CHAPTER 8

Migrant Women Multiterritoriality Processes in Transnational Marriage Condition

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Introduction

According to Morokvasic (1984), for a long time women in the migration process were stereotypically represented as those who followed men – as 'passive dependents' or as those who went on their own way, i.e. as prostitutes. The increase of female participation in this social phenomenon has been termed 'feminization' of population displacements. Nowadays this is a feature of the new processes of territorial mobility, connected to 'new ways of producing' (BILAC, 1995).

The increase of participation of women in international migration flow is an important feature of the contemporary human displacement. Of course, this raised some important question to migration theories. As a whole, these women are included in such activities like domestic. These jobs they avail themselves on informal social networks from ethnic immigrant enclaves (Morokvasic 1984, Anthias 2000, Forner 2000, Assis 2007). In the meanwhile, Anthias (2000), having in mind migration in the European southwest by the end of twentieth century, highlights focus on the discourse role on the processes, and the gender identity as well, in the migration to and settlement in the destination society.

Regarding the presence of immigrant women in the United States, although women have been the majority in legal flows since

the 1930s (Houston et al. 1984) they were been made *invisible* in migration studies. This situation begun to change only in the 1970s as one can sees in Pessar (1999) and Chant (1992) research studies which also reveal a theoretical turn. This changing of approach meant to bring the gender category at stage. The increase of female participation from 1970s happened in the context of the growing international migrations. Contemporary migrants, different from their predecessors, rely on cheap and efficient systems of communication and transport.

Zlotnik (1998) claims in her research that the number of migrant women increased 63 per cent between 1965 and 1990: from 35 to 57 million. This means an increase of 8 per cent more than male migrants. In the United States, 53.3 per cent of the new immigrants were women in the year of 1998. In the 2000s, some researches carried out by Siqueira (2009), focussing on Brazilians from the Governador Valadares Micro-region migranting to the United States, show a bigger pro-cent of women, i.e. 1.1 per cent more of her sample. Assis (2007, 2011) and Siqueira (2011) studies prove the weight of women in the migratory gender network configurations and negotiations in the set up of a project of emigration and return.

This article researches a specific women group experience that in their emigration trajectory got involved affectively with men of other nationalities. This group inserts itself in a realm of a transnational experience of affections. So, the questions here are: how these women negotiate, reinvent or dribble situations of prejudice and stereotypes towards an idea or label of Brazilian women? Sometimes all these have as underground an exacerbation of a view of sexuality and racial miscegenation interwoven with social class vision and androcentrism. So how did this impact on women as persons in a transnational affective relationship?

We try to answer this question after the discussion of some theoretical tools, having as ground a Flora's account collected in Brazil. Flora was single when she emigrated in 2006. Today 41 years old, she, is living in Brazil and her Swiss partner, going back and forth between Brazil and Switzerland. Flora's history is just one of so many others we found in our research and is a template example (Fig. 8.1).

FIG. 8.1: SYMBOLIC IMAGE SHOWING THE CULTURAL DIFFERENCE AND
AN INTERCULTURAL MARRIAGE

Note: Image changed by the authors.

This interview shows up narratives with clue elements that help us in a deep analysis of the *dramatic* issues undergrounding her history of transnational marriage under consideration in this article. This account, while retrieving some day-by-day experiences, also discloses the phenomenon of multidimensional nature. So, they require an approach that could deal with this multidimensional aspect. In this sense, Burkean dramatism is a very useful tool in two aspects, at least. Burke's proposal of dramatism considers the construction of meaning of all experience of the human being in his/her speech as a result of an action which articulates motives, thought and language (Burke 1966).

The reports of migrant women remind one the drama of human existence as one permeated by encounters, mismatches, dreams, love, rejection, pains, strong emotions and their psychological consequences. Flora's history is not just a picture, but a dynamic narrative and so should not be understood outside her temporal-spatial realm. This history is a scenario where several scenes unfold as if she were on a stage where actions, relationships, interactions and behaviours intersect. So, in this analysis we were in need of an

instrument that would access and reveal the information of each word, so to say, that was delivered to us as part of her life. This is why we choose drama or dramatism as tool.

Dramatism as An Analytical Methodology

Drama is actually a metaphor build up by Kenneth Burke (1966). Having drama as a kind of background, Burke sees human action in a narrative perspective. He selected five concepts that he considers structuring: this is the dramatist pentad.

Methodologically these five words work as keys to unveiling some dimensions of human existence. Put the narrative in a scenario to avoid the linear reading or audience. In a stage we have, in addition to speech, movements, scripts, the character make up and action, displacements and all this in front an audience real or fictive. Moreover, we can say that 'narration is a cultural activity that we learn together with our mother tongue as we grow in our particular life circle and never do it without a hypothetical audience, even if it is simply imaginary' (Kaivola-Bregenhøj 2005, 3).

It is in this context that we welcome this instrument of analysis: act (what happened?) is the element that interacts directly with the context; scene (where did the event take place?) refers to a social, political, history, place or time; agent (who performed the act?); agency (how was it done?) deals with instruments; purpose (why
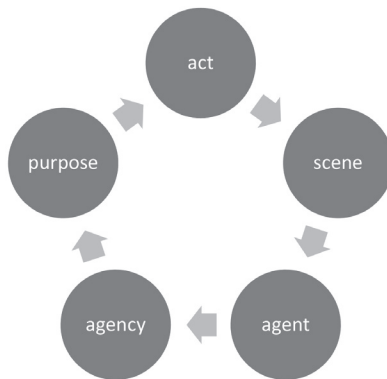
Schema 1 – Burke's *pentad*

was it done?) have in mind the conscious or unconscious intentions (Burke 1966, 17).

Such a stage relationship builds a context where the individual acts and this action bring up a kind of amalgam that fuses it with symbolic actions. In this way, the pentad sees human action having in mind its main outcomes: the social interactions and the psychological behaviours in a dynamic process, just so as in a drama performance on a stage. Burke himself says: 'dramatism centers on observations of this sort: for there to be an act, there must be an agent. Similarly, there must be a scene in which the agent acts. To act in a scene, the agent must employ some means, or agency. And it can be called an act in the full sense of the term only if it involves a purpose' (Burke 1989, 135). As one can see, the pentad is constituted of elements in interplay that modify each other, in a kind of generative principle: '[...] any development (in organisms, works of art, stages of history) got by the interplay of various factors that mutually modify one another, and maybe thought of as voices in a dialogue or roles in a play, with each voice or role in its partiality contributing to the development of the whole' (Burke 1966, 403).

The motives are the outcome of the interaction between the conditions of the inner and external world of the individual. The motives or reasons in turn, hold up the acts resizing, therefore, all the other elements related to the motives of the pentad. So, the *pentad* is not a methodological tool applicable to a hermetic perspective. Rather, it evokes not only theatrical dynamism or the performance on stage but also considers, in the research, intentions identifying what the scene, agency, agent, and purpose of the act are. The anthropologist Turner also argues: 'These situations – arguments, combats, rites of passage – are inherently dramatic because participants not only do things, they try to show others what they are doing or have done; actions take on a "performed-for-an-audience" aspect' (Turner 1988, 74). All set up has at least: a script of the character; a backstage as source of the elaboration or clothing the character; and an audience to whom this personage will be presented or staged.

The backstage metaphorically is not just a place or a stock for depositing elements of readymade personage composition. There

happens a creation of personages for a (re)presentation. When the actor expresses the speech or movements of his personage we clearly have a new creation, that is, the message the actor wants to say or communicate. Of course, we never could say it all because it's impossible bring the actual life on stage and also sometimes we could hide something having in mind some special interest. This dynamic of script, backstage and audience is virtually universal in human communication.

Another meaningful element is what Burke technically name *dramatis personae*, i.e. the list of the people – or better, personages – that are invited to enter in scene or are excluded. In the same way as the personage or actor builds up an image from the backstage (*simulacrum*) with which he will introduce himself on the stage, he can also – mainly through speech – constitute a list of those who will be present (or will not) on his/her staging.

As act – action or speech with some intention – is developed by an agent and its action happens in a space and in *a stage timing,* another dimension which Burke calls *ratio actionis* takes its place: it's a pro-cent of space and time that each element or personage on stage receives in order to develop his/her script (Burke 1989, 146).

In short, we could say that an actor or agent could give time, space, voice, gesture and meaning to the characters of his/her scenario according to what he/she has in mind to inform or not to inform to the audience. Burke points out that we could have important characters on the stage but they cannot act and talk, so they are mere figuration.

Accordingly, we will be considering, in this exercise of the pentad, the scene that unfolds some aspects of the drama of a marriage. In this scene we assume the condition, the context and the circumstances involved in the act (the marriage). In principle, we will take the broader social, economic, cultural and political conditions of the place where the agent carried out her act. The place where action occurs, the scene, could also be extended to the mental conditions of the agent who performed the act.

We will approach the scene considering its temporal and spatial articulation in its dynamic complex process. This figures, restructures and transfigures territories embedded in a continuum

between the objective and the subjective dimensions of the life (Haesbaert 2004, 2008). In this approach, having in mind the contexts in which the relations between migrant men and women unroll, we seek to understand how gender pervades the trajectories of these migrants and how it is staged in different migratory realms.

Scene: Background of Migrant, His Emotions and Pathologies

Migration as a social phenomenon is a research target of several academic areas. Each one brings its offerings revealing meaningful elements of the migration phenomenon, mainly in international displacement. In this specific issue we are dealing in a scene involving migrants from the anthropological and geographic point of view (i.e. from the humanistic and cultural outlook). Of course, we are aware that in many transnational marriages the labour issue is at stake. In other words, in many accounts marriage happens as function of migration in order to get a better life and job conditions.

The book *Dislocating Labour: Anthropological Reconfigurations* is just an example of a collective published on the issue labour and health (Harvey-Krohn-Hansen 2018). The invited authors presenting their research are unanimous on the assessment that these displacement processes, in the realm of the globalization of the last decades, lead to a reconfiguration process on the way the human being understand and arrange their lives. This happens for several motives, not just due to the fact that people migrate to other nations and culture; even internal migration lead to the same troubles.

Schober (2018, 135-6) argues that very few studies had been conducted on this subject, i.e. affections and migration in the field of social sciences. This psychic dimension in the realm of the displaced working people had big changes in the last half century. One of the first shift we could name is post-Fordism which started right after Second World War and led to the job restructuring. Until that time, a job was a task for all life: stable and full-time. Another important aspect within this social mentality was the

belief that the more the subject did the same thing, the more he would do it better. In this sense, a corollary of Fordism was the creation of a certain sense of security and even predictability of the future. This could be translated into a career-step-by-step with all its stages even doing the same thing throughout his/her life. In the last half-century, this connection between work and life was increasingly put at stake and after many starts drop out the assembly line. This is the case of migration, when people leaving their country search for another place and even kind of activity (Hervey-Krohn-Hansen 2018, 13).

From this angle, Michel Maffesoli's phenomenological sociology sees contemporary man/woman as saturated with wanderings. One could say that there is a 'drive for wandering' as a response to a static world that no longer satisfies. Life's present perspective is detachment, departure, chance and transitory merge, making up the new nomadism; all this reach the status of a kind of an anthropological standard of contemporary society (Maffesoli, 2001).

Adding to this context we find the fact that the process of displacement between nations and even between cultures is sometimes easy. The experience of these displacements can be understood for labour purposes within a continuum from the definitive and the provisional. Juan Luis Linares classified in two points of reference as the grandmother and the adolescent attitudes. Grandma style here would be the one who moves to a new place for a while, to make money, but her head remains in her place of origin. On the other hand, the teenager style gets in, learns the language, the songs, the dances, begins to date and head in this new situation as if it was her new home (Linares 2014, 220).

However, there is no way to disregard, the changes in the features of migratory phenomena in this context of globalization. In other words, in the globalized world we see not only the displacement of people from one place to another. We also testify a shift in the move of capital and investments and this is also a kind of indirect migration, carrying with it various other social and cultural changes (Paumard 2018, 33). In this case, instead of people moving, are the factories, farms, and capital that produce goods and jobs that are moving.

This scenario is present in Brazil, Paraguay and around the world. We get many examples of small towns that start to produce something that has never been imagined in their economic history. What happened? In this case, it was not labour that moved but the companies. This furthers differentiates investments from those living in a typically rural community, turning a modest and inland locality into foreign land, a world neighbourhood. An issue hangs in the air: did the people of these cities not emigrate without leaving their house?

These, and other issues are questions of human geography, mainly in its cultural approach. Here the challenge in the last decades was to give a new dimension to the territorial concept. An academic movement against the discussion of a disseminate idea of the end of the territories, having in mind the fluid society, now proposes the notion of multi-territoriality. So, as one can see in the anthropological studies previously considered, there is no loss or disappearance of a territory. It's actually a complex process of (re)territorialization that leads to the constitution of multiple territories, making, in the words of Haesbaert (2004, 1), 'de-territorialisation a kind of myth'. So, what Bauman (2001) argues as the new nomadism could correlate to a deep hybridism that does not destroy territories, but ends up making them more complex and dynamic, in Haesbaert's words (2004, 2008). The interconnection between these two dimensions leads up to an entanglement correlating 'mobility and immobility, hybridity and territorial withdrawal, openness/multiplicity and relative closure of territories' (Haesbaert 2008, 414).

Migrants are human beings, that is, people who migrate with their workforce and take with them their emotions, experiences, dreams, pains, body and so on. The migration experience is then a dynamic re-figuration of their living spaces through new territoriality dimensions and accumulations of experience. In the context of globalization, where the phenomenon of migration is inserted nowadays, there is no way in research of leaving out these subjective aspects.

So, the temporality experienced by migrants at the place of origin, remains if it was crystallized and another time rhythm starts

to manage their lives focused now on the new world of work in another country. Another issue, of course, is the genre: what it is to be man or woman in the present? What does this mean in the new places or cultures? What about the new sexual orientations or tendencies, and so on? Migrants find new relationships that frame their social roles: employer/employee, husband/wife, and so on. Therefore, we have alongside with migration of people, migration of sensations, emotions, feelings and affections which received very little research attention until now.

Pains of leaving their own land, kinship, difficulties in adaptation are not always easy to bear. For the migrants, especially when dealing with the new work environment in permanent insecurity, is virtually a hard task (Schober 2018). Some anthropologists – and certainly other scientists studying the human experience – begin to consider this topic more closely. It's not a surprise that all the literature research on this topic has no more than ten years. Emotions – which are different between the cultures in terms of their mediators – are more transient and related to everyday experiences. 'Affect, in contrast (to emotions), highlights involuntariness and an anchoring in pre-linguistic, non-conscious, and pre-subjective experiences of the often-collective kind, and significantly impacts in the way we make sense of the world' (Schober 2018, 136).

Moreover, any social or personal project that is not force-imposed must be of affective order to be effective. Schober argues that both emotions and affections do not happen in the air but are embodied. Thus, happiness brings health and sadness diseases (Schober 2018). All anthropologists should know that affections are ritualized and learned collectively and modern psychology is aware that if they can no longer be collectively ritualized and experienced, they lose their power to organize a meaningful experience of reality and are a source of pathologies. Generally, when experiences lose their meaning and the world does not seem a reasonable organization anymore, the subjects feel that they are adrift, helpless, isolated. This bad emotional state ends up as a feeling of distress, anxiety, and finally deep stress.

The kinds illness, in their great majority, come from stress and stress has many sources. Franci (2005) argues that stress is

not always a pathological issue. However, 'failure to mobilize or demobilize allostatic mechanisms causes disorders that can lead the organism to the pathological condition, as long as it do not establish and maintain homeostasis anymore' (Franci 2005).

Modern neuroendocrinology states that there is an inner relationship between hormones and neurons, that is, between the emotional feelings and human neurophysiology (body). So, it's not difficult deduce that a continuous psychological stress process leads, in many circumstances, to illness. However, thinking in practical terms, as in the case of countless migrants, if future uncertainty, the insecurity of the environment, the weariness of the personal relationships begins to demand a continuous tension (stress), he/she will enter as time goes by into a system of stress and, therefore, of illness (Souza et al. 2015).

All these elements are intertwined in a multi-territoriality process which requires a special effort of localization and spatial and symbolic identification on the part of the subject. The migrant suffers emotionally for a former territory that he is not able to be detached from and stresses himself in a new territory that must emerge as long as his existence is established in the new space.

It is from this complex background that we must consider the displacements: context as a scene where the act unfolds. This scene implies deep transformations experienced by women, for instance, this one interviewed in this research and introduced in this paper.

Agent and narratives: Act, Backstage and Audience

Flora: A Marriage with so Much Love

SCENE 1

Flora was 23 years old and had the training of technical nursing when she emigrated in 2006. She was single and worked as caregiver (of elderly) in her home city. She wasn't happy with her wage and work conditions. A friend of hers said something about the caregiver job in England and how good the wages were there.

On stage the audience sees the development of the life of young student, single and unhappy with her professional life as first step.

We know almost nothing about her personal history and the lack of significant personal data denounces innumerable porosities in the narrative. This raises the question of Flora's difficulties in her quest for new horizons in her homeland and so her option for an emigration is quite the only way out. We could bring to mind the Maffesoli wandering (2001)?

SCENE 2

Using a friend's Internet network, she contacted Brazilians living in London and emigrated with a student visa, already having a job as caregiver for a disabled child. She worked in house of a Swiss married couple who was living in London for a while. She did not speak English when she emigrated. Then afterwards, she studied English and French and, after two years in London, she was able to move around alone and take her own decisions about her life (in her words).

When the couple went back to Switzerland she went along. There she met her partner who was a friend of her bosses in London, but the crush started when she moved to Switzerland.

Again, we face here what Haesbaert calls new nomadism (2008, 414). One can see this in the indiscriminate mobility. But here we find also an inseparable correlation between immobility and mobility and at same time, an open multiple territory in a context of globalization. This stands in contrast to those territorialities already under the dominium of local groups but are unable to offer new economic and social exits to younger generations. Having this data, we could understand that why at the end of the first scene Flora emigrates with a student visa having a warranted job in her hand.

SCENE 3

In the day-by-day life with her family (boss family, actually), friends and the relationship community of her partner she feels the prejudices more directly. These arise from the fact that she was

a Brazilian woman, labelled by the tripod of prejudice described by Azerêdo (2007). This tripod could be represented as follows: woman (mother, housewife, holy), the man a provider and the whore. In this way, we see how this is a meaningful factor for the relative success or failure of women as such in their conjugal relationships abroad.

What is really Flora's main question or quest? (Find a good job). Her job took her in the warmth realm of a family. Perhaps Flora felt protected by family life where she lived even as outsider. It's possibly she got affectively linked to the child she was hired to look after. In any case, Flora expressed an affective tie that maintained her not only in her work activity, but also with a family or her boss's family.

Soon after moving from London, another affective tie began. She set up this one with a friend of the couple. The fact is that Flora, a woman psychologically away from her people, at least apparently and detached from her place in the first scene, now was able to depart from her homeland, family and friends, and maintains her job ties with a 'strange' family and extended her emotional inner life to a friend of the couple who hired her.

It is not out of the possibilities that we could see in this personal process report in Switzerland, some clues. In this new place it seems that she found the home of the bosses as a welcoming territory. There she could exercise her territoriality and constitute an identity as a student and as a professional following a career. Her new identity enabled her to study, to know and to enjoy a wider territory where she learned to move around.

Perhaps all was so new to her there that she had not enough suitable words or narrative style to describe what happened to her in England and after a while in Switzerland. It was an overwhelming process that resized her identity and territory and that would require much time and psychological tools to elaborate.

In this realm, Flora staged to an audience that witnessed the young student, without opportunities in her homeland, to plunge herself towards the unknown in order to work in England and later move again to Switzerland. Undoubtedly, she could get out of

the ordinary life when she saw the rest of her closest community left behind.

Flora set-off against the normal. She showed to everyone that she was able to win professionally. She even established more lasting affective ties through a love relationship that would soon turn into a marriage.

On other hand, to the audience attending her staging in England, Flora could be similar to one of the many students who came to the country to study and take on some provisional jobs. There was no highlighting of her uncomfortable conditions. Our interviewer describes in her narrative that the essential thing of her life was the labour activity. The relationship with the employers, also immigrants, left her in a comfortable position. In her emigration to Switzerland, Flora began to feel uncomfortable in some conditions, especially those experienced with her boyfriend at home, as we'll see later.

Now, the social ways are made by local cultural elements and any movement towards a new configuration of her multi-territoriality was now a hard walk. Daily questions of the new relationship began to bother her. For instance, in her closest relationship with her partner's family, friends and the community, she felt, more directly, the prejudices arising from the fact that she was a Brazilian woman. Anew she felt labelled by the tripod of prejudice against the woman, described by Azerêdo (2007). This day-by-day clash undermined their autonomy.

I had no problems with the language and moving around, but even so I could not decide on many things. […] you [know] you are in other hands […]. It's terrible! Here [in Brazil] I decide what I'm going to do! I know where I'm walking and how to do it. There [in Switzerland] I always felt that I was going to do something wrong; I was observed, criticized. This has been stressing to the point I became ill […].

Flora in full exercise of mobility felt motionless. She didn't know where she walked and she was not anymore able to take her own decisions. She was insecure about how mastering local social and cultural practices that she didn't know well. What had changed in Flora?

FINAL SCENE

Flora got sick and made up her mind to go back to Brazil. From that time on she spent two months of the year in Switzerland and her partner divided his time of the year between Switzerland and Brazil. In the meanwhile, she took a course in nursing and did not intend to return to and dwell in Switzerland anymore. She maintained a formal coexistence with the partner's family because she saw how important the presence of the paternal family was to her daughter's life.

Now, in this new condition, in Switzerland, her scene-stage had supporting actors in continuous dialogue with her and she needed to exercise her multi-territoriality expressed in a fusion of Brazilian woman, emigrant, hardworking and now, girlfriend.

Let's go back where all this begun. This life mixture contains elements from both her homeland and her recent migratory experience. To the Brazilian audience, Flora could make or take her own decisions; to the Swiss audience, she was worthy of criticism and everything she did, according to her, deserved some kind of adjustment. This was due to her lack of knowledge of the social and cultural codes. Of course, as she stated above, social and cultural tension is felt also physiologically. Flora's body remained continuously aroused, in a high level of stress that leads or could lead to illness.

Prejudice exists everywhere, said Flora, but it is in the closest relationship with and in family of her partner's group and community that she felt cultural, class and gender differences clashing more explicitly.

Here, at home, the constraints got more emphasis differently. She once experienced in social situations when these behaviours were more veiled or with people without close relationship. For instance:

[…] I went to a restaurant with Lenon. It was very chic. So, a waiter was looking at me in a weird way. Then I said: 'Lenon, I think he thinks I'm a call-girl, I want to leave'. Lenon told him that I did not like the way he looked at me. He gave a cynical laugh, apologized and I saw him talking

something with the other waiter and laughing. I was so upset that I started to cry and we left the restaurant without eating.

In Flora's day-to-day stage scenes, we find innumerable supporting actors who demand her not only an appropriate dialogue. With her whole body in a permanent state of arousing, she evaluated every look, every smile. Everything seems to be a plot against her image as a woman who could make or take her own decisions. For Flora these conditions of stress were unpleasant, but she was able to overcome them, because there were situations where she met people outside of her family life circle.

The displacing discomfort became bearable due to the multi-territoriality build up in other social spheres. However, there is no way to neglect the fact that her body was all time confronted with situations that aroused a high level of stress.

Flora highlighted her first contact with her mother-in-law, from her various scenes of her daily life. From the very first contact, her mother-in-law made it clear that she did not accept her as daughter-in-law, and she did not say even a word to Flora during the first dinner. Her cunning mother-in-law knew that Flora knew how to speak French, but she kept the conversation on in German (language that Flora did not master very well) and her mother-in-law left the house before dinner was served.

The behaviour of the cunning mother-in-law bulldozed the wedding ceremony that had been prepared by Flora herself and her boss. Flora definitely could not make or take her own decisions and she did not know where she was or how she could or should walk. She could not reign as the main figure in the triumphant scene of her wedding party marriage announcement: on stage there was an antagonist, i.e. her mother-in-law. Perhaps, the most idealized or dreamed scene of her life, the wedding party, had to be resized in this moment. From the wedding party scene stage all could be sum up in one sentence: the marriage only could be in the County, a second level place.

Another highlight scene was the motherhood. After her daughter's birth, her mother-in-law and her sister-in-law approached the married couple, but not Flora.

There was a lot of psychological pressure coming from my mother-in-law and my sister-in-law. They criticized everything and so I became insecure. As I told you, I took care of Tynna [her bosses disable daughter] very well, [from where come the idea that] I wasn't able to take care of my daughter as well? But they made me feel awkward and I could not resist; I think this was because I was very alone, and Lenon did not help me in nothing. He kept quiet; he saw what they did and just let it happen. When he became aware it was too late. [...] All this made me sick; I lose weight, [after all] sprouted spots on my whole body. I did all the medical exams and the physician said that all came from emotional [disorders].

In this scene one can see the unfolding of Flora's identity. Now, afterwards, she also became wife and mother. She searched backstage for symbolic elements that should be her armour and find a comfortable condition. However, even in the exercise of her domestic multi-territoriality, in the everyday scenes, two supporting actors approached as two antagonists: her mother-in-law and her sister-in-law. They questioned Flora's new identity and submitted her to an asymmetrical relationship in her own territory, her home (even in her baby-cradle). Her husband who she thought would be her great ally (stage assistant), did not question the situation. All these elements expressed themselves in Flora's body. She gets sick.

In summary, Flora faced the unequal relations that expressed at once a racial and exotic point of view of the Brazilian woman. She faced the situation by building a relationship between two places: coming back to Brazil and remaining distant from the relationship with her husband's relatives.

She managed to make herself respected when she returned to her home territory, and now dealing with her husband's family from the standpoint of her social rules and cultural practices. Now the relationship in her original territory became asymmetrical towards the other side or her family, i.e. of her husband's Swiss family and relatives. When she spent the seasons in Switzerland, she went with Grandma's head style, not anymore with teenage style intentions. Although women could deal with situations of prejudice and discrimination, one can also see in these realms how these women lived experiences of agency. According to Piscitelli

(2008), based on the arguments of Mahler and Pessar (2001) gender in the experiences of migrant women operates on multiple spatial and social scales. Sometimes they focus on the social locations of the agents. These locations, within power hierarchy structures would enable actions of different types of 'agency' 'understood both in their cognitive aspects, involving imagination, planning, and setting up strategies and concrete actions' (Piscitelli, 2008).

Flora in her trajectory shows these moments of discrimination and prejudice, but she also displays how to dribble prejudice and create agency spaces in order to maintain their relationship, just as other Brazilians women married to foreigners negotiate their gender positions. They seem to negotiate their identities by engaging ethnic sympathy to gain their place in the labour market, but also to establish themselves as 'good mother and wife'. However, to accomplish the ideals of love concerning marriage, she comes back to Brazil.

Final Remarks

It's not up to Burkean pentade to close considerations, but above all come up with interpretations, open up understanding possibilities of the experience of transnational marriage one finds in Flora's account. We can even conclude that to some women, the transnational marriage is an opportunity to establish new connections in the destination society and thus overcome its constraints. Reconnecting to some dressed elements on Flora's backstage, the transnational marriage, in addition to some meanings, could also represent an expectation of both the search for a romantic love and living an ideal of the template of family that they bring with them from the original culture.

In the drama of this woman we find the presence of the ideal of romantic love and the pursuit of happiness to both. This is a trap in a net of performative identity. Her expectations are frustrated in the first contacts with the relatives and community closer to her partner. This is due to what she represents as a Brazilian woman's stereotype to this group. She seeks to negotiate with these images of Brazilian women to get a place in her partner's family and

friends. This does not always happen with a happy end in these relationships, since they face racialization and exotization of the image of Brazilian women. In this case, she returns to Brazil and this is a way to maintain the marriage/transnational cooperation in a more suitable context.

This narrative shows how different conjugal transnational experiences could be; we could find of course in this experience a great deal of nuances however when compared with another one however in each one we find the stigma attached to Brazilian women. Azeredo's (2007) prejudice tripod is present not only in Flora's history but also in the histories of many other Brazilian women.

Single women migrants and those who depart from their partner in the migratory process are labelled as whores. From this condition comes distrust, prejudice. But when they get married to natives, they became mother, turn around as a saint. Even so, they do not get rid of this prejudice totally.

Conflicts in the conjugality come from the frustration of the expectations. Some of these conflicts are deeply intertwined with the representations associated with Brazilian women in the migration context. This realm imposes sexualized and exotic social places in the relationship with the community as a woman, wife and mother. Such representations about Brazilian women end up with gender hierarchies even between them and the women they relate in place. This subaltern position takes away their autonomy, and in the same stream placing all marriages on suspicion as being arranged as expediency marriages, not fruit of genuine love. In this context, of course, these social roles represented by Brazilian women under feeling of prejudice cause strangeness and their autonomy and identity are eroded.

In the women's trajectory represented here via Flora's one, we can say that they were able to overcome the constraints, before the marriage. But in the conjugality realm, with a native partner, in the land of immigration and her reference group, for some, it became an impossible task. Even as workforce, these women are discriminated against but are tolerated; they are always outsiders. But in conjugality they become insiders. This is fundamental to their permanence in the territory in which her identity as a Brazilian

woman is reaffirmed and essential. Nevertheless, the conflicts remain even if these women stage other attributes of brazilianity, and show themselves as good mothers and wives, fulfilling the expectations of their gender in relation to marriage within the frame of romantic love.

At the workplace, their way of being, their way of dressing, their sensuality, all is negotiated, and all is at stake. This creates niches in the labour market and in this sense, they get empowered. But when they become a wife, mother, or they want to be accepted in this way they must assimilate the expected gender patterns of foreign women married to Europeans. In this new realm, women are required to be good mothers and wives in the contexts to which they emigrate: gender identity as a representation of subordination to the home and isolation of public life. This is not always required of the women in the society they enter as immigrants but is required of Brazilian women in their affective relationships. The women who are part of this study, whose narratives were not analysed, did not conform to this and reacted against this social configuration imposed on them. They found, therefore, an agent space where they negotiated these unequal gender positions; this is the different gender regimes imposed on immigrant women.

They establish a negotiation in conjugality: changes, of course, could lead to permanence of the affective relationship, or its rupture. The output of this negotiation, for instance, is the rupture within the immigration territory and the maintenance of conjugality in the original territory of women. As a result, we find in Flora's case, the return to her city or original place and maintaining a two-world life; keep her conjugality giving and configuring transnational marriage as well.

However, beyond the romantic love and the expectations generated by a transnational marriage there is an entire internal and external world that constantly presses Flora to bring about new dimensions to them. When on stage, in her own way, she unveils her 'lived' and 'still to live' existence. She elaborates scenes, creates specific spaces and allocate proper times to each experience; she chooses the personage she counters; highlights some circumstances and hides others.

She is the protagonist of her heroic narrative and chooses the villains, supporting actors and the scenario. She tells one, as she could, the experience of a life between two worlds, in front of two audiences, under hard stress, trying to find the exact weight/colour/intensity of each scene.

One must recognize in this case that not even the richness of the Burkean approach captures all the nuances tangled in this narrative entrusted to us. There are a lot of elements that, however present in her living world were not made explicit in this narrative. From what came up from her utterance we could infer the deployment of a dramatic act (marriage), in a complex scenario (the context of a migrant in a globalization realm) which puts our interviewed (agents) in front of an extreme situation so that, not surprisingly, she got sick.

Migration, when under humanistic terms and the focus of cultural and existential dimensions, unveils situations of weakness, distress and stress. At the same time, it shows up the dreams, happiness, challenges, and achievements that are in temporal and spatial horizon. This, of course, represents much more than only financial issues. In this vague temporal and special and sometimes hazy horizon, are imbedded the dreams and the weakness of those displaced but, nevertheless, this does not break her ties with her homeland (birthplace). In a global context, Flora and many others exercise their full choice of *wandering* and live the challenge of carrying on the existence in multiple territories, elaborating, in a superhuman effort, their multi-territorialities.

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