

## THEMATIC ARTICLE

# The social practices of immigration: the everyday life of Brazilian immigrants in Denmark

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### Abstract

This research aimed to understand how the social practices of Brazilian immigrants in Denmark are organized in the composition of their everyday lives in response to the immigration laws of that country. We employ a practice-based approach using Michel de Certeau's concept of practice, which considers that people can reinvent their everyday life through tactics and strategies embedded in their ways of doing things. In this context, we associate the matter of power apparatus, a concept worked by Michel Foucault, with the concept of propriety, worked by Pierre Mayol. The empirical research used ethnographic research for a period of approximately twelve months in Denmark through participant observation of the daily activities of Brazilian immigrants already established in the country and semi-structured interviews with 15 participants. As the main contributions of this research, we first highlight the theoretical contribution that the social practice of immigration occurs at different moments in the daily life of an immigrant, from their arrival in the host country to aging in the local society. Regarding the practical contributions of this study, it is important to consider that immigration practices are a phenomenon composed of tactics, strategies, and resistances organized based on the relationship between practitioners and apparatus, which can also be conveniently operated by propriety. Empirically, the study advances in the recognition and understanding of the organization of the community of Brazilian immigrants in Denmark.

**Keywords:** Immigration practice. Organize. Apparatus. Propriety. Everyday Life.

### *As práticas sociais da imigração: o cotidiano da imigração de brasileiros na Dinamarca*

#### Resumo

Esta pesquisa teve como objetivo geral compreender como as práticas sociais da imigração de brasileiros na Dinamarca se organizam na composição do seu cotidiano em resposta às leis de imigração daquele país. Nesse aspecto, usamos uma abordagem baseada na prática, por meio da qual recorremos ao conceito de prática de Michel de Certeau, que considera que pessoas comuns podem reinventar o cotidiano com a ajuda de táticas e astúcias incorporadas nas suas formas de fazer, que são as práticas cotidianas. Associamos a questão de dispositivos de poder, conceito trabalhado por Michel Foucault, com o conceito de conveniência, trabalhado por Pierre Mayol. No que pese à pesquisa empírica, para a execução deste estudo, fizemos uma investigação etnográfica por um período de aproximadamente 12 meses na Dinamarca, por meio de observação participante de atividades cotidianas de imigrantes brasileiros já estabelecidos no país e entrevistas com roteiro semiestruturado com 15 integrantes da pesquisa. Como contribuições principais desta pesquisa, destacamos, primeiramente, que a prática social da imigração ocorre em diferentes momentos do cotidiano da vida de um imigrante, desde sua chegada ao país anfitrião até seu envelhecimento na sociedade local. No que diz respeito às contribuições práticas desse estudo, também é um avanço considerarmos que o ato da imigração é um fenômeno composto por táticas, estratégias e resistências que se organizam com base na relação entre praticantes e dispositivos de forma conveniente. Empiricamente, o estudo avança no reconhecimento e na compreensão da organização da comunidade de imigrantes brasileiros na Dinamarca.

**Palavras-chave:** Prática de imigração. Organizar. Dispositivos. Conveniência. Cotidiano.

### *Las prácticas sociales de la inmigración: la cotidianidad de la inmigración de brasileños en Dinamarca*

#### Resumen

Esta investigación tuvo el objetivo general de comprender cómo las prácticas sociales de la inmigración brasileña a Dinamarca se organizan en la composición de su vida cotidiana en respuesta a las leyes de inmigración de ese país. En este sentido, empleamos un enfoque basado en la práctica, en el que recurrimos al concepto de práctica de Michel de Certeau, que considera que la gente común puede reinventar su vida cotidiana a través de tácticas y trucos incrustados en sus formas de hacer las cosas. En este contexto, asociamos la cuestión del aparato de poder, concepto trabajado por Michel Foucault, con el concepto de concepto de conveniencia trabajado por Pierre Mayol. En cuanto a la investigación empírica, para la ejecución de este estudio se realizó una investigación etnográfica por un período de aproximadamente doce meses en Dinamarca, a través de la observación participante de las actividades cotidianas de los inmigrantes brasileños ya establecidos en el país, y entrevistas con guión semiestruturado a 15 participantes. Como principales aportes de esta investigación, destacamos en primer lugar el aporte teórico de que la práctica social de la inmigración se da en diferentes momentos de la vida cotidiana de un inmigrante, desde su llegada al país de acogida, hasta su envejecimiento en la sociedad local. En cuanto a los aportes prácticos de este estudio, también es un avance considerar que las prácticas de inmigración son un fenómeno compuesto por tácticas, estrategias y resistencias que se organizan a partir de la relación entre practicantes y aparatos de forma convenientemente. Empíricamente, el estudio avanza en el reconocimiento y comprensión de la organización de la comunidad de inmigrantes brasileños en Dinamarca.

**Palabras clave:** Práctica de la inmigración. Organizar. Dispositivos. Conveniencia. Cotidianidad.

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## INTRODUCTION

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The concept of immigration is linked to the perspective of the location of arrival, in which an international immigrant is a person who moves to a country and is not a citizen, with this new country becoming the immigrant's habitual residence (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2019). Nonetheless, being an immigrant is a social practice as well as a demographic classification, and this phenomenon is constituted collectively through everyday practices such as communicating in a second language and making purchases in this host country. Various processes are involved in the everyday lives of immigrants, and being an immigrant means that one experiences these processes.

Immigration is an everyday issue in the lives of Brazilians due to their history, beginning with the internal migrations of the original peoples during the colonial world, as well as forced migration through slavery. Nevertheless, migratory flows in Brazil have also come to be characterized by emigration. Irigaray and Freitas (2014) affirm that there was a strong outflow of Brazilians seeking a better life in Western Europe during the 1980s, with this movement being characterized by people who were not formally exiled from Brazil, unlike the situation during the military dictatorship after the Coup of 1964.

Likewise, Irigaray and Freitas (2014) propose that these recent non-compulsory migratory processes should be considered part of the "Brazilian diaspora". Even today, there is a large flow of Brazilian emigrants who are dissatisfied with life in Brazil. According to Nakagawa (2022), the number of Brazilians living abroad in 2020 was 18% greater than in 2018, totaling 4.2 million emigrants. In fact, a poll conducted by Datafolha in 2020 found that 70 million Brazilians older than 16 years of age would move abroad to seek a better life (Veiga, 2021).

Thus, this study is important to understand the immigration phenomenon of Brazilians living in Denmark, taking into consideration that this country does not have an established and recognized Brazilian community, and how these immigrants are organized. In terms of this aspect, Azevedo (2022) states that there is an urgent need for specific studies about immigration flows in various contexts, so that public policies can be developed in response to contingencies imposed by this phenomenon, such as in Portugal, which also is undergoing a diaspora process among its citizens who face socioeconomic challenges due to the dynamics of current movements.

Understanding the social practices of more recent flows of the Brazilian diaspora will also help direct public measures to deal with mass emigration from Brazil, in order to avoid more precarious labor conditions for these emigres, phenomena due to this "brain drain" and the disequilibrium of social security in the country. In this sense, Meunier (2019) elaborated a study of Brazil's National Immigration Council, which is a deliberative body that includes representatives of the government and various sectors of civil society in the formulation of national immigration policy, which demonstrates that demand from Brazilian emigres abroad has triggered the inclusion of the emigration issue within the scope of this body's activities.

This article is the result of an ethnographic study conducted by one of the authors between January 2020 and January 2021 in Copenhagen, Denmark. During this year there was an opportunity to get to know other Brazilian immigrants living there and follow some of their daily activities, always in compliance with the guidance provided by the World Health Organization (WHO) in relation to COVID-19, which was classified as a pandemic on March 11, 2020, two months after the beginning of this study.

Immigration was already a phenomenon of global relevance before the beginning of the pandemic in 2020, and according to the United Nations there are roughly 153 million people around the world who have immigrant status. Europe stands out as a region which receives flows of immigrants who are allowed free circulation within the member states of the European Union (EU), and it represents the destination of 55% of all refugees around the world, according to the Mid-Year Trends report published by the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2020). In response to its flows of immigration, Denmark has instituted several practices in terms of foreign residents, such as Language Centers (sprogcenters), which teach immigrants Danish. In addition to there being government initiatives to integrate new legal immigrants, those who have been denied asylum are isolated in prison institutions called Exit Centers<sup>1</sup>, which are maintained by Denmark's Prison and Conditional Liberty Service.

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<sup>1</sup> According to an article in *El País* (Cebrián, 2018) which appeared on December 05, 2018, Denmark has two illegal immigrant isolation centers called *Kærshovedgård* and *Sjælsmark*, and the government was considering constructing another one on the island of *Lindholm*. Both of these centers remain active as of the end of this study.

Within this context, we will raise several questions: which immigrants does Denmark prioritize in its integration efforts? How does the state treat those who are not members of this priority group? Is local society colluding with these practices? How do Brazilian immigrants organize themselves in their everyday lives in light of this reality? An overall objective of this study will be to understand the social practices of Brazilian immigrants in organizing themselves in their everyday lives in order to deal with this country's immigration laws.

In tracing this objective, we assume that immigrants experience collective integration in various ways when they establish themselves in this host country, even in terms of their everyday practices, such as transport and cooking. Through this concept, we will consider the formality of these practices, which Certeau (2018) informs us have a logic behind them, which they trace to daily acts. The following section will present the theoretical approach which we will adopt in this article.

## THEORETICAL APPROACH

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To understand and analyze the phenomena discussed in this work, we will conduct a discussion based on practices. In this approach, the unit of analysis is the practice itself, and in this article, we will rely mainly on the theories of Michel de Certeau. Certeau (2018) presents everyday practices as a way of doing things, or "a way to operate" in everyday life, which enables users to reappropriate organized space through sociocultural production techniques.

Everyday life is a concept that has gained room as a subject in the study of Administration (for example, Cabana & Ichikawa, 2017; Gouvêa & Ichikawa, 2015; Rodrigues & Ichikawa, 2015; Teixeira, Carrieri, & Peixoto, 2015). To Heller (2008), everyone experiences everyday life, independent of their positions in the division of intellectual and physical labor, given that no one can identify with their generic human activities in a way that is totally removed from everyday life. Thus, everyday life is the life of whole individuals, which means that people participate in everyday life in all of its individual aspects and personality, employing their senses, abilities, intellectual capacities, passions, feelings, ideas and ideologies (Heller, 2008).

Netto and M. C. B. Carvalho (2012) affirm that everyday life is the daily life of all people, which is noted and presented in various forms and facets, encompassing everyday routine interrelationships and activities. In our informal language, we constantly refer to everyday life merely in terms of its temporal dimension and argue that it is indispensable ontologically. Everyday life cannot be maintained in just a portion of history, because it cannot be removed from its historical context. Likewise, Netto and M. C. B. Carvalho (2012) believe that everyday life is one of the constitutive levels of history in which social reproduction occurs in the reproduction of individuals as such. In this sense, Lefévre (1968) also states that everyday life is the main product of an organized society, and everyday life is not an abandoned space-time, left to freedom and reason. There is a control of desires and improvement in everyday life, to the extent that it is possible to think of having command of an organized space based on it.

However, since the approach employed in this work is based on Certeau (2018), we will not consider everyday life to be a field devoted to discipline and passivity. Everyday life to Certeau (2018), is what intentionally keeps us on our path, in the sense of being our daily life which is based on habits. According to Franco and Oliveira (2016), Certeau's practical theory presents everyday life as something which constantly obliges us to play within the system where, and within the gaps between our practices we can reinvent our everyday lives and position ourselves as the protagonists of our own histories. In this sense, Franco and Oliveira (2016) argue that everyday life can also be understood as a process because of the constant movement produced by political games which arise out of our everyday practices.

The concept of everyday life was presented by Michel de Certeau in the first volume of *The practice of everyday life* deals with subjects based on opportunity. To Certeau (2018), the resurrection of the concept of everyday life is important to our obtaining a panorama beyond the ways we operate and act. Within this environment, Leite (2010) affirms that to Certeau everyday life is composed of procedures, with his heterodox perspective being characterized by not defining everyday life by its social rules, even when they can be recurrent, which represents a break with the definition of everyday life as routine, opening up room for conceiving of everyday life as a movement. In light of this, Leite (2010) stresses that Certeau's everyday life represents a

complete break from the binary conceptual nature of structure and action, given that the focus is not investigating structural determinations of our everyday lives, but rather analyzing everyday life which has its tactical and situational moves of acting which are termed practices.

In terms of the forms of living everyday life, Certeau (2018) distinguishes between two main practices: strategy and tactics. Practices based on strategies occur when individuals isolate themselves, which makes it possible to calculate the force relationships (Certeau, 2018). Certeau (2018) calls tactics “the opposite” of strategy, in which the calculation does not count on “oneself” and tactical spaces belong to others, with there being no possibility of expanding on and capitalizing on one’s desires to guarantee independence in these circumstances. Tactical practices depend on time, because they do not have a place and require paying continual attention to opportunities, and events need to be constantly manipulated to be transformed into opportunities (Certeau, 2018).

It is important to emphasize that this distinction between strategy and tactics is not a dichotomy or exclusive, even if they have a classificatory nature, because practices can have various dimensions which make it possible to articulate strategies and tactics simultaneously. In this sense, according to Bernardo, Shimada, and Ichikawa (2015), the relationship between strategies and tactics is associated with “micro-resistance” movements, in which individuals can resist the prevailing order, which is marked by strategy through tactical maneuvers which get around, deceive, or evade imposed norms, even if this only occurs at times. This relational movement is what makes it possible to reinvent everyday life (Bernardo et al., 2015).

To illustrate the occurrence of strategies and tactics, we can look at the example of a workspace in which an employee can use a paid break to deal with personal issues. Supposing that what needs to be resolved requires more time than that delineated by this pause and coworkers are not taking care of the paused work, it is possible that this break will last longer, even if this behavior is disapproved of by the organization’s workers.

In this manner, if an employee is able to extend this break beyond the allocated time to resolve personal issues, he or she will be benefitting from an opportunity marked by strategic practices, as long as the employee avoids punishment from coworkers due to not working in this strategic manner. In this regard, the workspace, which is a place with social practices, also has an apparatus which organizes these practices. For example, the punch clock, which controls the presence of workers through the collection of information in a company’s physical system, is a strategic practice which acts as an apparatus of convention based on a material instrument, the punch clock.

However, the punch clock only controls the physical presence of employees in a limited manner, given that it is not possible to have constant surveillance of each member of the workforce. Therefore, it is on the articulation of practices in a convenient manner through a control apparatus that we will focus our analysis of immigration as a social practice in this article, with the intention being to learn how this phenomenon is organized in varied situations. Even though the control apparatus constantly displays the everyday lives of these subjects to preserve the objectives of points of power, workers are not passive beings, given that there are times when they can practice subversion and resistance, as illustrated by the example of the paid break. Transgressions, which are also practiced, represent moments when there is a break from the group of everyday practices organized through the apparatus of propriety/convention, and these breaks are also part of the organizational process of the phenomenon.

As an introduction, according to the Brazilian Online Dictionary Michaelis (2022), convention is keeping in line with moral and social norms and is synonymous with composure, decency, and decorum, representing established social or political uses. In working with the operation of an apparatus, we reference the concept of propriety/convention developed by Pierre Mayol (Certeau, Giard, & Mayol, 2019) in the research that resulted in the publication of *The practice of everyday life volume 2: living and cooking*, a work organized and led by Michel de Certeau. Convention, according to Pierre Mayol (Certeau et al., 2019), is what acts in the place of law, that represses what is “not agreed to” and what “one does not do”, acting at a distance, filtering, and prohibiting intolerable behavior.

Convention has a normative nature on a social level, to the extent that what is considered to be undesirable conduct in an organized space should be repressed, forcing “ordinary people” to restrict undesirable behavior to their private environments unless they are willing to pay the “price” of transgression (Certeau et al., 2019). In addition, convention is closely related to

the implicit manners of a social group (Certeau et al., 2019), which may be considered a structural characteristic of the theory of propriety/convention.

Bearing in mind that all of the multiform and fragmented operations that also involve material things in the empirical execution of a task, it is necessary to seek formality in the practice of immigration. To learn about this formality, Certeau (2018) indicates the path of researching “popular culture”, which is essentially composed of “the art of doing” to perceive the ways of thinking involved in the ways that subjects act.

It is through the research of everyday practices of ordinary people that we can understand popular culture, with Certeau, Jameson, and Lovitt (1980) affirming that the disjunctive logic of spaces cannot be simply conceived of as generalized empirical fact. This movement of valuing popular culture relies on the need to know people’s everyday way of doing things ways in organizational studies based on practices from the perspective of Michel de Certeau. In this sense, grasping the formality of practices makes possible the association between Certeau’s theory of everyday practices and Foucault’s conception of resistance, because according to Faria and Silva (2017), the tactical notions of Certeau (2018) approximate the countervailing maneuvers which Foucault (2016) affirms are articulated by mechanisms of domestication.

According to Revel (2010), the term “apparatus” appears in Foucault’s work from the 1970s, and it was initially used to designate material operators of power, and was also used to refer to techniques, strategies and forms of subjection associated with the apparatus. The book *Microphysics of power* contains an interview in which Foucault is questioned about the meaning of apparatus (Foucault, 2016), taking into account his use of the term in *History of sexuality volume I*. Foucault (2016) affirms that apparatus is a term which mainly seeks to delineate a group that is explicitly heterogenous and encompasses institutions, discourses, decisions, regulations, scientific organizations and measurements, philosophies, morals, and philanthropy. Foucault (2016) further argues that an apparatus is made up of “spoken” and “unspoken” rules and the network established between these elements. Thus, it is through the understanding of various everyday practices, which are related to the apparatus of power, that we can obtain material which demonstrates the formalities of the organization of the social practices of immigration.

According to Cresswell (2011), migration traditionally focuses on a fundamental geographical fact of life which is moving and mainly a particular form of movement is analyzed. Cresswell (2011) differentiates traditional studies of migration from studies about mobility, which tend to consider all forms of movement, ranging from bodily movements such as dance, to factors of infrastructure and transport. Studying immigration is in line with a practice-based approach, and therefore, we believe this phenomenon covers various dimensions of the individual’s life, which can at times be considered separately, such as culture and movement.

Ethnographic research also introduces the legal system category in terms of Brazilian immigration in Denmark, and in this aspect, Solano and Huddleston (2021) inform us that public migration policies in the Western world concentrate their forces mainly on the regulation of the entry and permanence of immigrants, with integration normally being associated with the issue of integration into the local job market. Boucher (2020) states that more and more governments have been selecting qualified immigrants to fill in gaps in their labor markets, however in a study of 22 European countries, Helbling, Simon, and Schmid (2020) learned that in several instances more restrictive immigration policies have not increased the probability that more qualified immigrants will be admitted into the country, but they do favor immigrants from other OECD countries.

Helbling et al. (2020) also conclude that immigration measures in these countries tend to have few effects, encouraging immigration from certain regions. Bearing in mind that Denmark is a highly restrictive country in terms of its entry process and Brazil is not a member of the OECD, it is pertinent to understand how these immigrants organize themselves in their everyday lives given their context in Denmark.

In the following section, we will present the methodological paths used to realize this study.

## METHODOLOGICAL PATHS

In order to register countless everyday moments featuring the immigration practices of Brazilians in Denmark, we have opted to use the methodology of ethnography. In terms of ethnography as a method, Geertz (1999) tells us that its task is to provide narratives and scenarios to focus our attention on the understanding of a world full of realities that are strange to us which cannot be observed from a distance.

The location that we have selected for this study is Denmark, where we conducted ethnographic research from January 2020 to January 2021 with Brazilian immigrants living there. Denmark is a Scandinavian country to the north of Germany composed of a main peninsula called Jylland and the islands of Fyn and Sjælland, where Copenhagen the capital city is located. The country’s national language is Danish. Our research was mainly conducted in person among Brazilian immigrants residing in the metropolitan region of Copenhagen, and it also included the participation of three immigrants residing in Jylland and the interior of Sjælland, who were interviewed online.

During our analysis period, we sought to discover their everyday practices. Within this environment, Ferrazo (2007) explains that the way we conceive of everyday life affects our research and suggests thinking of everyday life as networks of actions and knowledge woven together by everyday subjects. He also emphasizes that it is important that these networks are not to be found within everyday life, but rather are everyday life.

Given this, we made participatory observations and conducted interviews during our time in the field. Formally, 15 people were interviewed (Box 1). The interviews lasted 52 minutes on average and were conducted in Portuguese, even though the Danish language permeated our communication at times. All of the interviews were recorded and transcribed resulting in a total of 187 pages of interview transcripts. To assist in the production of empirical material, we also took notes and made diary entries to register interactions based on participatory observations, which resulted in field diaries which recorded 24 encounters with Brazilian immigrants. These encounters had various durations, and the diaries were later transcribed which resulted in 76 pages of notes.

**Box 1**  
**Interviewee Characteristics**

	Interviewee	Marital Status	Reason for Immigrating	Time in Denmark	Age Group	Source of Income
1	Vanessa	Married	Own decision	3 years	20-29	Formal employment
2	Francisca	Divorced	Marriage	14 years	30-39	Informal employment
3	Marcia	Married	Marriage	12 years	30-39	Entrepreneurship
4	Carlos	Married	Marriage	9 years	30-39	Formal employment
5	Luciana	Married	Own decision	4 years	30-39	Entrepreneurship
6	João	Married	Marriage	1 years	30-39	Informal Employment
7	Adriana	Married	Marriage	5 years	40-49	Other Individual
8	Aline	Married	Marriage	5 years	40-49	Formal employment
9	Pedro	Single	Own decision	27 years	40-49	Formal employment
10	Mariana	Married	Own decision	2 years	40-49	Other Individual
11	Maria	Divorced	Marriage	24 years	50-59	Entrepreneurship
12	Ana	Divorced	Marriage	27 years	50-59	Other Individual
13	Fernanda	Divorced	Marriage	31 years	50-59	Entrepreneurship
14	Sandra	Divorced	Marriage	30 years	50-59	Informal Employment
15	Antônia	Married	Marriage	36 years	50-59	Entrepreneurship

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

The COVID-19 pandemic had implications for this empirical study, and it was necessary to readapt our field procedures to get around the limitations imposed on everyday life in Denmark. During our field study, the researcher who conducted the interviews took four COVID-19 tests in testing centers operated by the Danish government to make sure it was safe to continue and conduct this study.

Two days after I arranged this interview, the COVID-19 pandemic began to advance in Denmark. The university closed its doors. The university had decided to close on Friday, March 13 but on Wednesday night, March 11, the Danish prime minister announced the closing of public services throughout the country, asking people to work from home (Field Diary, March 14, 2020).

Because of the challenges of conducting research with human beings during the pandemic, our procedures, with a focus on ethical implications, were discussed and supervised by a professor at the Danish School of Education at Aarhus University in Copenhagen. In addition, all of the interviewed participants read and signed a term of consent before the interview, and afterwards they were given the option of excluding, adding or altering information in the transcribed content.

During the first period of isolation, due to the impossibility of conducting interviews in person with Brazilian immigrants, we continued activities involving the production of empirical material with two groups for Brazilian immigrants in Denmark on Facebook, which became a form of communication and trading information among people who were trying to settle in the country. We followed the posts in both groups during the entire research period, employing non-participatory observation. In these groups, the participants posted doubts and comments about what was happening in Brazil and Denmark.

Like other social spaces, the Facebook group is also a field of relationships and disputes, often manifested in the form of more cutting remarks, such as criticism of an immigrant, who had lived in Denmark for many years, for not speaking Danish well enough to understand a legal process which was explained on a Danish government website. Later, some interviewees confessed that they were reluctant to publish posts in the group because of possible reactions, while others stressed the importance of the group because many doubts were cleared up by the experiences of other immigrants. Given the behavior of the Facebook group, we concluded that in order to become part of the social space of other immigrants, we would have to pay attention to the norms operating within this group. We perceived that in order to delve deeper in our study, we would need to establish relationships of trust with these immigrants, who told us they were reluctant to converse with “recent arrivals” in the country, because there was a lot of gossip in the local community, and there had been some attempts at fraud.

Thus, the first three months of the study were spent establishing trusting relationships with possible interviewees. We established links with some of them through recommendations. For others, trust was established through sharing information about the study and the researchers, identifying similarities with the case of Maria, which is described below. Since she was completing her undergraduate degree, Maria expressed curiosity and knowledge of research procedures.

She first asked me to speak with her by phone. For her own reasons, she wished to establish trust by talking with me on the telephone first. She said she wanted to feel my energy. I called her one day, and we talked for about 40 minutes. She asked me to explain our research, wanted to know whether I had hypotheses, what was my research question, and spoke a bit about her life and her work. During the call she was very friendly and spoke in a formal manner. She even offered to find other people to help me with the study, because she thought it was an interesting subject. After this contact, we exchanged emails twice when she asked me for the term of consent, and I sent it to her (Field diary, April 16, 2020).

In the presentation of interviewees through intermediaries, there was a “snowball” effect in terms of prospecting people to interview formally, which was the case with Pedro, whose contact information was provided by Sandra, who in turn was recommended by Fernanda, who was presented by a Brazilian professor who spent some time in Denmark. Within this environment, Spradley and McCurdy (1972) state that any person can be an intermediary in finding interviewees for ethnographic research, and they stress that prospecting through intermediaries offers an important advantage which is the trust in the researcher that is derived from the trust that the interviewee has in the intermediary.

For the analysis of the empirical material, we used the ethnographic interpretive technique based on Spradley and McCurdy (1972), which offers the possibility of working with basic elements of cultural knowledge through categories, with the intent of obtaining definitions of components based on pieces of information or attributes, which are the constituent components of meaning in cultural categories. In this manner, we first sought to learn everyday practices in the various daily activities of the interviewees, and to operationalize this process, all of the transcriptions were reread to identify common operations narrated orally.

According to Spradley (2016), the ethnographic interview is composed of a series of friendly conversations in which the researcher slowly introduces new elements to help the interviewees behave like interviewees. Then we elaborated a guiding script to assist both the formal and informal interview processes. We created a script in the format of topics which addressed various everyday practices and activities, such as places where people have lived or who's responsible for cleaning their family environments. The purpose of the script was to help in the organization of our information and conduct the interviews so that the everyday practices in immigration were emphasized.

In terms of this work's findings, the everyday practices came mainly from the formal interviews, while the main categories were complemented by information from the field diaries, especially in terms of the organization of practices related to the forces that act in the everyday lives of this study's participants. After a first review of the empirical material produced from the interview transcripts, we obtained 231 excerpts which refer to everyday practices, which we obtained through ethnographic interpretation aided by our notes and the field diaries. Later, we organized these 231 excerpts into 24 categories of everyday practices which were then reorganized into three main theoretical categories which have to do with the actions of apparatuses in the everyday lives of Brazilian immigrants in Denmark.

In this sense, the categorization of everyday practices assists in the understanding of social phenomena. Spradley and McCurdy (1972) inform us that categorization is the treatment of different objects and events "as if they were equivalents", but obviously cultures are more than lists of categories, given that categorizing is a form of classifying and organizing the ethnographic experience, because if this process is not performed, we can remain focused on the singular qualities of each event.

The following section will present our main results with their respective analyses, which were obtained in accordance with the constructed empirical material.

## MOVING PRACTICES OF BRAZILIAN IMMIGRANTS

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For many individuals, Denmark was the first international destination in their migration process, but it was not the first immigration experience for a portion of the study participants. Living in other countries, as in the case of Maria who lived in Germany before moving to Denmark, is a constituent factor of the reality of current immigration, which emphasizes life history and her previous knowledge gained through her immigration experience.

In addition to international immigration as a component of the previous experiences of Brazilian immigrants, national migration stands out as one of their first direct contacts with mobility. Brazil, with its continental proportions, is strongly characterized by national migration. In dealing with previous moves before their arrival in Denmark, migration in Brazil strongly marked their experiences, as is related by Adriana below.

I had an opportunity to work in my city. I also had other experiences. There I got to know the world. I then went to live in São Paulo and was able to find a job. São Paulo is near my city. It's 80 kilometers from São José dos Campos, but it's another city. It's very large with lots of people. It was very nice; I had the experience of driving in São Paulo. I thought I'd never drive in São Paulo. My, there were many other things. I had always traveled with my family, but I'd never traveled alone. I learned to take the bus and subway, traveling for hours, and by plane with more ease. Then I began to work, and it was good, it was cool. It was a very good experience. I think these experiences made me who I am. I can see that I have changed as well. It was very good (Adriana, June 2020).



Thus, Adriana's experience of migration in Brazil as well as other experiences such as everyday trips by different means of transport have made her "who she is". Given this, an individual is an immigrant by having practiced immigration, by having socially experienced what it is to be a person who has moved, whose knowledge and actions are inextricably intertwined, which is the characteristic of practice (Gherardi, 2011). Vanessa – another interviewee – also stated that one cannot underestimate the years that she lived in Brazil, because this is the "baggage" that she carries with her and affects her everyday life.

The results of this study of previous experiences with mobility are corroborated by the results of studies of intercultural adaptation, such as the work of Ferreira (2017), who demonstrates that the more "flexible" profile of Brazilian immigrants in Portugal helped the integration of some of those interviewed. Calderón, Guedes, and R. W. Carvalho (2016) also demonstrated that Brazilian expatriate professionals underwent a "review of their initial values" to deal with differences in their host countries, in which the flexibility of Brazilians was equally emphasized as a facilitating factor in integration.

Moving is an intrinsic dimension of the existence of immigration, but from the point of view of the social practice of immigration, it is the financial and legal preparation of each immigrant that has strongly influenced the process of becoming established in the country. In terms of this aspect, each individual has a margin for maneuver in everyday practices (Certeau, 2018). Immigrants who have had their legalization process facilitated by having conditions to deal with it acquire more possibilities to establish themselves. This difference in the room for maneuver of each subject is demonstrated explicitly by Brazilians who participated in this study and informed us that they already had European citizenship before immigrating to Denmark. In this way, by obtaining Danish documentation faster and having easy access to government social assistance, such as school tuition exemptions and housing assistance, Brazilian-European immigrants can focus on practices other than those of immigration, such as learning the language which facilitates their entrance into local society.

On the other hand, other participants related that their immigration processes occurred in a dispersed manner, as in the case of Pedro, who has a degree in nutrition in Brazil and decided to migrate to Denmark from one minute to the other, without first obtaining legal rights in this process. Even though it seems like a simple act, Pedro faced various obstacles in his path to becoming a legal immigrant, because his lack of planning had consequences in obtaining residence, with it being necessary for him to get the proper visa to remain in the country.

Due to Pedro's need to become a legal immigrant to remain in the country and also gain access to better working conditions, he had to spend most of his time initially focusing on everyday practices required to legalize his status. In the following section we will present the legalization practices, which in the case of Denmark, are important factors for immigrants, given that those who are illegal face various obstacles in their search for work, and are even subject to deportation which can lead to imprisonment, as was related in the introduction of this article.

### Legalization practices: the apparatus of legal control and transgression tactics

The legalization of immigrants is an important step in the practice of immigration, because their status (legal or illegal) will define their access to rights and protections as immigrants in their host country. If they are impeded from receiving citizenship, the individuals who practice immigration find themselves in an extremely vulnerable position, because their rights will be affected by this context, such as the inability to access the public health system. A group of institutions, laws and administrative measures which have to do with the authorization to be a resident are components of this legal apparatus (Gordon, 1980) which organizes immigration in Denmark, through the operation of these heterogenous elements which act to regulate and control of the entry of foreigners in this country.

As much as the legal apparatus of immigration operates the control of entry into the country, Denmark's has specific characteristics in terms of the actions of this control, because its territory does not perform surveillance on all of the people who cross its borders due to the European Union (EU). Illegal immigrants' access to the country is also limited geographically, given that it only has a land border with Germany, and its other international frontier with Sweden is via the bridge over the *Örestad* Canal. Thus, trips between Denmark and Sweden are mainly made by car or train. In this way, Brazilian immigrants who arrive illegally in Denmark have to pass through the entry controls of other EU nations. Brazilians have permission to visit

the Schengen Zone for up to 90 days without a visa, and informal interviews during our field work demonstrated that some people entered as tourists and eventually became legal residents through marriage with Danes.

Even though the legal immigration apparatus in Denmark operates through the prohibition of practices considered to be criminal, there exists the possibility of power games within the power structure depending on the person's situation, which demonstrates the ontological view of Foucault (2016) that power does not emanate from a specific point, because it reflects established relationships, which permit the existence of people who subvert the regulatory apparatus regarding mobility by capitalizing on opportunities.

Of the study participants, three interviewees related that they became legalized through "alternative paths" to the official process, with these actions depending on opportunity, a characteristic of practice based on tactics (Certeau, 2018). As a result, Brazilian immigrants manage to "get around" the legalization apparatus through astute subversion, such as pretending to live with a Danish person who is paid to help in the obtaining of citizenship by marriage.

However, the practice of legalization through fake marriages, which in principle originate from opportunity, is effected through tactics and can become a strategic practice if the subjects involved assume control over their own legalization process in Denmark. In controlling the situation, even by an "alternative path", immigrants can establish a strategic practice which competes with the legalization apparatus.

Maria informed us that the legalization process for spouses in Denmark requires the spouse to deposit 100 thousand Danish kroner (approximately 86 thousand reais or 17 thousand dollars at the time of this study) with the state as a form of mandatory "deposit" in order for the foreign spouse to receive permission to reside in the country. This requirement is a reaction by the Danish government to avoid fake marriages realized to obtain citizenship, which is in line with Foucault's statement (2016) that this apparatus is designed to respond to an urgent need caused by a criminal practice. As a result, the legalization apparatus in Denmark, through its networks established among the phenomena's elements, such as bureaucratic laws and procedures, manages to readapt its processes in order to make them effective.

The reaction of the state to practices which resist the legal apparatus requires that immigrants pay close attention to it in order to obtain residency. In addition, because there may be material processes and financial costs, those with less access to material goods will have more difficulty in their legalization, and this effectively harms their access to the job market, affecting other practices involved in immigration, such as housing. In this manner, "ordinary people" who do not possess the social-material conditions to immigrate within the parameters established by the Danish state have to compete at the margins for the opportunities present in their everyday lives if they wish to be immigrants in Denmark.

In this aspect, the socio-material inequality of Brazilian immigrants becomes visible, because Denmark selects which immigrants will remain according to the financial return that they provide the state. People who fit the desired profile have an easier process, because companies usually pay the costs of processing documentation, and the country has a visa analysis system based on the type of activity performed by the immigrant, with immigrants working in areas lacking professionals getting priority in getting residency.

The financial costs of immigration can be as high as 7 thousand reais (US\$ 1,400) per person just for documentation processing, which is the most effective instrument of the legal apparatus to bar the immigration of "undesirable" people. In addition, the initial costs of immigration include travel, rental deposits, and the buying of furniture if their housing is not furnished, which together make legalization in Denmark impossible for people who cannot pay these expenses. Together with these financial costs there are the emotional and physical costs of moving involved in leaving one's homeland and arriving in the host country.

As can be observed from the instance of Pedro below, the Danish legal system favors those who are convenient in this country, which from the point of view of the legal apparatus is measured by the capacity of each immigrant to contribute.

Then I received a special residency permit, because they evaluated whether I had an education, had learned the language and had worked the entire time. If you have done none of these three things, you are not considered adapted to live here. They also find other ways to keep you out if you are a worker ... because what happens here in Denmark is that it is better to be a cook than a dishwasher. Why? Because a cook pays much higher taxes than a dishwasher. Do you understand? So, they give, and they take. You understand? This is the reality (Pedro, June 2020).

Given this, the act of legalization articulates with economic practices and work, in which the Danish government prioritizes people with higher education who pay taxes and are economically productive in granting residency in this country. Nonetheless, as we learn in Helbling et al.'s study (2020), the restrictive immigration policy of Denmark gives preference first of all to Brazilian citizens who are also citizens of European members of the OECD.

The legalization of immigration, whether it occurs in advance of the move or directly in the host country, is a dispersed process that takes place at various times in the everyday lives of immigrants, ranging from the preparation of the documentation to meet the requirements of the residency permission process to paid employment to cover the financial costs of legalization. Thus, becoming a legal resident is also a social practice marked by situational events where individuals take advantage of the opportunity to make “gains” at the margins of this operation, as can be seen from the different ways there are to become legal immigrants in this country. Bearing in mind that pre-approval as well as maintaining residence in Denmark require a source of income, the next section will deal with the economic and work practices which are important for Brazilian immigrants in Denmark.

## Economic and work practices

In terms of the work practices involved in immigration, we learned during this study that four sources of income are predominant among these immigrants (Box 2): informal employment (allowed by law, but insufficiently covered by formal arrangements), formal employment, other individuals, and entrepreneurship. The first source, informal employment is a common category in immigration, because it is often the only option available for “ordinary people”.

**Box 2**  
**Occupations of the Interviewees**

	Interviewee	Source of Income
1	Vanessa	Formal Employment
2	Francisca	Informal Employment
3	Márcia	Entrepreneurship
4	Carlos	Formal Employment
5	Luciana	Entrepreneurship
6	João	Informal Employment
7	Adriana	Other Individual
8	Aline	Formal Employment
9	Pedro	Formal Employment
10	Mariana	Other Individual
11	Maria	Entrepreneurship
12	Ana	Other Individual
13	Fernanda	Entrepreneurship
14	Sandra	Informal Employment
15	Antônia	Entrepreneurship

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

João's work experience describes the invisibility of immigrants with less legal access in the country, even those with a college education. In order to support themselves they have to perform manual labor which requires a lot of physical effort such as loading and cleaning, and they are also excluded from legal protections in their work environments. João told us in his interview that he worked 12 hours a day, without permission to use the bathroom outside of his unpaid break of 30 minutes for lunch. João also explained that where he worked all of the employees were immigrants coming mostly from Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Indian subcontinent, and these working conditions occur in Denmark due to the absence of collective bargaining agreements with unions which could protect immigrants who work in supermarkets.

João's colleagues, immigrants who had difficulty accessing the job market before working, had college degrees, were hired as hourly workers, and were not protected legally from labor exploitation. As a result, the company's employees were afraid to demand better working conditions or denounce them to the authorities because they would be risking the vulnerability of being unemployed and having their residency revoked.

In terms of the source of income of formal employees, besides the documentation issue it was possible to perceive that other socioeconomic aspects of these immigrants influence their access to job openings. As a result, people with college educations, legal permission to work, and conditions to pay the costs of getting their diplomas recognized have greater chances to work in the area where they worked before immigrating. In these situations, the physical conditions of formal employment are better, as are the salaries compared to informal work.

Despite the remuneration of formal employment, mention should be made of taxation in Denmark, with there being a strong taxation structure scaled according to individual income. Thus, people with high salaries pay close to half their income to pay for the state's structure for social well-being. This panorama directly affects the relationships between the Danes and "others", because there is an attribution of value based on the tax contributions of each inhabitant in the country, and immigrants who "contribute more" are given higher priority, as related by Pedro above.

In addition to the qualifications of these subjects based on their ability to contribute through the operation of the legal economic apparatus, other apparatuses appear in the everyday lives of Brazilian immigrants in Denmark, which is the case with Antônia, who narrates her work experience in which her boss required female employees to wear skirts at the institution's festivities.

When I would serve at a party, they thought it was more feminine (to wear a skirt), but I do not work in a skirt because sometimes I need to climb up and down stairs. I thought ...I have to serve men, and I have to be sexy? Why? So, my uniform was pants, a little coat like everyone else, a white blouse, and black shoes, but I wore pants, period. I never had any problems with this, because I told him on the first day that I would not wear a skirt (Antônia, August 2020).

In this case, Antônia's boss tried to control her body by exercising the authority vested in him strategically as her superior in the workplace. This practice was dealt with directly, which demonstrates the manipulation of forces in everyday practices, in which Antônia assumed control of her body.

Some study participants reported entrepreneurship as a way to take control of their work activities, in addition to obtaining better financial prospects through businesses such as offering education services to foreigners, offering services for pets, a beauty clinic, and restoration services. One of them was Maria, who worked as a professional cook, but came to offer mentoring services to immigrants, because she perceived that other immigrant families were having difficulty in integrating their children into the Danish educational system:

In principle, I thought it was something that would only be viable in Brazil, but I discovered that in truth many families suffer in their attempts to understand the Danish school system. So, I decided to open my own company, because I have the experience that is needed in this area. I had not worked for other companies, but I had my own experience (Maria, May 2020).

By becoming an entrepreneur, Maria is also subject to the intrinsic uncertainties that accompany entrepreneurship, but in her case, because she already has Danish citizenship, the risks of running one's own business are diluted, because the state offers income assistance programs to its citizens. From this perspective, Fernanda, who is also a Danish citizen, tells us that being an entrepreneur has enabled her to organize her activities to meet her needs, which represents an advantage that carried weight with her when she had to choose.

Furthermore, in relation to sources of income among Brazilian immigrants in Denmark, we have people who receive their income from other people. This situation occurs normally when students or spouses have still not managed to enter the job market, which is usual at the beginning of the immigration process. Usually, these people have better financial conditions before they immigrate, but even so they are subject to questioning in their everyday activities in terms of how they are contributing economically to Denmark.

A discussion of economic and work practices among Brazilian immigrants in Denmark is important to understanding how the social practices of these individuals are organized, because almost all immigrants need to find sources of income. It is also in the workplace that these subjects spend most of their day engaged in continual activities of significant production. For Brazilian immigrants married to other immigrants, for example, the workplace also represents the place where they have the most direct contact with local culture and an everyday apparatus founded on what is convenient for the host society, as we can tell from Antônia's story of her boss requesting that she wear a skirt when serving at parties. Even in the everyday practice of dressing for work, there was space for Antônia to resist a demand she did not agree with, which demonstrates that Brazilian immigrants are not passive in their everyday relationships.

In addition to the interrelationships of immigrants with the state and native Danish citizens, we also apprehended about the practice of taking care of immigrants, which we will discuss in the next section, which occurs through the sociability of immigrant networks that deal with aspects that the Danish government and non-profit sector cannot reach.

## Practices that take care

The free time of immigrants is one of the points of departure to understanding how Brazilian immigrants are taken care of in Denmark. In general, immigrants who have already been established in the country tell us that they have more free time, which before was spent on other everyday practices, such as commuting. Among the practices that occur during this free time, we can highlight taking care of others as one of the first socialization processes that occur among immigrants in the host country. It is possible to perceive that certain forms of knowledge about what to do in this new context that they find themselves in are passed on to new immigrants in order to smooth their adjustment to new routines and spaces.

Contact with the community is very interesting. It is also very interesting that I find myself in the position of an immigrant in conducting this study. So, we have certain types of acknowledgements. Ana gave me the address of where I can buy cassava starch in the city. This communication occurred when I needed the information because I was looking for food that I missed. These other practices that we incorporate in our everyday lives, like how to cook is a point that brings us closer to other immigrants (Field Diary, May 22, 2020).

The actions of community organizations, NGOs and religious institutions demonstrate that it is the immigrant community rather than the state that takes care of immigrants in Denmark. For those immigrants who do not have relatives in the country, and even for a few that do, the assistance provided by friends as they age was highlighted by the interviewees. Along these lines, Antônia informs us that in her free time she helps a friend who is also a Brazilian immigrant perform some everyday activities as reported below:

Tuesdays there's a Brazilian man who's like a father here. I think he was one of the first Brazilians who came to Denmark. I've known him for 36 years, and now he's old and can't do too many things. So, I prepare food for him, and sometimes I bring him food for two or three days. I help clean his home, and that's how I occupy my free time. (Antônia, August 2020).

Thus, Antônia helps her compatriot each week due to his physical limitations caused by age. Maria also visits a Brazilian friend in a rest home each week. Maria resides in the metropolitan region of Copenhagen and has to travel to another city approximately 40 kilometers away from her home.

We had the opportunity to realize participatory observations for several days, following Maria's activities which include visiting her friend.

It was a heavy moment; it gave one the sense of abandonment; Because of her friend's lack of memory, communication with the workers at the home is limited, because sometimes she speaks Portuguese and none of the workers speak the language. This place is well-structured. There's a room for each person, but there are some limitations such as the impossibility of giving greater care to each resident. Her friend has lost weight, because during moments of crisis, she ends up missing her meals. We stayed from 4 pm to 8 pm, and there were various emotional situations. During this time, she told me that she visits whenever she can while obeying the contingencies imposed by the pandemic (Field Diary, July 9, 2020).

The visit to her friend also demonstrates that the social practice of immigration occurs at different moments during the life of an immigrant. The practice of taking care of the elderly, therefore, represents a social action of support among immigrants on two main levels. First of all, there are the recent immigrants who are not taken care of by the state apparatus, which seeks to cut spending on foreign citizens as much as it can to maintain the social well-being of Danish citizens. This care then is practiced by immigrants that organize themselves to help other people who are "on their own", which represents a breaking of the conventional silence of Danish society in its exclusion of immigrants from the state's social security. On the second level, we have taking care of others as a helping practice of immigrant friends who have known each other for a long time, performing the role of family or a rest home. Keeping in mind that immigration sometimes is not practiced collectively with family members, this care also represents a caring relationship formed by immigration.

In general, the elderly Brazilian immigrants who participated in this study are already citizens of this country and, therefore, have access to the socioeconomic support offered by the state. Nonetheless, Denmark, a country which values social well-being, paradoxically has in the exercise of universal rights something to be ashamed of collectively, because Danes are expected to be productive and contribute to society in their everyday lives.

During the informal conversations of the participatory observation, it was made clear that Danish nationals have a discourse that one has to be productive in society and depending on help from the state requires abiding by the conventions of local society. Some Danes that we met during the study corroborated this affirmation, given that they consider that their taxes are being used by people who "do not want to work".

In this aspect, convention acts collectively, and Pierre Mayol (Certeau et al., 2019) affirms that the collective is the social place in which practical behavior is induced so that all of the users adjust to the generally recognized process, as individuals cede parts of themselves to the jurisdiction of others. Denmark's legal-taxation system stands out, therefore as an apparatus which reflects the "individual" practices of the subjects, who demonstrate through discursive actions the need to organize their group to maintain themselves. Bearing in mind the high price of social well-being in Denmark, Danes operate using an informal qualification of people based on their tax "contribution".

However, the fact that the use of socioeconomic programs is considered a reason for shame by Danish society does not impede immigrants from making use of what is theirs by right in moments of need. In this aspect, six of the interviewees had already used internship, study, and unemployment or pension assistance to raise their children.

Even with the help offered by the Danish state, immigrant care practices are everyday actions motivated by, and permeated by, affection and the recognition of others' needs. The fact that immigrants use their free time to take care of their immigrant friends demonstrates a reinvention of their everyday lives and the established order in a strategic fashion.

Furthermore, in portraying various moments of the everyday lives of immigrants from their arrival to their aging in this country, we have succeeded in contributing empirically to this field with an understanding that the immigration process is continuous and extends beyond various phenomena initially enunciated as everyday practices which are replete with meaning once they are analyzed in detail.

## CONCLUSIONS AND FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

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The Brazilian community in Denmark, which at first glance did not seem to be established and organized, presents parts of everyday life in action. Through this empirical study, we have identified several social practices which make up the phenomenon of Brazilian immigration in Denmark: moving, legalization, economic, work and care practices.

The first practice is moving, which has proved to be present in the lives of Brazilians even before their international immigration has taken place. On a national level, moving within Brazil has been pointed out as a marked experience which provides a base of experience that influences other later migratory practices. Later on, we presented the practice of legalization, which is a long and continuous process which directly affects other important practices that stabilize the lives of immigrants in Denmark. This legalization is necessary to gain access to the public health system, which is an important factor especially when we consider the pandemic. Moreover, employability is also affected by the legalization process, because most employers require job permits which are granted depending on the type of residence authorization these individuals possess.

We have also discussed economic and work practices. Among them we have identified four sources of income among Brazilian immigrants in Denmark: informal employment, formal employment, entrepreneurship, and other individuals. First of all, informal employment is characterized as a source of exploitation of immigrant labor under precarious work conditions even though this situation is legal. In terms of job openings, Brazilian immigrants with better socioeconomic conditions tend to obtain them with greater ease, which provides them with greater comfort. Even though they are totally responsible for raising their children and cleaning their homes in Denmark, functions which are outsourced in Brazil, our immigrant interviewees informed us that immigrants in this host country have more free time. For those immigrants who have had difficulty in obtaining formal employment, but who are searching for better working conditions, entrepreneurship has proved to be a viable path to obtaining better labor conditions.

Other individuals are also sources of income. This normally applies to students and spouses who have immigrated due to marriage. In this case, Danish culture has an explicit power apparatus, especially through the practice of language, that questions the productivity of these people, stressing that eventually they will need to obtain one of the other three sources of income, as in the case of students who decide to remain in the country after completing their studies.

Finally, we presented the practice of caring, which is often associated with a pendulum movement and demonstrates the self-organization of immigrants in taking care of other immigrants. Longstanding friends or recent arrivals get the support that citizens can obtain through other means, namely the socioeconomic assistance of the state. Bearing this in mind, the practice of caring for the elderly is essentially relational and interactional, because one needs to have more than one individual directly involved in the process in order to provide this care.

From the theoretical point of view, this work marks an advance with its contribution to the understanding that social practices in Brazilian immigration occur at different times in the everyday lives of immigrants, beginning with their arrival in the host country and continuing through their aging within the local society. In this manner, we empirically understand that Denmark has a community of organized Brazilians. Even though this organization does not occur in an institutionalized manner, Brazilian immigrants practice their immigration every day and as a result, they organize themselves, guided often by recognition.

Communication, whether through a social network or in-person conversations, is also an instrument of recognition for these subjects, even in an idiosyncratic phenomenon such as Brazilian immigration, which reflects the socioeconomic disparity of its citizens. In this sense, within the Brazilian community there are internal efforts to organize Brazilian residents in Denmark. That being so, the Facebook group for immigrants manifests a virtual space which is a field of practices, given that this collective is ruled by certain practices which order this environment in accordance with the established implicit social pact which is renewed every day.

Another factor that possibly influences group behavior is the fact that Denmark practices austere surveillance of immigration, and the fact that this online group is public emphasizes the importance of taking into account social practices in keeping with the laws that control immigration in this country. In another manner, explicit illegal procedures in publications are strongly repressed, given that some participants in the group state that government surveillance bodies monitor these groups.

The everyday practices that constitute the popular culture of Brazilian immigrants in Denmark are permeated by tactics, strategies, and resistance, in which they play according to their situation, whether it is during the legalization process through a fake marriage or refusing to wear a skirt in the workplace. The context of the manifestations of these practices is crucially important to this phenomenon, because the control apparatus acts in the interrelationships established between immigrants.

The main contribution of this study, therefore, is its understanding of how convention acts as an apparatus of power, and while these subjects momentarily acquiesce to it, they are always “vigilant”, waiting to resume the use of tactics and occasional strategies to “get around” the system.

Future studies on the subject of immigration should verify the precarious situation of manual labor in highly unionized countries, because immigrants tend to be excluded from these labor agreements. In this sense, some countries have put more and more effort into dealing with the diaspora phenomenon, such as Portugal’s multi-ministerial program designed to promote the physical return of Portuguese emigres, which, according to Pinho, Marques, and Góis (2022), seeks to compensate for demographic deficits and stabilize the management of social security in the country.

The Brazilian diaspora need attention, given that Brazil has recently had a recent flow of young graduates beginning their careers who are leaving the country because there are no prospects for growth, as demonstrated by the work of Cruz, Falcão, and Paula (2020). Understanding the reasons for more recent flows of the Brazilian diaspora could also help direct public measures to deal with mass emigration from Brazil and avoid phenomena like a “brain drain”.

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