narrative of meritocracy. Like the generational discourse in the last chapter, this also rendered less visible other forms of support within households. This brings us back to the idea of historical material privilege in the negotiation of a good life. I examined this via a discussion of the difference between 'new' and 'traditional' middle classes in Portugal. As already stated, distinct positionalities within households themselves due to historical materialities on either side, as well as educational background and cohort, made the notion of class ambiguous even within households. In my case study I focused on the ways 'traditional' middle class capital related to the household's local educational and professional capital in a transnational context. The value of this capital was constantly challenged in a precarious local labour market, wherein a 'traditional middle class' status nevertheless rendered everyday struggles to maintain itself less visible.

I then positioned migratory habitus as a key consideration in exploring how household status and materialities can change over space and time. Whereas the previous chapter discussed 'old' versus 'new' migrants, in the next one I further unpacked the interrelated concept of the 'new' versus the 'traditional' middle class. As Chapter Four progressed I explored the main divergences between the two via a consideration of historical status positionalities and migratory habitus in the postcolonial context. Within this framework, education was a key concept which disrupted historical divisions and was the foundation of the discursive binary between 'new' and 'traditional' middle classes as well as that of 'new' and 'old' migrants.

Firstly, this was seen in the way historically lower status 'traditional migrants' could become middle class (in this thesis I refer to a 'new middle class' although elsewhere the term 'lower middle class' is used) by dint of their education. Being able to anticipate a more socially mobile version of the global middle class dream, they had the possibility of moving past both the precarity of 'traditional migrant' families abroad as well as the precarity faced by the 'traditional middle class' of a periphery country. This was an emerging anticipation expressed as the counter-hegemonic intention to 'have it all', i.e., a 'good life'.

With this in mind, I further explored how the binary between the new: traditional middle class and new: old migrant was interlinked and nuanced, with different meanings according to who I asked. Those of the 'traditional middle class' were ironic in their self-referring to themselves as a 'new type of migrant'. They were the first in their families to migrate and therefore positioned themselves as representing a new class dynamic amongst what is seen as 'typical Portuguese migrants'. Indeed, it was more usual to hear these individuals refer to themselves as adventurers or even expats.

Those from long-term migratory families also differentiated themselves from their less educated migrant ancestors and contemporaries but in a distinct fashion. Before austerity they had been able to anticipate an alternative future through structural conditions which allowed them to obtain degrees and become socially mobile within Portugal without having to migrate. They therefore called themselves a 'new type of migrant' in a more self-conscious way, explaining that although they were migrating like everyone in their family always had, there was a caveat, they were doing it in a 'new' way. This new way rested on the possibility of different anticipations because of their higher education. The long term viability of these anticipations was enhanced when affective ties emerging from cosmopolitan networking made their new lives more attractive. Indeed, these are the true 'working class cosmopolitans' (Werbner 1999), as in previous years their migratory habitus may have meant they were less likely to access the Other to such an extent that their enhanced education subsequently allowed them to. In Patrícia's case this was through teaching, and in Nuno's, breaking into the local, rather than diasporic, labour market. Both of these routes demanded fluency in the English language. Both of these particular research participants ended up with non-Portuguese partners which boosted their cosmopolitanism, as is seen through a strong narrative where they insisted they actively avoided the diaspora.

Race

Nuno, 32, Engineer, white Portuguese. London, March 2017

'My mother grew up in Angola and there was no racial conflict, from what she says, that was all in the countryside, in the cities the whites and black went to school together, everyone got on. That's why it's much less racist in Portugal than in the UK.'

Adriana, 34, Scientist, black Portuguese. London, February 2018

‘There’s no racism in Portugal— that’s what people say. Ha! You can’t talk about it there; people deny it exists. But then, you only see black people cleaning, working in cafes, in low jobs. I never had a single black teacher. All my colleagues at school, masters, PhD, they were all white! To me they would always say, where are you from and me, Portugal, and always, yes but where are you really from.’

The dichotomy of old and new migrants and traditional and new middle classes was further complicated when I took into account postcoloniality and race. My case study showed how a particular form of good life, as anticipated by certain of my research participants who experienced race as a category of difference, was spatially bound to the UK rather than Portugal. This was because the former was perceived as a unique field of opportunities because of its greater acceptance of racial diversity. Their anticipations therefore emerged from within a specific cosmopolitan perspective- the meritocracy of educational capital in a context of racial equality. Their experiences were also located within a debate on the creation of a post-colonial Portuguese identity, which both drew on and contradicted Portuguese modernity. This discourse complicated the relationship between ‘class’, status and enhanced access to education.

Throughout the rest of Chapter Four I explored how race intersected with other categories of difference such as gender, asking how these underpinned imaginations of the future and strategic practices towards a good life via a consideration of deservedness. I first posited that affective responses to material challenges to global middle class anticipations were situated within a moral positioning regarding living well. I then suggested that a global middle class habitus as a moral distinction reflected neoliberal constructions of an ideal citizenship based on personal responsibility and prevailed upon other categories of difference such as race, gender and socioeconomic status. I concluded that this highlighted the precarity of middle classness, whether ‘new’ or ‘traditional’, revealing the awareness held by both groups that mid-status practices were underpinned by precarity and the constant possibility of falling down into a lower status group according to the fluctuations of global conditions. This awareness of material precarity increased the need for distinction. Distinction appeared either through an emphasis on certain educational achievements being worth more than others or whether specific individuals were more deserving of wider cultural accommodations to ensure a family life that allowed the counter-hegemonic possibility of both resisting and enjoying the fruits of ‘the system’.

Family Legends

Elsa, 30, Waitress. London, September 2016.

‘My parents were both born in Portugal but met in Angola, they spent their adolescence there. They all went, my grandparents, great aunts, uncles, they were all over there in the ‘60s. My great-great-grandma, she was crazy, she lost all the money. She had lots of land, houses and spent it all! Going to Africa. I remember they told me, she had a husband but treated him very bad. She told him to leave. Pff! Off he went. She just gave him money and told him to leave. I never met her of course, but my grandma talks about her all the time’.

In Chapter Five, I refocused my analysis of categories of difference such as race, gender and migratory habitus through an additional lens of the Portuguese post-colonial experience. This time, I conceptualised household memory as expressed through the analytical concept of historicity, a historical consciousness which shapes constructions of self during times of crisis in the present. I did this by asking how symbolic figures or family legends within household memory contributed to individuals’ abilities to make sense of present challenges in London, taking a multi-scalar approach which related levels analysis from the local to the global across space and time. Throughout, I explored the fundamental dilemma inherent in cosmopolitanism, that is, contradictions that reinforce the overly simplistic binaries of ‘new’ versus ‘traditional’ middle class, ‘old’ versus ‘new’ types of migration, and ‘educated’ versus ‘uneducated’ migrants as introduced in previous chapters.

I first suggested that responses to present practices and diminished social status emerged through the relating of one’s own historical position in the world to a noble past, serving as a form of respite from current challenges. Different examples considered the shifting material and historical basis of changes in status following the revolution and Europeanisation of the 1980s and 90s but also longer-term historical migration patterns, exploring the role of race, ethnicity and historical positioning within Portugal’s postcolonial context. This was introduced through ethnographic detail on descendants of *retornados*, the white returnees from Portugal’s African empire, whose experiences offered an extra layer of analysis through nuances in their narrative habits. This was firstly seen through the descendants of families who were high status before going to Africa and high status when they went back and who therefore described themselves as bureaucrats, rather than colonialists or migrants. In these cases, family legends focused on status continuities. Lower status *retornados* on the other hand, showed more of a sense of beating the odds which was reflected in their narratives of ancestors, which were particularly drawn on during challenging times. I showed this through a vignette where Nuno’s narratives of his inspirational

grandfather overlapped with those of his lower status cousin, creating a liminal area between the ostensibly opposite new and old style migrants within the same family group.

I then returned to the concept of race, arguing that the *retornado* narrative of beating the odds reflected a normative whiteness when it came to the negotiation of historical status. I suggested that this was a specific conceptual space occupied by London-based descendants of the white *retornados* and one which can be seen as a parallel, but distinct, to that of the black former imperial subjects who could anticipate a cosmopolitan, middle class 'good life' in London. Both of these spaces disrupted traditional Portuguese continuums of deprived-elite and rural-urban as categories of difference, whilst giving rise to an emerging form of personhood which is uniquely shaped by particular migratory experiences, that of the cosmopolitan 'new migrant'.

Within the confines of this thesis therefore,⁶⁶ I can conclude that in both conceptual spaces the notion of the cosmopolitan new migrant meshes the embodied narratives of migrant ancestors, who were mobile across nations and continents in order to access a specifically imagined future which local labour markets constricted, with the expectations of a specific cohort group who came of age at a time when education as a national institution proposed an alternative future. The result of this meshing were new working class cosmopolitan subjectivities, i.e. moving beyond diaspora to knowledge and familiarity with other cultures through specific networks. Within these new subjectivities, looking towards the past and the familiar in their permanence make the precarious nature of individualistic, hegemonic aspirations towards professional actualisation more manageable. They also served as a source from whence one can both draw on for inspiration and use to look towards a future good life which is strongly relational.

Networks

Ricardo, 33, Architect, London, June 2017

'I couldn't live in Porto again, everyone is Portuguese, speaks the same way, thinks the same thing. Sure, there are the odd foreigner but mostly everyone is the same. I can't go and live there in that, not now I've been spoiled by London and all the diversity here! I'm addicted. Here things get done, there's quality, so much experience, not four guys in a converted flat back in Porto'.

Jorge, 23, Teaching Assistant, London, May 2017

⁶⁶ And with an awareness that the issue of race is much more complicated that my particular focus in this thesis reveals.

'My dad said to me recently, if it hadn't been for that loan we would never have had to leave Portugal and come to the UK. But here he could take out a lower interest loan, pay off the whole of the first one in Portugal and then stay here working off the UK loan. Lots of our family had already migrated here, we wouldn't have been able to come if it weren't for my dad's cousin, remember I told you we all of us stayed in that little flat the first summer. I still live with my parents and why not, it helps me save for the future, and I get to keep eating my mum's delicious cooking! *Bacalhau com natas*⁶⁷. That's my favourite, I take it into school, the others make fun of me actually and say, hahaha look at your Tupperware, they're always taking the piss for living with my mum! I'm not embarrassed, I said, yes, it is made by my mum and it's absolutely delicious! And I see them with their gross sandwiches from Tesco'.

In my final chapter, I approached my analysis of 'old' versus 'new' from the angle of network-as-paradigm, considering different types networks and their relevance to wider themes of thesis. I explored the morally expressed conflict between cosmopolitan 'new networking' and perceived 'traditional' networking of family/ ethnic collectivities, as well as the impact of digitalisation on networking and relationality. Like all the other binaries of this thesis, new versus old generations, new versus traditional middle classes and new versus old migrants, I suggested that rather than being diametrically opposite, these forms of networking were actually in a continuous process of emerging and interweaving with each other.

Conceptually, I drew on Granovetter's (1973) notion of weak ties, formal relationships limited in scope and intensity which serve as a conduit along which information/ influence can pass between respective contacts. Through an initial ethnographic portrait detailing Nuno's experiences as he began his search for work in London, I described how a moralised narrative positing ethnic and relational 'old networking' as corrupt emphasised a value on success via cosmopolitan weak ties networking. This was posited as more legitimate as it focused on educational capital rather than relational capital and was therefore meritocratic. Once more we see the conflict between old and new, at which point I suggested that following 'new' networking as a set of values was conducive to a temporally bound commitment to the 'old' network of the household, despite the drawing on household capital enabling the establishment of anticipations in the first place.

⁶⁷ Salted codfish in cream sauce

The precarity of weak ties networks and their role within a cosmopolitan outlook was further explored through a further ethnographic example featuring Nuno and his struggles to find ‘the right job to match his qualifications’. Here, I showed how the action of temporarily having to redress to using ‘traditional’ networks when weak ties ones failed was reconfigured as an alternative cosmopolitanism through processes of distinction. To unpack this further, I used Bryant and Knight’s (2019) concept of ‘limited timespaces of hope’, i.e., the short term coping strategies necessary to bridge the present and near future and maintain a futural orientation of hope. In this case, the ‘limited timespace of hope’ was the transformation of the ethnic collectivity nature of a particular network into a cosmopolitan tool through processes of distinction. As already stated, with distinction and individualisation being central to the cosmopolitan orientation, we can see here how ethnic collectivities, which were considered lacking in value because of not being cosmopolitan, were reimagined by discursively distinguishing between educated cosmopolitans and uneducated old migrants *within* the collectivity.

I then expanded upon this point by unpacking the concept of cosmopolitanism itself through the lens of networks. Using Jorge’s moving between different networks as an ethnographic example which detailed the ambiguities of the transnational/ cosmopolitan distinction, I suggested that the possibilities for fluid movement between different social spaces according to the necessities of different spheres highlighted the nuances within the Portuguese community of ‘old-type migrants’. As well as further undermining the simplistic binary of old/new and its various applications between households and individuals, we could also see the different levels of conflict within households. This put certain individuals in a more complex position regarding cosmopolitan identities. Returning to Jorge and Nuno, for example, I pointed out that whilst both avoided further dependence on their households, underscoring the role of individuality as the root of cosmopolitanism, Nuno’s stricter distinction between himself and other members of his kinship group emphasised different bases of meaning to his existence. This was further seen through Nuno’s description of different engagements with technology being more or less ‘real’ as well as the value placed on English language performance, which I linked to a cosmopolitan embracing of the Other. Again, whilst cosmopolitanism theory sheds light on the conflict between two sets of values via the notion of an inherent global: local dilemma, it doesn’t go far enough to explain ambivalent cosmopolitanisms such as these. This is an emerging field of study and one which deserves further attention in future research.

Digital Sociality

Marisa, 24, Babysitter/ Waitress/ Aspiring Actress, London 2018.

'My mother, the Portuguese mother-hen! Well, this week I have been very busy so we haven't really spoken, just texts! But usually we speak more. We didn't used to, not when I was in Portugal but since I came here we have been more in touch, especially since she discovered FaceTime. Now she's always in my pocket! It's her more than me, I'm fine but I know she wants to know I am OK. She definitely needs more contact and attention than my Dad! I mean, I can speak to my Dad for hours if we've got something to say but my mum needs more regular contact.'

Expanding upon this image during an initial vignette, throughout the rest of Chapter Six I explored how increased interactions and possibilities of interaction between kin through innovative communication technology was interpreted as 'strange'. I suggested that this was due to an enhanced realisation and experience of dependency which contrasted with notions of cosmopolitan individuality whilst simultaneously providing enhanced access to both weak ties networks and traditional, i.e., relational, ones.

Whilst the engagement and integration of emerging communication technologies into daily practices has always been a part of the migrant experience, I maintained that what was new in this context was a radical contrast in discontinuities of space. This contrast had brought about an ongoing virtual presence as a new form of reality which stretched the boundaries of sensory physicality in unexpected ways, dissolving material boundaries.

To undertake an analysis of the ongoing constructions of family networks/socialities, I introduced the 'micro-meta moments' analogy. I defined 'micro-moments' as the thousands of face to face expressions of everyday affect and communally constructed memories. 'Meta-moments', on the other hand, I proposed as an emerging form of household relationality which goes beyond spoken language and is specifically based on the activation of shared memories through the fleeting time/space compressed experience of video-calling. I related this analogy to weak ties networking and cosmopolitanism itself, suggesting that both meritocratic networking and cosmopolitanism allow a sense of freedom but also bring the risk of precarity. This necessitated an ongoing dependence on family networks, which in turn were fed by the possibilities of ongoing performances of affect/ kinship through meta-moment calls.

Expanding upon this latter point, I suggested that in times of crisis a hybridisation occurs wherein the meta-moment becomes infused with the weight of affect and emotional intensity to more resemble a micro-moment, i.e. a spontaneous, emotionally charged experience normally performed face to face. This returned us to the idea of an emerging form of reality which stretches the boundaries of sensory physicality in new ways, dissolving material boundaries. In this sense, I proposed meta-moments as not mere bridges between micro-moments, but also an emerging household strategy to manage intra-family relationality across space and time. The capacity for constant communication in this sense has created possibilities for new forms of micro-moments by accessing specific moments of kin's daily lives across time and space in a sensorially-rich way throughout the day. Whilst the frequency of these interactions can be an intense experience, time and space restrictions can also make them either fleeting and unsatisfying, as for Lidia, or frustrating and strange, as for Marisa.

7.3 Bringing everything together

The sub-headings above outline how my 'new migrant' respondents narrated different aspects of their identity. Generational discursive constructs, the role of historical status, educational capital and migratory habitus within notions of class, household legends in a postcolonial context and different types of networks— all of these united in my respondents' narratives in various combinations.

For example, I saw contradictory generational narratives in Ana's understanding of her migratory trajectory, which was related to her migratory habitus and ability to draw on both international and local networks in the pursuit of her professional and relational ambitions in London.

I detected the ambiguous notion of class aspirations via the temporally activated value of educational capital in Adriana's insistence on certain higher educational qualifications being more useful than others. This related not only to her migratory habitus, which made her a 'new migrant' in the same way it did Ana, but also her experience of race as an Afro-Portuguese second generation migrant for whom weak ties networks on the basis of high educational capital had proved successful.

In Nuno's use of family legends I saw not only historical class subjectivities used as a positive strategy to cope with a precarious present, but also a generational understanding of 'new' and 'old' forms of migration which changed meaning according to which aspect of his identity he was

relating to. Along with his use of different forms of networking, these were understood morally and adapted and reconfigured according to the necessities of the moment.

Finally, in Lidia's experience of transnational digital sociality I perceived the production of micro and meta moments, which were seen as generational differences by her daughter, Marisa. For Lidia, however, these were related to her distinct experience of historical status positionalities which in turn informed her interpretation of various details of her daughter's life in London

At this point we can conclude with a final statement on the contradiction between the old and the new as an inherently cosmopolitan condition within a historically specific desire for a good life. We have seen how this contradiction manifests across space and time, with the help of new technologies, emerging as narratives which in turn are part of individually constructed responses to the affective consequences of precarious daily practices at a particular time in cosmopolitan modernity. These practices are part and parcel of the experience of globalisation at a macro level and of individual affective responses to a historically informed, cosmopolitan 'new' pursuit of good life as adventure. Throughout this thesis I have shown how various categories of difference impact upon individual, household and national experiences in terms of living and managing this ongoing contradiction in the migratory context at a time of political and economic change. At the same time, I have explored how they interweave with a simultaneous and universal desire for good life as permanence, the warmth of home and family as a retreat from the challenges of the cosmopolitan pursuit of action and adventure. Ongoing processes of distinction and managing of various forms of capital which emerge through narrative and practice are in a constant negotiation to maintain agency over individual moral projects. In doing this my research participants can look toward the future and imagine a good life on their own terms, adapting to global conditions and maintaining an existential safe harbour.

Epilogue

Writing these words, I can hear sombre tones floating up the stairs as my partner turns on the radio. He isn't usually here on a weekday morning but he is a teacher and his school has had to close because of rising Covid 19 infections in our area. With just ten days to go until Christmas, the BBC presenter is interviewing London's mayor, who is arguing for a reversal of the UK government's Christmas Bubble policy which allows households to mix. The long months of lockdown and social distancing have taken a terrible toll, not just on the economy, but on household dynamics and relationships with wider friends and family as well as individual freedoms. This is a crisis which has had an unprecedented global impact and it is not yet over, even as an upcoming vaccination programme represents hope for many. With infections still spreading and the British public weary of extended periods of isolation, it might get worse before it better. After which, the dire predictions for a global economic crash which dwarfs the last one looms on the horizon.

Having spent the last few weeks reading through and editing my chapters, the poignancy of discussing crisis, hope and the reconfiguration of expectations is not lost on me. Only time will tell the impact of the long term effects of the Covid 19 crisis upon the possibilities of a good life for people in the UK, Portugal and beyond. The crisis of Brexit at the beginning of my fieldwork seems increasingly underwhelming, even as negotiations in Brussels lurch towards a no-deal. In the midst of such uncertainty and the infeasibility of certain expectations, nobody can predict what the future will be, a true 'temporal vertigo'.

The breakdown of life as we know it during the pandemic has brought a new challenge to my research participants' attempts to establish a good life as cosmopolitan individuals. The precarity of cosmopolitan weak ties and the limited agency of the 'adventurer generation' is painfully stark, and the importance of finding ways to understand the enforced, long-term maintenance of relationships through digital tools is more meaningful than ever.

The changes in the lives of those who have shared their experiences with me over the last six years seems to emphasise the relevance of those considerations I have discussed over these pages. After a few months looking for work following her graduation from her Masters in Theatre, Marisa moved back in with her parents and brothers in Portugal before the first lockdown, when all catering and theatre jobs in London came to an abrupt end. Nine months later, the ruin of London's theatre industry seems imminent as the city's entertainment and hospitality venues have once again closed after operating at 50% capacity in the few months between the March

and November lockdowns, with many pleading for extra help from the government to avoid bankruptcy. Marisa is active on Facebook's marketplace feature and is selling many of her winter clothes.

An engagement announcement popped up on my Facebook feed over the summer. After what he referred to as a 'whirlwind' courtship followed by an intense experience self-isolating together during the UK's first lockdown, Nuno had proposed to his French girlfriend and his text was full of hope for the future. At the time of writing they had just moved to Portugal together after the collapse of his new wife's London-based music business following lockdown. Nuno is now living in Lisbon and still studying for his Masters part-time online whilst working from home.

Patrícia, still living in London with her English partner and now 18-month old son, as a freelance worker had no access to the UK governments furlough scheme when she planned to return to teaching part-time just before the March lockdown. She and her partner and son moved back in with his dad to save money. She is 'getting by', she says, teaching Portuguese on Skype, as her mother-in-law down the road is available for childcare.

Adriana and Joseph are considered key-workers and after both being furloughed on 80% of their income, have transitioned to working from home with minimal time at the office over the course of the crisis. They now have two children and continue to juggle childcare with both of them working full time. They are still living in the building we all used to live in New Cross, but recently bought a house slightly further out of London in an area surrounded by parks and with easy access back into the city. They are renovating it whilst they wait for the contract on their current flat to expire in a few months. They both caught Covid at the very beginning of the pandemic and were particularly worried as Joseph's lung condition and their ethnicity put them at higher risk of serious illness. However, they told me later that Adriana was the only one who showed any symptoms and they were relieved to 'get it over with'.

Joaquim and Pedro also moved back to Lisbon in the summer of 2020. Joaquim's Facebook posts describe his life with his partner, son and father in the flat he owns in Lisbon's Alfama district, although he also continues advocating to improve attainment amongst Lambeth's Portuguese community. Pedro has been harder to track down, apart from the occasional football commentary on social media. Thinking of him brings to mind the Portuguese expression *desenrascanço*, which like many Portuguese sayings, is very difficult to translate. The best I can do is 'to hustle' — getting by and dealing with whatever life throws at you.

Bibliography

Aboim, S. and Vasconcelos, P. (2014). From Political to Social Generations: A Critical Reappraisal of Mannheim's Classic Approach. *European Journal of Social Theory* Vol. 17 (2) 165-183.

Abu-Lughod, L. (1991). Writing Against Culture. In R. Fox (eds). *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Accornero, G. and Ramos Pinto, P. (2015). Mild Mannered? Protest and Mobilisation in Portugal under Austerity, 2010-2013. *West European Politics* 38 (93): 491-515.

Aiello, L. (2014). Crisis, Value, and Hope: Rethinking the Economy. *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 55, No. S9. pp. S1-S3

Alexandrakis, O. (2016). Transformative Connections: Trauma, Cooperative Horizons, and Emerging Political Topographies in Athens, Greece. *History and Anthropology*, 27:1, 32-44

Almeida, J.C. and Corkill, D. (2010). Uma Vida Melhor? Portuguese Migrant Workers in a Rural Community. *Immigrants and Minorities*, 28:1, 70-85

Amaro, V. (2016). Identity and Issues of Socio-Cultural Status in the Portuguese Community in Postcolonial Macau. Unpublished PhD Thesis.

Amit, V. (ed). (2007). *Going First Class. New Approaches to Privileged Travel and Movement*. Berghahn Books.

Anderson, B., (2013). *Us and Them. The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control*. Oxford University Press.

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis. University of Manchester Press.

Appadurai, A. (2004). The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition. In Rao, Vijayendra and Michael Walton (ed). *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford University Press. 2004.

Araújo, H., Tereshchenko, A., Sousa, S. and Jenkins, C. (2015). Women in the driving seat: Eastern European immigrant women's citizenship, participation and educational inclusion in Portugal. *Citizenship Studies*, 19(3-4), pp.384-399.

- Atkinson, R. (2002). The Life Story Interview. In (eds) Gubrium, J. and Holstein, J. (2002). *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*. Sage Publications.
- Bakalaki, A. (1997). Students, Natives, Colleagues: Encounters in Academia and in the Field. *Cultural Anthropologist* 12:502-506.
- Balthazar, A. (2015). Which Crisis? Discrepancies on the Definition of What is Crisis. *15th ASA Conference: Symbiotic anthropologies: theoretical commensalities and methodological mutualisms*. Exeter
- Bandak, A. and Janeja, M. (2018). Introduction: Worth the Wait. *Ethnographies of Waiting: Doubt, Hope and Uncertainty*. London, Bloomsbury Academic.
- Barbagli, M. (1997). Family and Kinship in Italy. In: Gullestad, M. and Segalen, M. (eds), *Family and Kinship in Europe*. London: Pinter.
- Bastos, C (2014). A década de 1990: os anos da internacionalização, *Etnográfica* [Online], vol. 18 (2)
- Batalha, L. (2004). *The Cape Verdean Diaspora in Portugal: Colonial Subjects in a Postcolonial World*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Baumgarten, B. (2013). Geração a Rasca and Beyond: Mobilization in Portugal after 12 March 2011. *Current Sociology* 61 (4): 131-172
- Bear, L. (2014). Doubt, conflict, mediation: The anthropology of modern time. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 20(S1): 3–30
- Beck, U. (2002). The Cosmopolitan Society and Its Enemies. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 19 (1-2), 17-44.
- Beck, U. (2004). Cosmopolitical Realism: on the distinction between cosmopolitanism in philosophy and the social sciences. *Global Networks* 4, 2 (2004) 131–156. ISSN 1470–2266
- Bendixsen, S. and Eriksen, T. H. (2018). Time and the Other: Waiting and Hope among Irregular Migrants. in *Ethnographies of Waiting: doubt, hope and uncertainty*. Pp 87-108. London, Bloomsbury Academic.

- Bennhold, K. (2005) Quietly Sprouting a European Identity
<https://www.nytimes.com/2005/04/26/world/europe/quietly-sprouting-a-european-identity.html>
- Benson, M. and Jackson, E. (2017). Making the Middle Class on Shifting Ground? Residential Status, Performativity and Middle-Class Subjectivities in Contemporary London. *The British Journal of Sociology, Volume 68, Issue 2*
- Bernard, H. (2011). *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Plymouth: Alta Mira.
- Bestard-Camps, J. (1986). *Casa y Familia: Parentesco y Reproducción Doméstica en Formentera*. Palma de Mallorca: Institut d'Estudis Balearics (English Translation 1991: *What's in a relative? Household and Family in Formentera*, Oxford: Berg.)
- Bestard Camps, J and Contreras Hernandez, J (1997), Family, Kinship and Residence in Urban Catalonia: The Modernity of 'Pairalism' in Gullestad, M and Segalen, M (1997) *Family and Kinship in Europe*, Pinter
- Bloch, E. (1986). *The Principle of Hope*. London: Blackwell.
- Block, D. (2006). *Multilingual identities in a Global City*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Boellstorff, T. (2008). *Coming of Age in Second Life: An Anthropologist Explores the Virtually Human*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford University press.
- Braun, K. (2007). Biopolitics and Temporality in Arendt and Foucault. *Time and Society* 16 (5):5-23.
- Brettell, C. (1979). Emigrar para Voltar: A Portuguese Ideology of Return Migration. *Papers in Anthropology* (20) 21-38.
- Brettell, C. (1981). Is the ethnic community inevitable? A comparison of the settlement patterns of Portuguese immigrants in Toronto and Paris. *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 9:1-17

- Brettell, C. (1982). *We have Already Cried Many Tears. Portuguese Women and Migration*. Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc.
- Brettell, C. (1986). *Men who migrate, Women who wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish*. Princeton University Press.
- Brettell, C. (1993). The Emigrant, The Nation and the State in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Portugal: An Anthropological Approach. *Portuguese Studies Review* 2(2): 51-65.
- Bruner, J. (1991). The Narrative Construction of Reality. *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 18., No 1., pp.1-21.
- Bryant, R. (2016). On Critical Times: Return, Repetition and the Uncanny Present. *History and Anthropology*, 27:1, 19-31
- Bryant, R. and Knight, D. (2019). *The Anthropology of the Future (New Departures in Anthropology)*. Cambridge University Press. Kindle Edition.
- Butler, T. with Robson, G. (2003). *London calling: the Middle Classes and the ReMaking of Inner London*. Berg.
- Cairns, D. (2016). Exploring Student Mobility and Graduate Migration: Undergraduate Mobility Propensities in Two Economic Crisis Contexts. *Social & Cultural Geography*.
- Cairns, D., Growiec, K., Alves, N. (2014). Another 'Missing Middle'? The marginalised majority of tertiary-educated youth in Portugal during the economic crisis. *Journal of Youth Studies* .Vol. 17:8
- Calestani, M. (2008). An anthropology of 'The Good Life' in the Bolivian Plateau. *Social Indicators Research*, 90(1), pp. 141-153
- Carrier, J. (1998a). 'Abstraction in Western Economic Practice.' In Carrier, J. and Miller, D. (eds) *Virtualism: A New Political Economy* Oxford and New York: Berg. pp. 25–47.
- Carrier, J (1998b). 'Introduction'. In Carrier, J. and Miller, D. (eds) *Virtualism: A New Political Economy* Oxford and New York: Berg pp. 1–24.
- Carrier, J. (2015). The Concept of Class. In Carrier, J.G and Kalb, D. (eds) *Anthropologies of Class: Power, Practice and Inequality*. Cambridge University Press.

- Caspari, A. and Giles, W. (1986). Immigration Policy and the Employment of Portuguese Women in the UK and France: A Comparative Analysis. In. Simon, R. And Brettell, C. (Eds). *International Migration: The Female Experience*. Pp 152-177. Totowa NJ.
- Challinor, E. (2012). Researching Ethnicity, Identity, Subjectivity: Anything but the Four-lettered word. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(9), pp.1558-1576.
- Challinor E. (2015). In dialogue with self and the world: Cape Verdean migrant pregnancy in Portugal. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 52, 63-70.
- Chase, S. (2005). Narrative Inquiry: Multiple Lenses, Approaches, Voices, In *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds). Pp. 651-680. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Clandinin, D. J., & Huber, J. (2010). Narrative inquiry. In McGaw, B., Baker, E. & Peterson, P.P. (Eds.), *International Encyclopaedia of Education* (3rd ed.). New York
- Clifford, J. and Marcus, G. (1986). *Writing Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Collins, F. (2018) Desire as a theory for migration studies: temporality, assemblage and becoming in the narratives of migrants, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44:6, 964-980
- Corkill, D. & Eaton, E. (1998) Multicultural Insertions in a Small Economy: Portugal's Immigrant Communities, *South European Society and Politics*, 3:3, 149-168,
- Corkill, D. (2001). Economic Migrants and the Labour Market in Spain and Portugal. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(5), pp.828-844.
- Cupples, J. and Kindon, S. (2003). Far from being 'Home Alone': The Dynamics of Accompanied Fieldwork. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 24 (2), 2003, 211-228.
- Cutileiro, J. (1971). *A Portuguese Rural Society*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dalakoglou, D. (2011). Beyond Spontaneity: Crisis, Violence and collective action in Athens. *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action* 16(5): 535-545.
- Das, V. (1997). *Critical Events: An Anthropological Perspective on Contemporary India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press India.
- Das, V. (2006). *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- De Meneses, F (2009). *Salazar: A Political Biography*. Enigma Books. New York
- Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (2003). *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. London: Continuum.
- Delicado, A. (2019). 'Pulled' or 'Pushed'? The Emigration of Portuguese Scientists. (Pp 137-154). in Pereira, C. and Azevedo, J. (eds) *New and Old Routes of Portuguese Emigration. Uncertain Futures at the Periphery of Europe*. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer Open.
- Dench, G., Gavron, K., Young, M. (2006). *The New East End: Kinship, Race and Conflict*. London, Profile Books.
- Dombroski, K. (2011). Embodying Research: Maternal bodies, fieldwork and knowledge production in North-west China. *Graduate Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies*, 7(2):16-29.
- Donner, H. (2008). *Domestic Goddesses: Maternity, Globalization and Middle-Class Identity in Contemporary India*. Hampshire, UK: Ashgate.
- Donner, H. (2015). Making Middle-Class families in Calcutta. In J. Carrier & D. Kalb (Eds.), *Anthropologies of Class: Power, Practice, and Inequality* (pp. 131-148). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781316095867.010
- Donner, H. (2017). The Anthropology of the Middle Class Across the Globe. *Anthropology of this Century: Issue 18*
- Drotbohm, H. (2010). Gossip and social control across the seas: targeting gender, resource inequalities and support in Cape Verdean transnational families. *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, 3(1), pp.51-68.
- Drotbohm, H. (2015). Shifting Care Among Families, Social Networks, and State Institutions in Times of Crisis: A Transnational Cape Verdean Perspective. In Drotbohm, H. and Alber, E. (eds) *Anthropological Perspectives on Care: Work, Kinship and the Life-Course*. Pp 93-115. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Drozdewski, D. & Robinson, D. (2015) Care-work on fieldwork: taking your own children into the field, *Children's Geographies*, 13:3, 372-378
- Elliott, A. and Urry, J. (2010). *Mobile Lives*. London, Routledge

- Esin, C., Fathi, M., and Squire, C. (2013). Narrative Analysis: The Constructionist Approach. In. Lick, Uwe (ed.) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. Pp. 203-217. SAGE
- Estanque, E (2009). Sociologia e Engajamento em Portugal: reflexões a partir do trabalho e do sindicalismo. *Caderno CRH 22(56):311-324*
- Estanque, E. (2015). Middle-Class Rebellions? Precarious Employment and Social Movements in Portugal and Brazil (2011-2013). *RCCS Annual Review*
- Estanque, Elísio (2016). *A Classe Média: Ascensão e Declínio*. Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos. Kindle Edition.
- Estanque, E. (2017). Onde pára a Classe Média. Breves Notas sobre o Conceito e a Realidade Portuguesa. *Sociologia, Problemas e Practicas nº 83, pp. 37-54.*
- Farrelly, T., Stewart-Withers, R., & Dombroski, K. (2014). 'BEING THERE': Mothering and absence/presence in the field. *A journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies*, 11(2), 25-56.
- Favell, A., (2008). *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe*. Blackwell Publishing.
- Feixa (2012)- *The #spanishrevolution and Beyond*. <http://www.culanth.org/fieldsights/68-the-spanishrevolution-and-beyond>
- Ferraz de Matos, P (2013). *The Colours of the Empire: Racialized Representations during Portuguese Colonialism*. Berghahn Books.
- Ferreira-Pereira, L (2014). *Portugal in the European Union: Assessing 25 years of Integration Experience*. Routledge.
- Firth, R., Hubert, J., Forge, A. (1970). *Families and their Relatives: Kinship in a Middle Class sector of London*. New York. Humanities Press.
- Fischer, E. 2014. *The Good Life. Aspiration, Dignity and the Anthropology of Wellbeing*. Stanford University Press.
- Fisher, M.J. (1991). The Uses of Life Histories. *Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly* 16(1) 24-27.

- Freeman, C. (2012). Middle Class Deja Vu. Conditions of Possibility, from Victorian England to Contemporary Kathmandu. In Heiman, R., Liechty, M. and Freeman, C. (eds). *The Global Middle Classes. Theorizing through Ethnography*. School for Advanced Research Press.
- Freeman, C. (2014). *Entrepreneurial Selves: Neoliberal Respectability and the Making of a Caribbean Middle Class*. Durham: Duke University Press
- Friedman, J. (1995). Global system, globalisation and the parameters of modernity. In Featherstone, M., Lash, S. and Robertson, R. (eds.), *Global Modernities*. 69–90. London: Sage.
- Fry, K. (2014). Natality. In Hayden, P. (ed). *Hannah Arendt: Key Concepts*. Routledge.
- Gallagher, T (1983). *Portugal: A Twentieth Century Interpretation*. Manchester University Press
- Gardner, K. (2002). *Age, narrative, and migration*. Oxford: Berg.
- Gil, J. (2007). *Portugal, Hoje: O Medo de Existir*. Lisbon: Relogio D'Agua.
- Giles, W. (1987). *Motherhood and wage labour in London: Portuguese migrant workers and the politics of gender*.
- Giles, W. (1991). Class, Gender and Race Struggles in a Portuguese Neighbourhood in London. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 15(3), pp.432-441.
- Giles, W. (1992). Gender Inequality and Resistance: The Case of Portuguese Women in London. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 65(2), p.67.
- Giles, W. (1997). Remembering the Portuguese household in Toronto: Culture, contradictions and resistance. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 20(3), pp.387-396.
- Giles, W. (2002). *Portuguese women in Toronto*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Gilmore, D. (1982). Anthropology of the Mediterranean Area. *Ann. Rev. Anthropology 1982* 11:175-205.
- Gilmore, D. (ed.) 1987. Honour and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean. Washington: *Special Publication of the American Anthropological Association No.22*.
- Glick-Schiller, N. (2015). Explanatory Frameworks in transnational migration studies: the missing multi-scalar global perspective. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38-13, 2275-2282

- Glick Schiller, N. & Çağlar, A. (2016). Displacement, emplacement and migrant newcomers: rethinking urban sociabilities within multiscalar power. *Identities*, 23:1, 17-34
- Goddard, V. (1996). *Family and Work in Naples*, Oxford: Berg, 1996
- Gonzales, R., Sigona, N., Muñoz Burciaga, E. (2016). Citizenship, Rights and Deservingness: Introduction to the Special Issue. *American Behavioural Scientist* 2016, Vol. 60 (13) 1531-1533.
- Graeber, D (2011). *Debt*. Melville House Publishing.
- Granovetter, M. (1973). The Strength of Weak Ties. *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 78, No. 6 (May, 1973), pp. 1360-1380
- Gray, L.E. (2016). Registering Protest: Voice, Precarity, and Return in Crisis Portugal, *History and Anthropology*, 27:1, 60-73,
- Guerreiro, Rita (2009). 'Little Portugal in Great Britain'. *Europe in the UK. European Commission Representation in the United Kingdom*. Retrieved 20 February 2011.
- Hage, G. (2009). 'Waiting out the Crisis: On Stuckedness and Governmentality.' In Hage, G. (ed). *Waiting*. Melbourne University Press, pp. 97–106.
- Hamnett, C. (1994). Social Polarisation in Global Cities: Theory and Evidence. *Urban Studies*, 31(3), 401-424. Retrieved January 8, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43196109>
- Hannerz, U. (1990) Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture. *Theory, Culture and Society* (SAGE, London, Newbury Park and New Delhi), Vol. 7 (1990), 237-251
- Hannerz, U. (1992) *Cultural complexity. Studies in the social organisation of meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hannerz, U. (2004). Cosmopolitanism. In D. Nugent and J. Vincent (eds) *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 69–85.
- Hart, K, and Ortiz, H. (2008). Anthropology in the financial crisis. *Anthropology Today* 24(6): 1-3.
- Hart, K. (2012). The Roots of the Global Economic Crisis. *Anthropology Today*. Vol 28:2, pp 1–3.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Heiman, R., Freeman, C. and Liechty, M. (eds.) (2012) *The Global Middle Classes: Theorizing through Ethnography*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2012.
- Hellermann, C. (2006). Migrating alone: Tackling social capital? Women from Eastern Europe in Portugal. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(6), pp.1135-1152.
- Herzfeld, M. (2000). Uncanny Success: Some Closing Remarks. In Pedroso de Lima, A. and Pina Cabral, J. (eds) *Elites: Choice, Leadership and Succession*. Berg Publishers.
- Hirsch, E. & Stewart, C. (2005) Introduction: Ethnographies of Historicity, *History and Anthropology*, 16:3, 261-274
- Hodges, M. (2010). The Time of the Interval: Historicity, Modernity, and Epoch in Rural France. *American Ethnologist*, 37 (1). pp. 115-131. ISSN 0094-0496.
- Huijsmans, R. (2011). The EU's Ambiguous Position on Migrant Underage Workers. In T.-D. Truong & D. R. Gasper (Eds.), *Transnational Migration and Human Security: The migration-development-security-nexus* (pp. 159-168). Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag.
- Jacobs-Huey, L. (2002). The Natives Are Gazing and Talking Back: Reviewing the Problematics of Positionality, Voice, and Accountability among 'Native' Anthropologists. *American Anthropologist* 104(3):791-804.
- Jansen, S. (2014). On Not Moving Well Enough Temporal Reasoning in Sarajevo Yearnings for 'Normal Lives'. *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 55, No. S9, Crisis, Value, and Hope: Rethinking the Economy (August 2014), pp. S74-S84. Published by: The University of Chicago Press
- Jansen, S. (2016) For a Relational, Historical Ethnography of Hope: Indeterminacy and Determination in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Meantime, *History and Anthropology*, 27:4, 447-464
- Kalb, D. (2015). Introduction: Class and the New Anthropological Holism. In Carrier, J.G and Kalb, D. (eds) *Anthropologies of Class: Power, Practice and Inequality*. Cambridge University Press
- Kallianos, Y. (2013). Agency of the street: Crisis, Radical Politics and the production of public space in Athens. *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action* 17(4): 548-557.

Katz, C. (2002). Just Managing: American Middle-Class Parenthood in Insecure Times. In Heiman, R., Liechty, M. and Freeman, C. (eds). *The Global Middle Classes. Theorizing through Ethnography*. School for Advanced Research Press.

Kay, H. (1970). *Salazar and Modern Portugal*. NY, USA: Hawthorn Books.

Keating, M. and Solovova, O. (2011). Multilingual dynamics among Portuguese-based migrant contexts in Europe. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(5), pp.1251-1263.

Kelsey, D., Mueller, F., Whittle, A. and Khosravinik, M. (2016). Financial crisis and austerity: interdisciplinary concerns in critical discourse studies. *Critical Discourse Studies* .Vol. 13, Iss. 1.

King, R. (2000). Southern Europe in the changing global map of migration. In R. King, G. Lazaridis, & C. Tsardanidis (Eds.), *Eldorado or fortress? Migration in Southern Europe* (pp. 1–26). London: Macmillan.

King, R. (2015). Migration and Southern Europe– A center–periphery dynamic? In Baumeister, M. and Sala, R. (Eds.), *Southern Europe? Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece from the 1950s to the present day* (pp. 139–169). Frankfurt/New York: Campus.

Klimt, A. (2000). Enacting national selves: Authenticity, adventure, and disaffection in the Portuguese Diaspora. *Identities*, 6(4), pp.513-550.

Klimt, A. (2002). Investigating Portugueseness: Reflections on Recent Ethnographic Approaches. *Diaspora*, 11(2), pp.277-293.

Knight, D. (2012) Cultural Proximity: Crisis, Time and Social Memory in Central Greece. *History and Anthropology* 23(3): 349-374

Knight, D. M. (2015). *History, Time, and Economic Crisis in Central Greece*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Knight, D. M. (2016) Temporal Vertigo and Time Vortices on Greece's Central Plain. *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology*, 33 (1). pp. 32-44.

Knight, D. & Stewart, C. (2016) Ethnographies of Austerity: Temporality, Crisis and Affect in Southern Europe, *History and Anthropology*, 27:1, 1-18.

- Koselleck, R. (1985). *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*. Translated by K. Tribe. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Koven, M. (2004). Transnational perspectives on sociolinguistic capital among Luso-Descendants in France and Portugal. *American Ethnologist*, 31(2), pp.270-290.
- Koven, M. (2013). Speaking French in Portugal: An analysis of contested models of emigrant personhood in narratives about return migration and language use. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 17(3), pp.324-354.
- Kurotani, S. (2004). Multi-sited Transnational Ethnography and the Shifting Construction of Fieldwork. In: Hume, L. and Mulcock, J. (eds). *Anthropologists in the Field: Cases in Participant Observation*. Columbia University Press. New York.
- Kuwayama, T. (2003). Natives as Dialogic Partners: Some Thoughts on Native Anthropology. *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 19, No 1.
- Lamb, S. (2015). Generation in Anthropology. In: Wright, J. (ed) *International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences, 2nd edition, Vol 9. Oxford: Elsevier. pp. 853–856*.
- Lamphere, L. (1986). Working mothers and family strategies: Portuguese and New England Women in a New England Community. In: Simon, R. And Brettell, C. (Eds). *International Migration: The Female Experience*.
- Leurs, K. (2015). Social Media as Contact Zones Young Londoners Remapping the Metropolis through Digital Media. In Ponzanesi, S. and Colpani, G. (eds) *Postcolonial Transitions in Europe. Contexts, Practices and Politics*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Liechty, M. (2012). Middle-Class Déjà Vu Conditions of Possibility, from Victorian England to Contemporary Kathmandu. In Heiman, R., Freeman, C. and Liechty, M. (eds.) *The Global Middle Classes: Theorizing through Ethnography*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2012.
- Long, N. and Moore, H. (2012). *Sociality's New Directions*. Introduction. P 1-25.
- Lubkemann, S. (2002). The Moral Economy of Portuguese Postcolonial Return. *Diaspora*, 11(2), pp.189-213.

- Machado, B. (2011). *Os filhos dos 'retornados': a experiência Africana e a criação de memórias, pós-memórias e representações na pós-colonidade*. Mestrado em População e Território. Universidad de Lisboa, Instituto de Geografia e Ordenamento do Território.
- MacIntyre, A. C. (1984). *After virtue: A study in moral theory*. Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Madianou, M. and Miller, D. (2012). *Migration and New Media: Transnational Families and Polymedia*. Routledge.
- Mahony, P. and Zmroczek, C. (eds). (1997). *Class Matters: 'Working Class' Women's Perspectives on Social Class*. Taylor and Francis.
- Mapril, J. and Blanes, R.L. (2018). Austerity in Portugal: The 'Middle-Classification' of the Public Space, Migration, and the Silences of History. In: Rakopoulos, T., ed, *The Global Life of Austerity: Comparing beyond Europe*. Berghahn Books.
- Marcus, G. (1995). Ethnography In/of the World Systems: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 24 (1995), 95-117.
- Marcus, G. (2000). The Deep Legacies of Dynastic Subjectivity: The Resonances of a Famous Family Identity in Private and Public Spheres. In Pedroso de Lima, A. and Pina Cabral, J. de (2000). *Elites: Choice, Leadership and Succession*. Berg Publishers
- Marks, L. (2000). *The Skin of the Film*. Duke University Press.
- Massumi, B. (2002). *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*. Duke University Press.
- Matthijs, M. & McNamara, K. (2015) The Euro Crisis Theory Effect: Northern Saints, Southern Sinners, and the Demise of the Eurobond. *Journal of European Integration*, 37:2, 229-245
- Mattingly, C. (2014). *Moral Laboratories, Family Peril and the Struggle for a Good Life*. University of California Press.
- McIlwaine, C. (2007). *Living in Latin London: How Latin American Migrants Survive the in the City*. Queen Mary, University of London.

- Melo-Pfeifer, S. (2014). The role of the family in heritage language use and learning: impact on heritage language policies. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 18(1), pp.26-44.
- Miller, R. (2000). *Researching Life Stories and Family Histories*. SAGE Publications.
- Miyazaki, H. and R. Swedberg (eds.) (2017) *The Economy of Hope*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Moore, H., (2011). *Still Life: Hopes, Desires and Satisfaction*s. Polity Press.
- Moores, S. (2012). *Media, Place and Mobility*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Muehlebach, A. (2016). Anthropologies of Austerity. *History and Anthropology*, 27:3, 359-372.
- Narayan, K. (1993) How Native is a 'Native' Anthropologist? *American Anthropologist* 95:671-687.
- Narotzky, S. and Besnier, N. (2014). Crisis, Value, and Hope: Rethinking the Economy. An Introduction to Supplement 9. *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 55, No. 59. pp. S4-S16
- Narotzky, S. (2011). 'Memories of Conflict and present Day Struggles in Europe. New Tensions between Corporatism, Class and Social Movements'. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 18 (2): 97-112.
- Narotzky, S. (2012). Europe in crisis; grassroots economies and the anthropological turn. *Ethnographica* 16(3): 627-638.
- Narotzky, S. (2015). The Organic Intellectual and the Production of Class in Spain. In J. Carrier and D. Kalb (Eds.), *Anthropologies of Class: Power, Practice and Inequality* (pp. 53-71). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Narotzky, S. (2016). Between Inequality and Injustice: Dignity as a Motive for Mobilization During the Crisis. *History and Anthropology*, 27:1, 74-92.
- Narotzky, S. (2020). *Grassroots Economies: Living with Austerity in Southern Europe*. Pluto Press.
- Neto, F. and Pinto, M. (2010). Happiness among Portuguese and Indian adolescents from immigrant families in Portugal. *Revista Científica Internacional*

Melo Nogueira, M, Porteous, D and Guerreiro, S (2015). The Portuguese-speaking community in Lambeth: a scoping study. Project Report. London Community Foundation, London.

O'Neill, B. (1987). *Social Inequality in a Portuguese Hamlet*. Cambridge University Press.

O'Reilly, K. (2012). *Ethnographic Methods*, 2 Edition. Routledge.

O'Reilly, K. and Benson, M., (2009). Lifestyle migration: escaping to the good life? In Benson, M. and O'Reilly, K. (eds) *Lifestyle Migrations: Expectations, Aspirations and Experiences*. Ashgate, 2009

Øien, C. (2006). Transnational networks of care: Angolan children in fosterage in Portugal. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(6), pp.1104-1117.

Øien, C (2010). Relative tension: the migration experiences of young Angolans in transnational families in Portugal. *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*. Vol. 3, Iss. 1, 2010

Orlando, G. (2015): The uses of mutualism in the Italian recovered factories movement. *15th ASA Conference: Symbiotic anthropologies: theoretical commensalities and methodological mutualisms*. Exeter

Ortner, S. (1984) Theory in *Anthropology since the Sixties*. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Jan., 1984), 126-166

Ortner, S. (2003). *New Jersey Dreaming: Capital, Culture, and the Class of '58*. Duke University Press.

Ortner, S. (2016). Dark Anthropology and its Others. Theory since the Eighties. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6 (1): 47-73

Palomera, J. (2014). Reciprocity, Commodification, and Poverty in the Era of Financialization. *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 55, No. S9

Palumbo, B. (2016) Debt, Hegemony and Heterochrony in a Sicilian City, *History and Anthropology*, 27:1, 93-106.

Papailias, P. (2011). "Beyond the 'Greek Crisis': Histories, Rhetorics, Politics." Hot Spots series, *Fieldsights*, October 10. <https://culanth.org/fieldsights/series/beyond-the-greek-crisis-histories-rhetorics-politics>

Parreñas, R. (2005). Long distance intimacy: class, gender and intergenerational relations between mothers and children in Filipino transnational families. *Global Networks, Volume 5, Issue 4*

Pedroso de Lima, A. (2000) 'How Did I Become a Leader in My Family Firm?' Assets for Succession in Contemporary Lisbon Financial Elites. In Pedroso de Lima, A. and Pina Cabral, J. de (2000). *Elites: Choice, Leadership and Succession*. Berg Publishers

Peixoto, J. (2002). Strong market, weak state: the case of recent foreign immigration in Portugal. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28(3), pp.483-497.

Peixoto, J., Candeias, P., Ferreira, B., Diogo de Oliveira, I., Azevedo, J., Marques, J.C., Góis, P., Malheiros, J., Madeira, P.M., Schiltz, A., Ferro, A., and Santana, E. (2019). New Emigration and Portuguese Society: Transnationalism and Return. In Pereira, C. and Azevedo, J. (eds) *New and Old Routes of Portuguese Emigration. Uncertain Futures at the Periphery of Europe*. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer Open.

Pena Pires, R. (et al.) (1984). *Os retornados: Um estudo sociográfico*, IED, Lisboa.

Pena Pires, R. (2003). *Migrações e Integração. Teoria e Aplicações à Sociedade Portuguesa*, Celta

Pena Pires, R. (2014). Emigração Portuguesa. *Relatorio Estatístico 2014*.

Pena Pires, R. (2019). Portuguese Emigration Today. In Pereira, C. and Azevedo, J. (eds) *New and Old Routes of Portuguese Emigration. Uncertain Futures at the Periphery of Europe*. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer Open.

Pereira, C. (2019). A New Skilled Emigration Dynamic: Portuguese Nurses and Recruitment in the Southern European Periphery (Pp. 97-122). In Pereira, C. and Azevedo, J. (eds) (2019). *New and Old Routes of Portuguese Emigration. Uncertain Futures at the Periphery of Europe*. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer Open.

Pereira, C. and Azevedo, J. (2019a). *New and Old Routes of Portuguese Emigration. Uncertain Futures at the Periphery of Europe*. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer Open.

Pereira, C. and Azevedo, J. (2019b). The Fourth Wave of Portuguese Emigration: Austerity Policies, European Peripheries and Postcolonial Continuities. In Pereira, C. and Azevedo, J. (eds) (2019). *New and Old Routes of Portuguese Emigration. Uncertain Futures at the Periphery of Europe*. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer Open.

- Pina Almeida, J. (2007). 'Citizens of the World: Migration and Citizenship of the Portuguese in the UK'. *Portuguese Studies* 23 (2): 208–229.
- Pina Almeida, J. and Corkill, D. (2010). Uma Vida Melhor ? Portuguese Migrant Workers in a Rural Community. *Immigrants & Minorities*, 28(1), pp.70-85.
- Pina Cabral, J. and Pedrosa de Lima, A. (2005). Como fazer uma História de Família: um Exercício de Contextualização Social.
- Pina-Cabral, J. (1986). *Sons of Adam, daughters of Eve*. Oxford [Oxfordshire]: Clarendon Press.
- Pina Cabral, J. (1997). Houses and Legends: Family as Community of Practice in Urban Portugal. In: Gullestad, M. and Segalen, M. (eds) *Family and Kinship in Europe*, Pinter
- Pina Cabral, J. (2000). Introduction. in Pedroso de Lima, A. and Pina Cabral, J. de (2000). *Elites: Choice, Leadership and Succession*. Berg Publishers
- Pina Cabral, J. (2003). *O homem na família*. Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Pina Cabral, J. (2011). Antropologia e a 'Crise'. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*. Vol 26, No 77
- Pina Cabral, J (2015a). Lusotopy as Ecumene. *Unpublished notes*.
- Pina Cabral, J (2015b). Dancing the Crisis: Personal Constitution and Structural Determination in Contemporary Portugal. *15th ASA Conference: Symbiotic anthropologies: theoretical commensalities and methodological mutualisms*. Exeter
- Pina Cabral, J. (2016a). Familial Persons in Dark Times. *Paper to be delivered at SIEF conference 'Ways of Dwelling: Crisis–Craft–Creativity', Göttingen, March 26-29, 2017*.
- Pina Cabral, J. (2016b). Brazilian Serialities: Personhood and Radical Embodied Cognition. *Current Anthropology*, vol. 57, number 3, pp. 247.
- Pina Cabral, J. (2018a). The Millennial Conjuncture. *Paper prepared for the conference 10 Years of Austerity*, Lisbon.
- Pina Cabral, J. (2018b). Familial Persons in Dark Times. *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* (2018) 26, 3 376–390. © 2018 European Association of Social Anthropologists.

- Pine, F. (2014). Migration as Hope Space, Time, and Imagining the Future. *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 55, No. S9.
- Pipyrou, S. (2016) Adrift in Time: Lived and Silenced Pasts in Calabria, South Italy, *History and Anthropology*, 27:1, 45-59,
- Pires, S. (2013). Guinea-Bissau immigrant transnationalism in Portugal: a substitute for a failed state? *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*. Volume 6, Issue 2,
- Pires, R.P., Pereira, C., Azevedo, J. and Ribeiro, A.C., (2014). *Emigração Portuguesa. Relatório estatístico 2014*. Lisboa: Observatório da Emigração e Rede Migra, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL), CIES-IUL, e DGACCP.
- Pipyrou, S. (2016). Adrift in Time: Lived and Silenced Pasts in Calabria, South Italy. *History and Anthropology*, 27:1, 45-59.
- Prazeres, L. (2019). Unpacking Distinction within mobility: Social Prestige and International Students. *Population, Space and Place*, Vol 25, Issue 5.
- Purhonen, S. (2016). Generations on Paper: Bourdieu and the Critique of 'Generationalism'. *Social Science Information* 2016, Vol 55 (1) 94-114.
- Rakopoulos, T. (2014). The Crisis seen from Below, With and Against: From Food Cooperatives to the Solidarity Economy in Greece. *Dialectical Anthropology*. 38(2): 189-207.
- Rapport, N. (2006). Anthropology as a Cosmopolitan Study. *Anthropology Today* Vol 22, no. 1, pp 23-24, February 2006
- Rapport, N. (2007). An Outline for Cosmopolitan Study. Reclaiming the Human through Introspection. *Current Anthropology*. Volume 48, Number 2, April 2007.
- Rapport, N and Stade, R. (2007). Debate Section: A Cosmopolitan turn- or return? *Social Anthropology* (2007), 15, 2 223-235.
- Redden, E. (2008). *Fieldwork with Three Children*.
<https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2008/11/25/anthro> Viewed 15/06/2016
- Reiter, B. (2012). Framing Non-Whites and Producing Second Class Citizens in France and Portugal. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38:7: 1067-084

- Riegelhaupt, J. (1964). *In the Shadow of the City: Integration of a Portuguese Village*. Tese de PhD, Nova Iorque, Columbia University.
- Robbins, J. (2013). Beyond the Suffering Subject: toward an Anthropology of the Good. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (N.S.)* **19**, 447-462
- Rocha Trindade, B. (2003) .*Migrações e Integração. Teoria e Aplicações à Sociedade Portuguesa*, Celta
- Rosaldo, R. (1976). The Story of Tukbaw: 'They Listen as he Orates'. In Reynolds, F. and Capps, D. (eds) *The Biographical Process: Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion*. Pp 121-151.
- Rosaldo, R. (1984). 'Introduction: Grief and a Headhunter's Rage. in *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*. Boston: Beacon Press; London: Taylor & Francis, 1993 [1989]
- Rosaldo, R. (1993). *Culture & Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis : With a New Introduction*. Beacon Press.
- Royo, S. (2005). Portugal's Migration Experience: Redefined Boundaries and Uneasy Transformations. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 16(4), pp.112-139.
- Rutz, H. and Balkan, E. (2009). *Reproducing Class: Education, Neoliberalism, and the Rise of the New Middle Class in Istanbul*. Berghahn.
- Sabaté, I. (2015). To repay or not to repay. Patterns of inequality emerging from mortgage (over) indebtedness in Spain. *15th ASA Conference: Symbiotic anthropologies: theoretical commensalities and methodological mutualisms*. Exeter
- Sabaté, I. (2016). The Spanish Mortgage Crisis and the Re-emergence of Moral Economies in Uncertain Times, *History and Anthropology*, 27:1, 107-120
- Sales, R. (2002). The Deserving and the Undeserving? Refugees, Asylum seekers and Welfare in Britain. *Critical Social Policy*, 22:456.
- Saravaia, C. (2008). Transnational Migrants and Transnational Spirits: An African Religion in Lisbon. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34.2, 253-69
- Sarro, R (2007). *La aventura como categoria cultural: apuntes simmelianos sobre la emigracion subsahariana*. Working papers. Lisbon: Instituto de Ciencias Sociais.

- Sassen, S. (1991) *The Global City*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Sassen, S (2005) *The global city: introducing a concept*. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 11 (2). pp. 27-43.
- Savage, M., Devine, F., Cunningham, N., Taylor, M. Li, Y., Hjellbrekke, J., Le Roux, B., Friedman. S., Miles, A. 2013. A New Model of Social Class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey Experiment. *Sociology* 47(2) 219–250.
- Schatzki, T. R. (2002). *The Site of the Social: A Philosophical Account of the Constitution of Social Life and Change*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Schatzki, T. R. (2010). *The Timespace of Human Activity: On Performance, Society, and History as Indeterminate Teleological Events*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books [Kindle edition].
- Scheibelhofer, E. (2018) Shifting migration aspirations in second modernity, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44:6, 999-1014
- Schielke, S. (2012). Living in the Future Tense. Aspiring for World and Class in Provincial Egypt. In Heiman, R., Liechty, M. and Freeman, C. (eds). *The Global Middle Classes. Theorizing through Ethnography*. School for Advanced Research Press.
- Serres, M. (1995). *Conversations on Science, Culture, and Time*, University of Michigan Press
- Sigona, N. (2019). *London is the EU's most 'Europolitan' capital- what its EU families feel about Brexit*. <https://theconversation.com/london-is-the-eus-most-europolitan-capital-what-its-eu-families-feel-about-brexit-127630> downloaded 20/01/2021
- Smith, D. (2007). Deleuze and the Question of Desire: Toward and Immanent Theory of Ethics. *Parrhesia* 2: 66–78.
- Sobral, J.M. (2000) Family, Power and Property: Ascendancy and Decline of a Rural Elite. in Pedroso de Lima, A. and Pina Cabral, J. de (2000). *Elites: Choice, Leadership and Succession*. Berg Publishers
- Stirrat, R.L. (2000). Cultures of Consultancy. *Critique of Anthropology* 2000; 20; 31

Temple, B. (1997). Contested Categorizations; Auto/Biography, Narrativity and Class. In Mahony, P. and Zmroczek, C. (eds). *Class Matters: 'Working Class' Women's Perspectives on Social Class*. pp. 78-86. Taylor and Francis

Teperoglou, E., Freire, A., Andreadis, I., Viegas, J. (2014). Elites' and Voters' Attitudes towards Austerity Policies and their Consequences in Greece and Portugal. *South European Society and Politics* . Vol. 19, Iss. 4, 2014

Theodossopoulos, D. (2009). Introduction. In Theodossopoulos, D. and Kirtsoglou, E. (eds) *United in Discontent*. Berghahn Books.

Theodossopoulos, D. (2013). Infuriated with the infuriated? Blaming tactics and discontent about the Greek financial crisis. *Current Anthropology* 54(2): 200-221.

Theodossopoulos, D. (2014). The ambivalence of Anti-Austerity Indignation in Greece: Resistance, Hegemony and Complicity. *History and Anthropology*, 25(4): 488-506.

Theodossopoulos, D (2020a) Solidarity dilemmas in times of austerity: Auto-ethnographic interventions. *Cultural Anthropology* 35(1): 134–166.

Theodossopoulos, D. (2020b). Iphigenia's Sacrifice. Generational Historicity as a Structure of Feeling in Times of Austerity, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. N.S 26, 842-863

Thomas, W., Znaniecki, F. & Zaretsky, E. (1996). *The Polish peasant in Europe and America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Thompson, E. (2009). 'Mobile phones, Networks and Communities among Foreign Workers in Singapore', *Global Networks* 9 (3), pp. 359-380.

Tomlinson, J. (1999). *Globalization and Culture*. University of Chicago Press.

Townsend, M. (2016). No jobs, no hope, gunfights at your door – the tough streets that claimed Myron Yarde's life. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/apr/10/tough-streets-myron-yarde> accessed 29/01/21

Trovão, S. (2012) Religion and Civic Participation among the Children of Immigrants: Insights from the Postcolonial Portuguese Context, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38:5, 851-868.

- Tsuda, T. (2015). Is Native Anthropology Really Possible? *Anthropology Today*. Volume 31, Issue 3, pages 14–17, June 2015
- Tuan, Y. (2004). 'Sense of Place: Its Relationship to Self and Time' in *Reanimating places: A Geography of Rhythms*, ed. T. Mels, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Tuck, E. (2010). Breaking up with Deleuze: desire and valuing the irreconcilable. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 23:5, 635-650
- Uy-Tioco, C. (2007). 'Overseas Filipino Workers and Text Messaging: Reinventing Transnational Mothering.' *Continuum* 21(2):253-265.
- Vale de Almeida, M. (1997). Gender, Masculinity and Power in Southern Portugal. *Social Anthropology* 5, 2, 141-158.
- Vale de Almeida, M. (2008a). Portugal's Colonial Complex- from Colonial Lusotropicalism to Postcolonial Lusophony. *Queens Postcolonial Research Forum*, Belfast.
- Vale de Almeida, M. (2008b). Anthropology and Ethnography of the Portuguese Speaking Empire. In: Poddar, P. Patke, R., Jensen, L. (eds). *A Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literature. Colonial Europe and its Empires*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Vertovec, S. (2004). 'Cheap Calls: The Social Glue of Migrant Transnationalism', *Global Networks*, 4: 219–224.
- S Vertovec and R Cohen (2002). Introduction: Conceiving Cosmopolitanism. In *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*, pp.1-22. Oxford University Press.
- Vieira, R. and Trindade, J. (2008). Migration, Culture and Identity in Portugal. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 8:1, 36-49.
- Vournelis, L. (2016). Alexander's Great Treasure: Wonder and Mistrust in Neoliberal Greece, *History and Anthropology*, 27:1, 121-133
- Walker, H. and Kavedžija, I. (2015). Values of Happiness. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 5 (3). Pp. 1-23.
- Weiss, H. (2019). *We have Never Been Middle Class*. Verso Press.

Werbner, P. (1999). Global Pathways. Working Class Cosmopolitans and the Creation of Transnational Ethnic Worlds. *Social Anthropology* (1999), 7, 1, 17–35.

Whitehead, T. and Price, L. (1986). Summary: Sex and the Fieldwork Experience. In Whitehead, T. and Conaway, M. (eds). *Self, Sex and Gender in Cross-Cultural Fieldwork*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. Pp 289-304.

Wilding, R. 2006, 'Virtual Intimacies? Families communicating across transnational contexts', *Global Networks*, 6: 125–142.

Williams, R. (1977). Structures of Feeling. in *Marxism and Literature*.

Xiang, B. (2013) 'Multi-scalar ethnography: An approach for critical engagement with migration and social change', *Ethnography*, 14(3). Pp. 282–299.

Young, M. and Wilmott, P. (1957). *Family and Kinship in East London*. Penguin Classics

Zigon, J. (2018). Hope and Waiting in Post-Soviet Moscow. in *Ethnographies of Waiting: doubt, hope and uncertainty*. Pp 65-84. London, Bloomsbury Academic.

Zipin, L., Sellar, S., Brennan, M. and Gale, T. (2015). Educating for Futures in Marginalized Regions: A Sociological Framework for Rethinking and Researching Aspirations, *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 47:3. Pp 227-246