



THE DAVID ROCKEFELLER CENTER
FOR LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

Working Papers on Latin America



**“Giving Voice to a Nascent Community:
Exploring Brazilian Immigration to the U.S.
through Research and Practice”**

Edited by Clémence Jouët-Pastré,
Megwen Loveless and Leticia Braga

No. 04/05-2

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DAVID ROCKEFELLER CENTER FOR LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

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The David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University works to increase knowledge of the cultures, histories, environment and contemporary affairs of Latin America; foster cooperation and understanding among the people of the Americas; and contribute to democracy, social progress and sustainable development throughout the hemisphere.

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PREFACE



Letter of Invitation

Dear colleagues,

In order to address the changing landscape of Brazilian immigration, we embarked on a new interdisciplinary project to bring these important issues to the fore through a series of conferences and formal discussions, all held at the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University. We convened the First Brazil Week at Harvard (April 8-11, 2003) and subsequent Roundtable Discussion on Brazilian Immigration (November 8, 2003) brought together leading scholars and members from both Harvard University and the local Brazilian community to discuss and to celebrate the experiences of Brazilian immigrants in New England.

This compilation serves as a written record of the many vibrant exchanges that ensued during the featured events about key issues concerning Brazilian Studies in the United States. The collection includes bilingual versions of transcripts and submitted essays from various events from Brazil Week, as well as abstracts and papers presented at the Roundtable Discussion, and serves as an eclectic work in progress. Rather than providing answers, it acts instead as a springboard for more ideas and analyses and, ultimately, increases questioning about Brazilian immigration across diverse intellectual communities.

As principal organizer of these interdisciplinary dialogues, I invite you to engage in these topics and contribute to the subsequent discussions on the issues presented in and around Harvard. It is with great pleasure that I introduce the following contributors as well as the essays and excerpts they have submitted in order to further intellectual and activist exchange and change for our Brazilian community.

Clémence Jouët-Pastré
Senior Preceptor in Portuguese
Brazil Studies Committee, co-chair
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BRAZILIAN IMMIGRATION:

◇ A Brief Overview

Historically a country of immigrants, Brazil has been dramatically changing its participation in international migrations since the second half of the 1980s. According to data gathered in the 1980s by Brazilian Federal Police, 1.25 million or 1 percent of Brazil's total population emigrated to different countries such as Portugal, Italy, the United States, Paraguay, and Japan.¹ For the most part economic refugees fleeing Latin America's "lost decade," 38% of these Brazilians immigrants chose the United States as their new home.

Statistics about Brazilians living in the United States are extremely inconsistent: numbers range from 181,076 to 1.2 million immigrants. The discrepancy in the figures is due mainly to two factors.² As most Brazilians are undocumented, they fear that filling out the Census forms will provide the U.S. government with information that can eventually lead to their deportation. Another reason for the inaccuracy is the lack of a category specifically for Brazilians in the short forms of the U.S. Census. Even though numbers are imprecise, all figures point to an impressive growth of the Brazilian immigrant population. The 1990 official U.S. Census estimated that there were 94,087 Brazilians living in the United States, the 2000 Census counted almost two times that number (181,076), and the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimates that currently there are 784,000 Brazilians immigrants in the United States.

At the beginning of the Brazilian mass migration, immigrants tended to come to the United States to stay for a short period of time to make enough money to go back to Brazil and build a better economic life in their home country.³ However, there is extensive evidence that indicates that the Brazilian immigrant population has changed from a transitory one to a more stable and permanent one. For example, two Massachusetts grassroots organizations—the Brazilian Women's Group and the Brazilian Immigrant Center—will be celebrating their ninth anniversaries this spring (2004). Fausto da Rocha, a community leader from Massachusetts, points to the large increase in the number of Brazilian home-ownerships as well as business-ownerships in the past four years as a sign that Brazilians are no longer returning to Brazil.⁴ Brazilian media is also blooming in the United States. In the metropolitan Boston area, for example, there are fourteen newspapers, two monthly magazines, and two websites entirely locally produced and circulated.

¹ Sales, T. (2003). *Brazilians Away from Home*. New York: Center for Migration Studies.

² Margolis, M. (1998). *An Invisible Minority: Brazilians in New York City*. Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon.

³ Martes, A. C. (2000). *Brasileiros nos Estados Unidos: Um estudo sobre imigrantes em Massachusetts* [Brazilians in the United States: a study about immigrants in Massachusetts]. São Paulo: Paz e Terra.

⁴ Marcus, A. "Once again: Brazilians Are Not Hispanic." *Brazzil* magazine, October, 2003.

FIRST BRAZIL WEEK AT HARVARD

April 8 -11, 2003

David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies (DRCLAS), Harvard University

April 8 - Tuesday

6:00 – 8:00 pm

Official Opening and Reception

Ambassador Maurício Cortes Costa - Consul General of Brazil in Boston

Photo Exhibition: “Identidade, Rupturas & Permanências” Youth Immigrants and João Kulcsár - Fulbright Program, Harvard University

April 9 - Wednesday

6 :00 – 8:00 pm

Discussion: Brazilian Immigration: Historical Perspective and Identity

Mediator: Dr. Carola Suárez-Orozco - Executive Director, DRCLAS

Speaker: Prof. Ana Cristina Braga Martes - Fundação Getúlio Vargas

Discussion: Contributions of the Immigrant Workforce

Speaker: Ray DeSilva - Senior Vice President, Citizens Bank

Respondent: Prof. José Antonio Mazzotti - Harvard University

Discussion: The Future of the New Generation of Immigrants

Speaker: Senator Jarrett T. Barrios - State Representative MA

April 10 - Thursday

6 :00 – 8:00 pm

Workshop: Educational Options for Young Immigrants

Mediator: Márcia Loureiro - Former Deputy Consul of Brazil in Boston

Luciana Andreazzi - Framingham Public Schools

Heloísa Souza - Boston Public Schools and Brazilian Women’s Group

Ana Velasco - Framingham Public Schools

April 11 - Friday

3:00 - 5:00 pm

Cultural Fair - Brazil in New England (Ticknor Lounge - Boylston Hall)

6 :00 – 8:00 pm

Film screening: “A Fronteira” (The Frontier)

BRAZIL WEEK CONTRIBUTORS:



Biographical Sketches of Participants

Luciana Andreazzi	<p>Luciana Andreazzi is a Certified School Psychologist working mostly with culturally and linguistically diverse children in Framingham, Massachusetts. She has a Master's degree in Educational Psychology and a Doctorate in Psychology, obtained at nationally accredited Brazilian Universities. From 1987 - 1999, she worked as an associate Professor at the Pontífica Catholic University of Campinas, integrating supervision and professional activities. Dr. Andreazzi's academic interests include language and cognition development in social contexts, neuropsychology, bilingualism and sociocultural aspects of outcomes of school experience.</p>
Jarrett Barrios	<p>Jarrett Barrios works for Massachusetts as the State Senator for Cambridge, Chelsea, Everett, Charlestown, and parts of Revere, Allston-Brighton, Saugus and Somerville, focusing on housing, childcare, schools and healthcare access. As a state representative, he led successful efforts to create a state low income housing tax credit, Massachusetts' first new affordable housing production program in over a decade, as well as to create a state affordable housing trust. As a founding member of the Latino American Caucus, he passed legislation to require interpreter services in hospital emergency rooms, and to improve benefits to widows of disabled veterans. Senator Barrios is sponsoring legislation currently to protect consumers from unfair bank fees and lending practices, raise the wage of human service workers and decrease the disparities in disease outcomes for uninsured Massachusetts residents. He is currently sponsoring a bill to allow immigrant students who have attended high school for at least three years to attend state colleges and universities at in-state tuition rates.</p>
Zeca Barros	<p>Zeca Barros is a Brazilian musician from Rio de Janeiro. Mr. Barros graduated <i>summa cum laude</i> from Berklee College of Music in Boston, where he completed bachelor degrees in both Commercial Arranging and Film Scoring. He also has a Master Degree in Ethnomusicology from Tufts University. His professional activities include music production and arranging, orchestrations for Brooklyn Philharmonic Orchestra in New York and National Symphony Orchestra in Rio and conducting music classes and workshops at Tufts University, Northeastern University and Harvard University, among others. Zeca Barros was also the main writer, co-producer and composer of the music of the film <i>A Fronteira</i>.</p>

Raymond V. DeSilva	<p>Ray DeSilva is a seasoned banker with over 30 years experience at regional, money center and international banks. He began his banking career in 1972 with Citicorp, and has been Regional Manager for the South Shore Region of Citizens Financial Group since he relocated to Massachusetts in 1996. One of the most far-reaching initiatives he has built at Citizens is the Citizens Multicultural Resource Group, which he established in 1997. The group's goals are to promote inclusiveness through collaboration of the diverse Citizens employee population, to promote and play a leadership role in key cultural events (Black History Month, Asian New Year, Latino Heritage Month, Cape Verde Independence Day, Haitian Unity, St. Patrick's Day, etc.) and to serve as a professional link between Citizens Bank and the communities he serves, specifically in the areas of economic development, housing, education and literacy training.</p>
João Kulcsár	<p>João Kulcsár is a photojournalist and currently a Professor of Photography at SENAC, a publicly-funded technical school in São Paulo, Brazil. He was a visiting Fulbright Scholar at the Harvard University Graduate School of Education in 2002-03. Kulcsár has a master's degree in arts from the University of Kent where he studied visual literacy and the role of practical photography in teaching in Brazil. He has exhibited his photography at Harvard University and the University of São Paulo, has produced three films, and served as curator of numerous photography exhibitions.</p>
Márcia Loureiro	<p>Marcia Loureiro is a career diplomat. Born in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, she completed the Preparatory Course to the Diplomatic Career, Rio Branco Institute (Brasília, 1986) and a Master's of Science in Foreign Service Program, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University (Washington, D.C., 1993). In the Brazilian Foreign Service, Marcia Loureiro has worked in several areas since 1987, including trade promotion, scientific and technological cooperation, diplomatic planning, consular and juridical affairs, and assistance to Brazilian nationals abroad. She took part in the Seminar on International Migration in Latin America, held by the Organization for International Migration (Montevideo, 1998); in a multidisciplinary study group on the access of immigrants to college in the United States, coordinated by the University of Massachusetts (Boston, 2001); and in the First Brazil Week in Harvard: the Brazilian Community in New England (Cambridge, 2003). She also received community service awards from the "A Notícia" newspaper (Boston, 2000) and from the Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers (Boston, 2001).</p>

Ana Cristina Braga Martes	Ana Cristina Braga Martes is a Professor of Sociology at the Getúlio Vargas Social and Legal Foundation at the School of Business Administration in São Paulo. In 2002 she held a position as visiting researcher at Boston University and, from 1994-1996, as visiting scholar at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. With a bachelors degree in Social Science from UNESP, she also holds master's and doctorate degrees from São Paulo University. In 2000, she published the book "Brazilians in the United States: A Study of Immigrants in Massachusetts." She has several published articles on Brazilian emigration, both in Brazil and abroad.
José Mazzotti	José Antonio Mazzotti is a professor of Latin American literature at Harvard Univeristy. He has contributed to Peruvian literature through his many works of poetry and academic essays. Among other publications, <i>Coros Mestizos del Inca Garcilaso: Resonancias andinas</i> (1996), <i>El zorro y la luna, antología poética</i> (1999), the editions and co-editions <i>Asedios a la heterogeneidad cultural: Libro de homenaje a Antonio Cornejo Polar</i> (1996), <i>Agencias criollas: La ambigüedad "colonial" en las letras hispanoamericanas</i> (2000), and <i>Edición e interpretación de textos andinos</i> (2000), stand out. His most recent book, <i>Poéticas del flujo: migración y violencia verbales en el Perú de los 80</i> , looks at transformations of contemporary Peruvian poetry. Currently, he is researching colonial poetry of the Andes and poetry about the Peruvian literary diaspora to the United States, as well as preparing his edition of <i>The Other Latinos: Central and South Americans in the United States</i> .
Clémence Jouët-Pastré	Clémence Jouët-Pastré obtained her Ph.D. in Translation Studies from Universidade de São Paulo in Brazil, and has taught at Stanford University and Princeton University. She directs the Portuguese Language Program at Harvard, and is currently the Undergraduate Advisor in Portuguese and the co-chair of the Brazil Studies Committee. She has published numerous articles on language pedagogy, as well as on translation studies.

**WELCOME
TO THE FIRST BRAZIL WEEK, 2003**

◇
Clémence Jouët-Pastré

The Brazil week could not have happened without the support of many individuals and institutions. I would like to thank the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, especially professor Joaquim Francisco Coelho and the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, particularly Dr. Carola Suárez Orozco. I'd like also to thank the Consulate General of Brazil in Boston, the Massachusetts Alliance for Portuguese Speakers, and our caterer, *Restaurante Muqueca*. Finally, I thank the presence of all of you and I hope you find Brazil Week an enriching experience. Now we'll have the honor of listening to the Consul General of Brazil in Boston.

**WELCOME
TO THE FIRST BRAZIL WEEK, 2003**

◇
Maurício Cortes Costa, Consul General of Brazil in Boston

My dear friends, Carola Orozco, (meu Querido Profesor Coelho), dear friend Professor Coelho... I am not going to nominate anybody more than these two people from Harvard because it would be an endless introduction and sometimes introductions can be longer and even more boring than the speeches themselves. I wouldn't do that to you.

I want to say, I have some prepared remarks; they won't be long, I can assure you. But I want to say before the prepared remarks that this is one day of personal and professional accomplishment for me. I've had the honor of being the Consul General of Brazil in Boston (in New England, so to speak) for over three years now. And I remember that three years ago when I arrived here, very much in a kind of professional adventure, because I hadn't been involved with consular matters for almost thirty years in my professional career (and that gives you an idea of how old I am...). But anyway I hadn't been dealing with consulate issues for many many years and I had this privilege of being assigned here. And when I got here I thought: my goodness, this is probably the center of academic studies and thoughts in the world, and one thing that we might do, that I personally could help to do is to try and stimulate the introduction and discussion of the theme of immigration in Harvard and I discussed this issue with some colleagues, other Consul Generals, and we were not able to do it three years ago. But today, as I said, this is a personal and professional achievement for me. With the essential, fundamental help of these people who have organized this Brazil week, not only have we been able to reinforce the treatment of the issue of immigration in Harvard and the academy in New England, but we also have the privilege of doing it, dealing specifically and especially with the issues involving my own community, the Brazilian community. So this is a moment of very important achievement for me.

Now my prepared remarks:

We know that over the past decade the theme of immigration has grown in visibility and significance within the academic circles in the United States. This is not surprising—immigration has had a strong and very deep impact on the daily life of the American society in the economic, cultural and political

areas. Harvard University has been very active in research and intellectual protection on immigration issues, as well as in initiatives aimed at directly improving the life of immigrant populations. With the first Brazil Week at Harvard, the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures and the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies take a remarkable step ahead in the path toward the full recognition of more recent immigrant groups as an important component of the American society—and more specifically of the Brazilian immigrants who have chosen New England as a new home for themselves and for their families. As the Consul General of Brazil, I am extremely happy and honored to see this initiative materialize and proud to have collaborated toward its completion. The context within which immigration and the integration of Brazilians into the United States has taken place over the past twenty years varies according to the geographic area, but probably in no other region of the United States has this process been more significant than in New England. Had it not been for immigration, the population of Massachusetts would be smaller today than it was in 1970 as a consequence of internal migration and of declining birth rates. One out of four children under 18 years old living in Massachusetts is either an immigrant or the child of an immigrant. This data lead naturally into a few conclusions about the importance of immigrant flows into this country—beginning, I should say, with the maintenance of economic growth rates, the ageing of the U.S. population (compounded by the current retirement of the so-called baby-boomer generation) will slow down the growth of the U.S. labor force, a phenomenon that will affect this country's ability for economic growth unless immigration remains an alternative labor source. The weight of immigration is measured not only in economic terms but can also be assessed for its social and political impacts. As American citizens tend to migrate from metropolitan to suburban areas, immigrants replace them, maintaining jobs and businesses that would otherwise disappear. Without the immigrant component, some states, like Massachusetts, would shrink in demographic terms, a development that in the long run, might eventually affect the size of their own representation in congress. At the bottom line, as a local journalist has once put it: 'If it were not for the influx of foreign-born workers into the U.S. economy, nearly everything that the Americans pay for would cost more.'

Since the 1980s, Brazilians have become a large portion of the immigrant population in Massachusetts and already rank second as foreign labor in this state. From my contacts with authorities, business leaders, and the media, I can say that our community has earned the respect and the admiration of the local society. We have become a prosperous and dynamic group, which includes students, teachers, social workers, artists, employees and business people (among other activities). As our community gradually integrates into the American society, its contribution becomes increasingly relevant, as demonstrated for instance by the fact that the average Brazilian family living here (one couple with two children—that's the average Brazilian family living in New England), contributes in the range of 10-12,000 dollars in federal and state taxes every year. At the right time, therefore, I can say, the comprehensiveness of the first Brazil Week Program, clearly reflects the multiplicity of aspects involved in the immigration phenomenon—from the role of the immigrant force in the American economy, to the quest for our cultural identity, from the daily social work of grass roots organizations to long-term political mobilization efforts in favor of the second and third generations, from the traditional arts and crafts to the current cultural production of local Brazilians. The first Brazil Week is indeed a very colorful mosaic that will address many different issues of our presence in the United States. I extend, then, my sincere congratulations, to Professor Clémence Jouët-Pastré and to Dr. Carola Suárez Orozco, once again, as well as to the members of the organizing committee, João Kulcsár, Márcia Loureiro, and Zeca Barros and invite all of you to really actively participate in the many activities that will take place during the first Brazil Week at Harvard. Thank you very much for coming today.

WORKING WITH YOUTH AND IMAGES: AN INTRODUCTION TO OUR EXHIBIT

◇
João Kulcsár

Thank you for coming tonight, I also would like to say thanks to many people here. I would like to thank Clémence for support and generosity for all this time, she is a true friend—we arrived almost together here last year. I also want to acknowledge my colleagues at the David Rockefeller Center, where I find a lot of kind people, Carola, and Kelly, Ellen, Jennifer, Falconi, for all the support in organizing the exhibition today, the Fulbright program, responsible for wonderful initiatives like that and Pertsil, who gave me the opportunity to share my professional experience here at Harvard, through the Graduate School of Education. And MAPS, also, the Massachusetts Alliance for Portuguese Speakers. Vanessa, at the beginning I thought that we had a tough relationship, the first day, the second, was very difficult... but she is great, she is wonderful, and especially today [she knows]. Ruth is a real model for these youth here. I was thinking, I wouldn't think twice in putting my [own] daughter Beatriz in your hands because you are really a mother for all these kids. My wife (I invited her to come but...) has taken care of Beatriz all this time while I need to be here. And the youth is the real reason and inspiration for all of this.

I remember when I arrived in Boston... I understand the relationship between community and academic life. I struggle between community and academy and I hope that the first Brazil Week at Harvard can change this, can make better this relationship between community and academy. It was very important to work with the youth, they filled a part of my experience that I was missing from Brazil. This experience with them make me remember Brazil, this is a "little Brazil" for me here. And the presidential election...the presidential election with my family, and I found many good people here. I'd like to say a few words about at the project "Identities, Ruptures, and Permanence." It was developed with the youth at MAPS and the main objective is the development of the participants' visual literacy. The course created a group conversation; it was a very nice conversation (all the time) about immigration, future aspirations, discrimination, friendship, peace, war, media, manipulation of images and opinion, family, relationships, and democracy. I was amazed with the degree of what Paulo Freire called critical conscience of each of the youth; perhaps maybe they need to overcome all the obstacles faced by an immigrant, especially in times of intolerance and lack of respect for peace has created a strong sense in the students about the system in which the majority of information comes to us through images. really believe that you can promote a transformation among youth in terms of the future relationships and sharing their own life experience. Actually, last Saturday some of the students and I were participating in a conference with local high school students at the Kennedy School and the Graduate School of Education; the professor, the teachers and the other students. Our work... the students and I, we haven't stopped here, now we are already working on a documentary movie and our website and I appreciate the opportunity to meet the youth and I can see a present that looks very good and a future with a lot of promise for them. I hope the youth can reach out for their dreams. My dreams have come true and the youth are a big part of this experience. I would like to congratulate the fathers. *Eu já estou com saudades de vocês.* This is impossible to translate to English (rough translation: I already miss you quite a bit). Thank you very much.

**WORKING WITH YOUTH AND IMAGES:
Thanks to our Community and its Support**

◇
Vanessa Santos

Good evening everybody, I just need to remember to thank a couple of people. First I just wanted to congratulate the youth for the beautiful project that they have developed with João. I am very proud of you guys for this one more project that you have done and I just hope that you keep using the services that we have available to you in order to get more experiences in the one second and say a few words in Portuguese for the parents who are here tonight because sometimes they do not understand what we are saying here. *Eu gostaria de agradecer a presença dos pais aqui, muitas vezes devem pensar em casa, "O que é que meu filho, minha filha faz na MAPS?" Eu acho que hoje é o momento excelente para vocês verem o que que eles fazem no MAPS. Parabéns, e espero que vocês estejam tão orgulhosos dos filhos como eu e a Ruth estamos.*

I also need to show my appreciation for the Rockefeller Center for opening its doors and allowing the youth to have this wonderful opportunity here, thank you very much. I need to thank MAPS, the Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers which I work for, and I work for the youth program there, for keeping an open mind, only because this is a volunteer program and we were not able to maintain our resources and Paulo Pinto, our executive director and my program manager, Anabela Quelha, allowed me to continue volunteering for this program even though we don't have any funding and I think I really need to thank them for that. I just need to thank two more people. I need to thank Ruth for doing everything that she does for the youth program, she's our full-time volunteer. If it wasn't for Ruth, I wouldn't be here today, the youth wouldn't be here today. She really works every day serving the youth in Somerville and Cambridge, and I need to thank her every single day of my life. Thank you very much! Last but not least, I need to thank my friend João, one of the most amazing people that I met throughout my professional life. I need to thank him not only for the beautiful work that you have developed with the youth, not only for the amazing experience he has provided to the youth, but most of all for the love, the friendship and the dedication that he has shared with the youth -- I'm pretty sure, no you're not going to do this to me and I'm not going to cry and he's not going to cry, we have a bet! -- and I'm pretty sure that everything that you have shared with the youth will be carried with them for the rest of their lives and I really need to thank you for everything that you have done for them. And I just wanted to end by saying that if it wasn't for volunteers like João and Ruth we wouldn't be able to serve the youth today and I just wanted to end by saying that it's very important for all of us to volunteer even if it is only an hour a month, to give something back to our communities and to share some of our experience with our communities. And so I urge you, if you have never done this before, if you have never done community work before, we have so many agencies out there that need your work and need your help. And so, I will leave it at that. Thank you.

WORKING WITH YOUTH AND IMAGES:
Student Voices
◇
Bruna & Carol

Good evening, we had a wonderful experience working with João in the photography course. João showed us how to use a camera and how to take better pictures. Now we know how to analyze a picture and to find a meaning in every single image. We also learned how to manipulate an image in order to pass along a specific message. During the course, João also showed us about a Brazilian photographer called Sebastião Salgado. We learned about his work and we also traveled to Portland to see his photo exhibition. Listening to João talk about his life experience made us see the world through different lenses. João has given us the opportunity to debate, compromise, and create. The success of this project is due to João's love, friendship and education. He has proved that teaching and learning doesn't need to be a boring process.

We need to thank João for volunteering his time to work with us and for giving us a lifetime experience. We also need to thank other people who helped us with this project. Ruth Santos, for all of your patience and love, Clémence for giving us the opportunity to come to your class, Tatiane Santos, Vanessa Santos, Leticia Braga, and the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies. Thank you, and I hope you all enjoy our exhibit.

BRAZILIAN IMMIGRATION:

Introduction



Mediator: Dr. Carola Suárez-Orozco

Welcome to the second day of our first annual Brazil Week event. We have a wonderful line-up of people here and I would like to make brief introductions and I'll be speaking for five minutes, giving an overview on how immigration is not just a local phenomenon, but a national and international phenomenon, and then I will be turning it over to our wonderful speakers. We have Senator Jarrett Barrios here, a State Senator of Massachusetts—his constituency is Cambridge, Chelsea, Everett and Charlestown, as well as parts of Revere. His primary interests are focusing on housing, childcare, schools, and healthcare. He was first elected in 1998 to the State House of Representatives and was elected to the State Senator Justice last round (and his office was just across the street—we were delighted to see when the signs came down that it had gone the way we wanted it to go). He studied at Harvard College, he has chaired the committee of public safety and is the Vice-Chair on the Committee on Health Care. And he is the founding member of the Latino American Caucus, and we are delighted to have you here today.

We also have Professor Ana Cristina Braga Martes. She teaches at the Fundação Getúlio Vargas in São Paulo. Her most recent book, entitled *Brasileiros nos Estados Unidos: um Estudo sobre Imigrantes em Massachusetts* (Brazilians in the United States: A Study of Immigrants in Massachusetts), has recently come out. In addition to this book, she has written several other articles on the subject of Brazilian immigration, including articles on the subject of Brazilian entrepreneurship, citizenship and solidarity as well as many others. We are delighted to have you here.

I would also like to introduce Ray DeSilva, he is Senior Vice-President of Citizen's Bank. He is a seasoned banker for over thirty years (but it doesn't show) at regional money center and international banks. He is a native of Trinidad, moved to Brooklyn, New York, in 1965, he got a degree from NYU and holds a master's from Farley Dickenson and has a graduate banking degree from the Consumer Bankers Association as well. Ray is a key resource to colleagues, customers and communities and in 1997 he started the Citizen's Multi-Cultural Resource Group. We are delighted to have him here with us today.

We also have here Professor José Antonio Mazzotti, here with our Romance Languages Department, we are delighted to have you here as a commentator. Professor Clémence Jouët-Pastré who is, in addition to being the Senior Preceptor here in the Department of [Romance] Languages, has tutored me in Portuguese, although I have a long ways to go, still—we are very grateful to have her here. And then we have Márcia Guimarães, who is a master's degree candidate in Intercultural Relations at Lesley College. So welcome and we are delighted to have you here.

Let me just give you a brief overview about immigration. Immigration is not just a Massachusetts issue, it is not just a California issue, it is an international issue. There are over a hundred and thirty million immigrants and refugees worldwide today. Twenty million were admitted to the United States since 1965, so we have had a renewed burst of energy on the immigration front. Since 1990, the rate has intensified to approximately one million per year. Now while this is an awful lot of people, in terms of percentage-wise, it is still much less than our last big wave of migration; between 1880 and 1920, 14%

of the population was immigrant-born. Currently it is still under 10 percent, though it is edging right over the top of that. And while that is, again, a lot of people, it is about half the rate of Canada, for example: 20 percent of the population of Canada is of immigrant origin. In many places in Europe it is the very same scenario, just to give you some perspective in terms of the way it is going. Now, if you look at the United States alone, over 50% of the immigration comes from Latin America. That includes Brazilians, Argentines, Mexicans, Cubans, every other kind of group of Latin American origin. And, while Mexicans constitute the largest percentage of this Latin American origin group, new groups like the Brazilians are quickly gaining ground.

There are three primary motivations for immigrating, one is to seek asylum—that is really not the case, as far as I understand for Brazilians at this moment, though there might have been a few during epochs in the Dirty War period, where that was in fact the motivation—but the current group tends to come either for economic reasons or to be reunified with family members who have come ahead. The immigrants all over the nation are remarkably diverse, they are much more diverse than the groups that came in the 1880s and 1920s in terms of ethnicity, race, and color and I think that the Brazilians mimic that diversity in terms of linguistic backgrounds as well. Nearly 75% of the languages that you encounter in schools, 75% of the students whose second language is English are Spanish speakers. But there are a hundred different languages represented in New York Public Schools, ninety languages represented in L.A. public schools and locally, Portuguese is a language that is rising in profile. The immigrants that are coming in are also quite diverse in terms of economic backgrounds, and I would say that that is also true for the Brazilian community. It is not simply, like in other groups, just the high end or the low end; there is really quite a lot of diversity in terms of economic profile and you will correct me, I'm sure, if I am wrong on that, but that is my impression.

I am delighted that the focus is really going to be on youth, and particularly tomorrow, because ultimately, youth are our future, and how they do is going to be critical to how we do selfishly as a nation and then within our communities themselves. Most of what we know about immigration, unfortunately, is focused on adults. There is a lot to be learned about children and yet one in five children currently in the United States is the child of an immigrant. I mentioned yesterday that one in four children here in Massachusetts is the child of an immigrant. So that is all the more reason to be thinking in terms of that group. In broad strokes, some immigrant kids do much better than their native-born peers, a lot of them come here with a tremendous amount of energy, they work very hard, they do well in school, and they move forward very quickly; others are really overlapping with their native-born peers (they are not doing either better or worse), and unfortunately a group of immigrant kids are quickly joining our underclasses, giving up on the educational system as they encounter one barrier after another. So we clearly need to be thinking about these issues. Schools are particularly important and I commend you for having made that the focus for tomorrow, because it is really the first point of contact with the new culture for the incoming children and it is also a significant indicator of how they will be adjusting to society. Given this, and given that in this high-stakes economy education is more important than it ever has been before, this is a topic we should be thinking about. So thank you very much for organizing this, Clémence.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE IMMIGRANT WORKFORCE

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Ray DeSilva

Good evening, welcome. I'm delighted to represent Citizens Bank and to be a part of this distinguished group this evening to talk about the contributions of immigrants in Massachusetts and in the United States. Larry Fish, our CEO, wanted to be with you tonight. I know many of you have mentioned you know Larry and you miss him—but unfortunately his schedule would not allow him to be with us. However, like so many of my Citizens colleagues, I too share Larry's vision of a bank that values the contributions of immigrants to the U.S. economy and in the state of Massachusetts. As an immigrant myself, as was mentioned before, with diverse banking experience (thank you for the compliment, it was thirty years), and as manager of Citizen's community branches, (which means I focus on branches primarily in very diverse neighborhoods), and the chair of the Citizen's multi-cultural resource group, I feel somewhat equipped to speak to the contributions of immigrants in Massachusetts, specifically in the financial community.

In 1965, I migrated from the islands of Trinidad and Tobago, dubbed by many as the land of the hummingbird, of the calypso, and of the carnival. Clearly I know that with this audience, it is open to debate as to whether the Trinidad carnival comes close to the Brazilian carnival, but that may be a subject for another time. My primary purpose tonight is to talk about the contributions of immigrants in the U.S. economy and to speak first hand of their contributions in the financial services sector. At Citizen's, immigrants represent a significant percentage of our customer base. Over the past ten years, immigrants have represented the population growth in Massachusetts. Stated another way, without immigrants the state would have experienced little or no population growth. Population growth is healthy to the economy and to the business sector and it increases the need and demand for goods and services. At Citizens, we tend to do what is logical and employ people who can speak the language of our customers. Or, at a minimum, communicate through the use of the wonderful dialects and accents that originate in various parts of the world. As many of you know, initially, when you first come to this country, people are so impressed with your dialect that they don't really go beyond that, that is usually the start of conversation, rather than the weather. At Citizens, eleven languages are spoken in our Customer Service Phone Center and twenty-five languages are spoken at our Medford Operations. Over ten percent of our work force speak English as their second language and our employees speak in excess of 82 languages. Speaking the language of our customers is extremely important because if you don't speak some form of Portuguese in Uphams Corner, Vietnamese in Field's Corner, Cantonese in North Quincy, Russian in Brookline or Spanish in East Boston, you are going to have a tough time attracting new customers. And I just found out from some of you in the audience, that if you don't have a Brazilian representative in Framingham and in Weymouth, you'll be losing customers as well, and we will be working on that.

At Citizens, we are quick learners. In fact, we are about to launch our new website next month featuring several enhancements. One of these enhancements is "Información en Español," where Spanish-speaking customers can click and receive information on checking accounts, savings accounts, ATM cards, and mortgage programs. We also have an automated customer service phone number in Spanish, as well as Spanish brochures. We recognize the growing need to reach customers through multiple channels and realize that speaking the language of our customers, many times makes the difference in winning new customers. As an example of how this works, tonight I am pleased to have two of my distinguished colleagues with me: Jean François Carbonneau, who does a wonderful job in our marketing research department at our Westbrook facility, and he is French Canadian. We also have with

us Claudia Lucia-Carroll who is now at our South Boston branch, and she is originally from Colombia. When Claudia was hired, no position was available in some of the dominant Latino markets—such as Jamaica Plain, East Boston, and the South End—where her bilingual skills would have been an additional asset in those markets, but her high level of enthusiasm and work ethic encouraged me to hire her, anyway. At this point, we placed her in the South Boston branch. I'm delighted to report that by adding a banker who spoke Spanish in the South Boston community, we discovered that a sizable Spanish population existed in that market and that Claudia has helped to significantly increase our customer base in the South Boston area. While this is a great story, and some of the success is based on Claudia's unique talents, this story repeats itself frequently—in North Quincy, Man Ying Moy, an Asian banker consistently produces superior results due to a strong following of Asian customers. A recent addition of a Somalian banker soon found customers who spoke his language in Jamaica Plain. Clearly focusing on the immigrant population has been a winning formula for Citizen's Bank. Focusing on people who speak the language of our customers has been significant and has helped propel us from a small Rhode Island bank to one of the top twenty banks in the United States.

In 1999, Citizen's sponsored a study with MassInc (part of the reason that we were invited here today, which many people have read). This was titled "The Changing Workforce: Immigrants and a New Economy in Massachusetts." This study confirmed that New England is more dependent on our [immigrant] labor force and population more than any other region in the country. The labor force in Massachusetts would have shrunk—by 200,000 jobs—since 1970 without the influx of immigrants. Immigrants accounted for 82% of the net growth in the Massachusetts working force since the mid 1980s. Immigrants are spread widely throughout the population—this is a very interesting statistic—immigrants are not concentrated in one place, but they are spread widely throughout the population with no one county representing more than ten percent of the total immigration population. And most significantly, New England's prosperity in the past decade has happened not "in spite of immigrants" but in large part because of them. At Citizens we recognize the importance of meeting the needs of all customers, and we are proud that we are getting it right through our efforts to place a great value on the opportunities that exist in the new immigrant population and by respecting the diversity of the New England communities through the composition of our employees. At Citizens we work hard every day to support our customers, our colleagues, and our communities. Tonight I brought some copies of our study, which Claudia will distribute. Unfortunately I didn't know what size audience we would have today, so we have about twenty copies, which we can share with you, if you need further statistics.

Just to go off record, as an immigrant myself, I arrived in the United States at the age of 15, and coming to New York at that time, many people realized that we were considered to be off the Banana Boat because we were different. My father is Portuguese and my mother African, and I found very quickly that I was a little unique, and as you know, with immigrants sometimes we see many more opportunities and sometimes we are limited to less. I was fortunate to be taken out of Bedford Stuyvesant in Brooklyn because of the affirmative action programs that existed in those days, and won scholarships to summer programs at Yale University and Philips Andover Academy and a scholarship to Trinity College in Hartford, Ct. I was also a soccer player (another hobby that is very popular in the Brazilian community). I immediately joined banking right out of college and have been doing it ever since. The reason that I like banking is because banking gives us an opportunity to help many, many people. As you know, home ownership is essential to success in life. As a banker, I consider myself and my occupation one of helping people fulfill their dreams. It's a pleasure to be here with you tonight; I'll entertain questions later on. Thank you very much.

THE FUTURE OF THE NEW GENERATION OF IMMIGRANTS

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Jarrett T. Barrios

Good evening, my name is Jarrett Barrios. Boa noite. *Falo pouquinho de português, mais espanhol, falo inglês melhor*, and so I am going to do it in English. It's a pleasure to be here with you here this evening. I am the state Senator for the Middlesex, Suffolk and Essex district—which means where you are sitting right now, I am your State Senator. I am also the first Latino State Senator in the history of Massachusetts and the founding member of the Latino Caucus. Not surprisingly, in part because of that, I have been a leader in my time in the House of Representatives, where I was for the last four years, and now as a State Senator, on issues that impact immigrants. I am also a very interested, you might say student, of immigration in Massachusetts—someone who is very interested not just in the neighborhoods I represent, and how they are changing, but how the face of Massachusetts is changing. One might say that is because I am self-interested, because as the face of Massachusetts changes, perhaps my ceiling of opportunity rises as well, because people like me are becoming elected in the state of Massachusetts, which I think is a good thing. I am going to talk a little bit tonight about how Massachusetts can become a more pro-immigrant commonwealth. And I think, Brazilians, there is probably (at least, in the part of Massachusetts that I represent) no more vibrant or fast-growing immigrant community. What I see—I should confess I live on Norfolk Street in Cambridge, right off Cambridge Street, which if you know Cambridge, is the heart of the Portuguese and Brazilian community here. I represent East Somerville, I represent Everett, and I represent parts of Revere and (all of) Chelsea, all of which have fast-growing Brazilian communities. I also represent Allston. The Brazilian Immigrant Center [in Allston] is in my district.

We in government, and those of us who believe that we can become a more pro-immigrant commonwealth, things that we have before us that we can work on, to make Massachusetts a more welcoming place, a place where immigrants can thrive more readily. And then I am going to shut up, so that we can move on to questions that folks are going to have later.

The issues which I wanted to raise in general, for many of you who live in the Boston area, you may have seen very publicly last fall, there was a strike by the janitors in Massachusetts, in Greater Boston, many of whom were Brazilian, many others of Latino origin, all of whom were dealing very head-on with work-place issues; some of them were concerned about work-place safety, most were concerned with work-place salaries and benefits. This is one of the prime issues, I believe, that faces immigrants. Most immigrants, I am not talking about the immigrants who come here with H1B visas to work here at Harvard, or at MIT, or for a bio-tech research firm. Most of the immigrants who I interact with, the large majority of the Brazilian and Latino immigrants who I know aren't coming here to study at Harvard, they are not coming here to work in Kendall Square, unless it's to clean the offices or to work in the restaurants. For those immigrants, the workplace issues tend to be less about how they can get an extension on their H1B visa and more about how they can get health care—legal health care—healthcare benefits for their families and for themselves, how they can get a decent wage, at a work place which is a safe place to work, which complies with OSHA requirements, and in which they're actually being paid the wages they're promised; that's one important issue that immigrant workers face in Massachusetts.

Another issue (two issues which are very much connected) is home ownership, housing—at one end of that is home ownership, which many folks dream of—and, in general, just affordable housing. One of the ways in which immigrants run afoul with local government most frequently is in the arena of housing. Both because immigrants work in low-paying workplaces and because, culturally, it is perhaps not as unusual as it is in parts of Massachusetts, often times recent arrivals will double- and triple-up in units, in many cases there will be as many as ten or twelve people living in a two- or three-bedroom flat here. In my district in Everett—Everett is a community in my district with a large Brazilian and Salvadorean population. This issue has come up again and again, with local officials cracking down on the landlords who have allowed for this sort of thing. Now, in allowing this sort of thing, these landlords have made possible a sort of affordable housing for immigrants, not something which meets code in the United States (specifically in this case, in Everett) or in many communities, and I would also note in this case that this has been the source—perhaps the greater source—of friction that Brazilian and Latino immigrants have encountered at the local level in many communities like Everett, like Framingham, like Chelsea, because it is the additional impacts on neighbors—not just upstairs and downstairs neighbors but on the community that is surrounding: pressure to find parking, impact on schools, the large number of children, and so forth. I should stress that these are not concerns to me. I mean, they are concerns in that they are concerns to all of us, and in terms of our obligation to provide education and affordable housing. But that additional friction, it is from that additional friction that many immigrants encounter and as a group we encounter (those who advocate for immigrants) this sort of nascent opposition to immigration here in Massachusetts—people who are less than sympathetic to some of the needs of immigrants as newcomers to the Commonwealth. This is sort of the nascent opposition that comes from street by street, we find, sometimes most vociferously in these communities that are historically the communities which tend to house and welcome communities of immigrants to their neighborhoods.

I mentioned housing and I will get specific with home ownership and access to credit. The gentlemen banker to my left has indicated and promoted Citizen's bank quite well. And Citizen's bank is a bank which I have found many immigrants choose to use—there are a number of others in the Commonwealth. Access to credit: I am a four-year member of the Banks and Banking Committee and in that committee I have promoted access to credit issues fairly stridently. I have participated actually, with the Mass Bankers Association... [they] recently did, it was sort of a study focused of the Latino community, but many of the lessons we learned would be equally applicable to the Brazilian community. If you are a bank and you want to attract consumers, offer credit to them in their language. The gentlemen to my left, Mr. DeSilva, spoke about their—Citizen's—success by marketing their products in languages that consumers can use. Not surprisingly, people want to know exactly where their money is going, people have questions about what is going on with their money, and they feel much more comfortable if they can get those answers in a language they understand. I have found that many immigrants—and Brazil, with its history of hyper-inflation, should be no exception—have certain questions about why it is they should in fact put their money in a bank in the first place. And what is the difference between a bank and a credit union? And what are these things like Fidelity and 410ks—if you happen to be able to participate and your work place allows you to contribute. And there is a whole range of credit issues. Some of these issues we've been able to get answers for because the private banks have been responsive. Some of these issues, places like MAPS, the Massachusetts Alliance for Portuguese Speakers, have been able to work with banks to provide information in a neutral place (like MAPS) to get answers for our consumers. And some of it, frankly, we haven't done a good enough job yet at all to answer questions so the consumers feel safe putting their money in places and availing

themselves of credit opportunities. Where one feels comfortable investing their money, one then begins to develop a credit history. When one begins to develop a credit history, then it becomes possible to get a mortgage. When you get a mortgage, you can become a homeowner, the very best investment that one can make, still, in the United States. And in so doing, take advantage of some of the best tax benefits that you can avail yourself of in the United States. This is not unique to the Brazilian community, but as some of the newest of immigrant communities to Massachusetts, that challenge is still in front of them, still in front of the Brazilian community, and advocates of the Brazilian community understand this.

There are a couple of related issues that I'm going to get into a little bit more in depth. These are what I call the sort of "safety net" issues. This is where government most directly comes into contact with our immigrants, and where I as somebody—and you, perhaps, as somebodies—who care about making the Commonwealth more pro-immigrant, can have the most impact, I believe. Safety net issues: I am proud that Massachusetts has been a leader in the area of health care coverage. In our health care, any child, regardless of their citizenship status, in Massachusetts, is eligible for Mass Health. Mass Health is the safety net health care system, in this case for children under eighteen. Many above the age of eighteen can—depending on where you live; if you live in any one of my communities—[you] can enroll in the Cambridge Health Alliance System: Cambridge Hospital, Somerville Hospital, regardless of your immigrant background, of your documentation status. This is not the case across the Commonwealth, although it should be. Massachusetts, until very recently, was one of the few states which allowed citizens regardless of their immigration status to collect food stamps for their families. We discontinued that, or shall I say the Republican administration discontinued that, last year, because it was one of the budget cuts that they implemented. These are what I call safety net issues: food, housing, and health care.

There are other issues and this is on the legislative agenda of many of us at the State House and many of you in the advocacy community who I see here present; many of you present. Those I'm going to touch on briefly and then I am going to stop with my comments. There's a whole bunch of issues and there are two of them which I will perhaps charitably refer to as "little" issues to the Commonwealth but "big" issues to human rights which often go overlooked. And the two that I am going to mention are the disparate treatment that undocumented immigrants—and actually, some who are documented but not with a green card—face or their children face when they go to take advantage of the higher education institutions in our Commonwealth. If you are not here legally, if you are not a citizen or you don't have a green card, you or your children are not eligible for in-state tuition. Now when I talk to my colleagues about this, many of them are under the assumption that immigrants who aren't here legally don't pay taxes. Now if you are an immigrant, and regardless of what your status is, you are a HIV or a green card holder, you know that the IRS finds a way to get your money. They're very good at that, regardless. And if you don't have a social security number, then you do a tax ID number, an ITIN, Individual Tax Identification Number, it is called. And in so doing, they are able to take your hard-earned dollars, for our benefit. Part of that money goes to pay for public higher education—which your children are not eligible to receive the in-state tuition benefit for. I am the lead sponsor, and there are a number of co-sponsors in this, and the advocacy communities are supporting in this endeavor of correcting that. Our belief is that if you are a tax payer in the Commonwealth and your children graduate from our schools, you should be eligible for the same tuition, for the in-state tuition—which is often far less than the out-of-state tuition that someone coming from California must pay. And that is an overlooked issue.

Another overlooked issue is the issue of driver's licenses. In particular, if you don't have a social security number in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, you cannot get a driver's license. And you think, well, apply for a social security number. Well, if you are not, shall we say, comfortably legal, you're not going to apply for a social security number and you can't get a license. That doesn't mean that you aren't driving—it means that you are driving illegally. If you can't have a driver's license, you can't get insurance. If you can't get insurance, you can't register your vehicle. We have tens of thousands of immigrants in the Commonwealth who are driving—because they can't get a driver's license they are driving illegally and, frankly, without insurance, they are putting the rest of us at risk. This, shall we say, oversight by the Republican administration, is something which used to be legal (under the last democratic administration). But starting in 1991, the Republicans changed it, and now it's impossible. One of the results of this, I mentioned, is that tens of thousands of immigrants are driving illegally. Because we haven't been able to persuade the administration to change this administratively, we are attempting to change this legislatively so that all immigrants can use an alternative to their social security number—remember that the IRS already allows one to use an ITIN, an individual tax identification number, to pay our taxes. Why can't we use that same number to get a driver's license? These are some of the overlooked issues that I referenced: in-state tuition and driver's licenses.

There are some other very, very important issues; I am only going to gloss over them for time's sake, because I know that I am only allowed fifteen minutes and I am near the end of my time. Interpreter services in a variety of settings are absolutely critical, whether you're a Brazilian immigrant or an immigrant from another country. My first term, I passed a law to require interpreter services in hospital emergency rooms. [There is] perhaps no more critical place to have interpreter services. But interpreter services are important in many other venues. If an immigrant has ever had the opportunity—hopefully not a negative opportunity—to go to our courts and experience our justice system (or sometimes not-so-just system, if you don't have an interpreter), it is absolutely critical and perhaps goes without saying that if you can't speak English, you can't access justice in the system, whether it is in the probate court, dealing with divorce, negotiating visitation rights for a child between a divorced couple, or whether it is in a court of law as witness or as a defendant. Absolutely critical. That is very much related (the issue of interpreter services) to the issue of bilingual education. If you lived in the Commonwealth last year you might be familiar; we had a very anti-immigrant effort led by a gentlemen named Ron Huntz, a multi-millionaire from California, and the gentleman who is now our governor, Mr. Romney, to repeal what was one of the most progressive bilingual education program laws in the country—in fact, the most. Now we have the most regressive, worst immersion program, which is a one year program. I do not believe immersion is bad for five-year-olds; I don't believe it works well for fifteen-year-olds. Many Brazilian and other immigrants who are coming into this country at an older age, not at the age of five or as infants, but are coming at the age of 12, 13, or 14, nonetheless are going to be subjected to this immersion program. Many of them we know—because this is what the law was before 1972—won't be able to learn English sufficiently in one year to survive and many of them will drop out. That is a failing of our current system; that is the result of a ballot initiative which passed last November.

One final thing and then I am going to stop. And this is an ongoing issue that we fight in the legislature and this is the issue of adult basic education and citizenship assistance. ABE-Adult Basic Education. Not all immigrants come when they are school age. Many immigrants come to this country when they are beyond the age of 18, 19, 20, and they aren't going to go into our formal public school system. And yet it is to those immigrants' advantage—as it is to our society's advantage—to give those immigrants

the opportunity to learn English, and to learn basic things about our country: how our government works, how the system works here. Adult basic education are programs, which are basic literacy—often in the native language—and, in many places, that is not just in Spanish but we have ABE in Portuguese so folks can become literate in their native languages, which they aren't when they come here, and then can learn English, which helps us all. The problem with ABE (Adult Basic Education) is, not surprisingly, it is something that our administration has seen fit to cut this year. And so we are seeing dramatic cuts coming in—we are already seeing waiting lists in some communities of one or two or even three years to get into a class where somebody can learn English. It is ironic to me that the conservatives in our country who don't like immigrants are fond of saying that “they don't want to learn English” and it is the same conservatives who cut the budget for the classes that help us educate folks to learn English. It is an irony which perhaps is not without political substance, because, of course, they don't want the immigrants here in the first place. But for those of us who do, these are a few issues that Massachusetts can work on, and you can work with us in the legislature to help create a more pro-immigrant Commonwealth.

Thank you for your time.

QUESTION & ANSWER SESSION

Carola Suárez-Orozco:

[to A. C. B. Martes] I want to thank you for giving us this scholarly historical perspective... [to R. DeSilva] giving credence to what all of us know, that immigration is good for the economy. [to J. Barrios] And...for you so succinctly putting together [what are] really, the key issues, absolutely....Thank you very much. I would like to open it up now to our moderator. José?

José Mazzotti:

I would like to thank you for having invited these three wonderful speakers [from whom] I have learned very much. The task proposed by Clémence was to *quebrar o gelo*—to break the ice with a general question probably that might be of interest to the three speakers and also to the general public. My comment, more than a question, comes from my own experience working with Latino immigrants, being a Latino myself, and having the experience of organizing a conference, that took place in this same room last year, April 5th, called “What About the Other Latinos?” Meaning those immigrant groups that come from Latin America or the Caribbean that don’t belong to the mainstream Latino groups, the traditional historical groups that are the Cuban-Americans, the Puerto Ricans and the Mexican-Americans. So we arrived at a few important conclusions after that event. One is that [of the] more or less of the estimated 40 million Latinos of the United States, 15% belong to that group, the group of the “other” Latinos, that is, around 6 million immigrants. Now, Ana Cristina has reminded me that around approximately 600,000 Brazilian immigrants live in the United States, of which 300,000 are living in New England, mainly between Boston and Providence. That estimate is according to the webpage at the Rockefeller Center and that means it is not a lie! There are between 150,000 and 250,000 Brazilians living in the greater Boston area. That means that in total, Brazilians still constitute a very tiny minority, even in the context of the Other Latinos. In the context of all the Latino populations, it is around 1.5% and growing, hopefully. At the same time, Ana Cristina, Teresa Sales, Maxine Margolis—our specialists in Brazilian immigration—have also taught us that there is a specific feature of Brazilian immigrants, that is to have a situational identity *before* the American authorities: in terms of self-defining themselves as Latinos (as opposed to Brazilians—and of course as opposed to Hispanic for obvious reasons). So my common question goes to the possibility of reflecting on the links between Brazilians in Boston or in the United States and already-organized, more traditional (of the Other Latino) groups; we know of the existence of the Brazilian Cultural Center of New England in Cambridge, the Brazilian Immigrant Center, just mentioned a few minutes ago, in Allston, also the Brazilian Women’s Group in Somerville. I wanted to know, and maybe the public also would also like to know: how are these groups, institutions of Brazilian immigrants, working together in terms of alliances (legal alliances or union alliances) with the other Latino groups, since they have common interests?

Ana Cristina Braga Martes:

It is a difficult question.

What I’ve found is that, as you’ve said, Brazilians tend to reject Hispanic identity because of their nationality. But I think that for all Brazilians who are planning to live here this picture tends to change. And I don’t know if in the future Brazilians will join with [the] Portuguese-speaking community or

Latino community and I don't know either if there is any kind of contradiction among this two-way division. But in my opinion the political perspective is not clear among the members of the Brazilian community right now. Of course, there are some leaders thinking about that but, in terms of total population, it is a puzzle. I don't know about the future. Maybe, I think Brazilians will try to take some advantage of institutional incentives to join with Latinos. As you know, as Carola showed, there is a very large Latino population here, of course. It could be interesting, politically, this kind of joining, but these steps, in my opinion, are not being made. So I don't know. It's not here for me. But it could be debated. I know everyone has an opinion about that.

Carola Suárez-Orozco:

I would say that the verdict certainly still needs to be determined. Because my guess is that—if you look at the first generation—it is not likely that there's going to be a joined force, because national identity maintains a great deal of salience in the first generation. What will be interesting is to see what alliances are forged, what coalitions will be formed in the second generation and beyond.

Jarrett Barrios:

I'm going to respond, just briefly. I think there are three potential alliances which may or may not be taken advantage of by the Brazilian community. The first is: you have referenced for some reason the first [potential alliance] as Latinos, I think the first obvious political alliance is with the existing community from Portugal and the Azores, which is very substantial. And politically, in the State House for example, there are far more Portuguese-American legislators elected than there are Latino legislators; there are about eight or nine, and there are only three of us. So to me a very obvious political one—and I am clear that there are tensions, I live right where all the Brazilians and Portuguese live together—I live, actually, right behind the Brazilian Cultural Center, on Norfolk St. So that is one possibility.

The second one is the Latino one, which at a national level, Latinos are far more, shall we say, “entrenched” than Luso-Americans are. I do think, though, at least in response. When I invited a leading Portuguese American to join the Latino Caucus, I was told that because of a war between Spain and Portugal in the 1300s that we should not invite the Portuguese. So that you know that there is, at least from *his* perspective, from one person's perspective—who happened to have been born in the Azores—sort of a Portuguese-born Portuguese-American legislator representing the Portuguese, Brazilian, and a lot of Latinos in his New Bedford district, that there was very little interest.

And then I think the third and perhaps the most productive (or thus far, most productive) way is with a sort of pan-immigrant approach. That is, I have seen, very successfully, the Brazilian Immigrant Center working with the Irish Immigration Center, working with the MIRA Coalition, the Massachusetts Immigrant Refugee Advocacy Coalition, and other immigrant groups, including Centro Concilio Hispano, Centro Latino (and a lot of other Latino organizations), lobbying around these immigrant issues, many of which I've identified here. Again, my experience is at the State House, where the rubber meets the road on a lot of these political issues. And I saw a very effective coalition come out just yesterday on this Registry of Motor Vehicles Bill. I happen to be the Chairman of the committee hearing that driver's license bill so I can tell you that it will receive favorable consideration. But before me, who came out was a lot of Brazilians—I'd never actually seen anybody hold a flag before at a committee hearing; there was this huge Brazilian flag at the committee hearing, which was wonderful.

They were there, though, with a number of these other organizations, working jointly—which I thought was a very fruitful way to go about things.

Márcia Guimarães:

Although recognizing that Brazilians have their peculiarities, it seems that there are indeed similarities between the Latin American cultures. But there are some characteristics of the Brazilian culture—and one that's *the* difference is the language. And the language sometimes makes a huge difference when we interact. One captures also from the Brazilian community—I want to go back to the history of Brazilian immigration to the United States. I have found one characteristic that eventually is a barrier for any kind of social mobility of participation in organizations (coming back to the issues you addressed before)—there is the self-perception that Brazilians have that they are not immigrants but they are temporary immigrants. So in this way, if you don't perceive your place in the context, you don't belong to the context, you don't access the system, you don't engage, you don't feel committed to access the resources [that] are already available. So the interaction is interrupted. And so it's difficult to make the group more unified. We don't know where it happens, maybe it is an effect of marginalization, maybe a result of the limitations posed by the society for a long time, as this group had been isolated and it is reacting that way. But it seems that the dream of immigration, in reality, is a dream to go back to Brazil, this is a reversed dream. So they are here but...they are not. And recently I have been involved in the health system. I am trying to get information on how the Brazilians access the health system and that seems to be one of the crucial barriers, that is, how the Brazilians are more connected to the Brazilian system than to North American system. It doesn't mean that they don't have resources—there are already some resources—but this self-perception creates the barrier for integration.

And one of the questions that I want to address is if you, Ana, have any kind of information on research (findings, studies) where Brazilian immigrants have been through the same process and how the State—receiving society—and the group solved the issues in order to embrace the community, in order to *fully* integrate rather than become marginalized....If you have any information about the same difficulties that we've found here in our Brazilian community in New England, with regards to the self-perception of not being an immigrant but rather a temporary immigrant, a transitional immigrant; any other Brazilian immigrant group that has been through the same process, and what happened. Is it something that the receiving societies have worked together [with Brazilians]... if you know something, or you can add a comment...

Ana Cristina Braga Martes:

In my opinion, there are really two important findings about this discussion. One is about the first generation, as Carola said. And it is very clear to me, at least, about the Brazilian community, that the first generation has—tends to have—a very optimistic position (evaluation) of the United States. And you are right, they are dreaming constantly to go back to Brazil, and this is an ambiguity. It is not a clear position for everyone, it is a very ambiguous position. The other point that you are speaking about is also important. If they are not planning to be here, of course they are not going to take advantage of the American system, they are not going to try to learn English, they are not going to emerge and know about this society and, doing that, [causing] a lot of difficulties for them and their children growing up. I've been studying Brazilian entrepreneurs here in Boston and what I'm seeing is that, of course, they have a lot of difficulties being micro-entrepreneurs, but they tend to have very modest plans—they want to work, to work hard, they save some money and want go back to Brazil. But the return is very

difficult, because Brazil is not in a very good situation, and staying here is also sometimes not a dream, as you have said. As long as the Brazilians are staying here, they are going to want, more and more, to return to Brazil. As long as they stay here the difficulties are growing, are rising. So the second generation of course will tend to be another insertion and *there*, in the schools, the problem is probably another one. The second generation will be very close to the Latino community. Of course, they tend to study in the same schools, same neighborhood...

Carola Suárez-Orozco:

And the [Latino] identity is also imposed upon them by the Americans.

Ana Cristina Braga Martes:

Yes, it is very clear in my research there is a kind of pressure for the children: you have to be Latino, you have to be Hispanic, you have to identify like this. And of course, Brazilian children recognize that there is a very strong prejudice about the Hispanic population, and of course the children don't want to identify with a population that has started like that.

Carola Suárez-Orozco:

Frankly it's like the Haitians and the Jamaicans. You have an imposed identity as being black, an American category, and many are saying, "That's not me". Particularly in the first generation.

We are going to take turns on this. Jarrett has to leave in about five minutes so we want to have whatever question is asked to him, right now, and then we'll continue with the discussion.

Clémence Jouët-Pastré:

I have a question because here I am representing Evelyn Milona from the MIRA Coalition. She was supposed to be here today but she had an emergency and she sent many questions, and I will choose one of them to ask Jarrett. So she asked me to ask his opinion on whether the legalization of 8 million undocumented persons in the U.S. might help enforcement efforts by having this large population come forward and, in the meantime, provides legal channels for hard-working Brazilians and other undocumented workers to get legal status.

Jarrett Barrios:

I'll give you a guess on what I think on that one. The question is one of a movement which perhaps would have been successful, but for 9/11, towards a general amnesty program for the undocumented folks, many Brazilian, many Latino, many from other parts of the world. I think you used the number 8 million; I'm not sure exactly what number it is nobody knows, closer to 10... nobody knows. But I'll say this: again going back to an interesting irony of the national Republican administration; they are very interested in strong homeland security efforts. I would suggest that if you are genuinely interested in homeland security, it is in our benefit as a nation to have policies which encourage people to step forward, so that they can have some sort of legal status and not exist in the shadows. It helps us as a country, it obviously helps these individuals, it helps us in a number of ways. So the answer is that, yes, I would certainly advocate for that. Sadly, you and I and none of us here are congressmen or congresswomen, and they will be the ones who have the last say on that.

Márcia Loureiro:

Tomorrow, as part of the Brazil week at Harvard, we are going to hold a workshop for Brazilian teenagers—high school students and their families—and the main issue will be access of undocumented students to the university. And I was wondering if you could give us some update on your efforts on that particular issue so we can give the students tomorrow an overview of the current situation and plus, what the students and their families can do to support those efforts.

Jarrett Barrios:

The update is this: I am only speaking about state universities in Massachusetts, for example, the University of Massachusetts in Boston, Framingham State College, Salem State, or the Community Colleges: Bunker Hill Community College, Roxbury Community College. There's one out near Framingham: Mass Bay. These colleges currently, unless you have a green card or are a citizen, no matter how long you've lived here, and no matter that you've gone to school here, you still pay out-of-state tuition—you can enroll but not as an in-state resident. (*Audience:* You can't even enroll) I actually know a lot of people—you *can* enroll. There are thousands of undocumented folks who are at Bunker Hill Community College and the other community colleges—you don't need to be. I think you all should look into that because the issue is one of tuition status. It may be that somebody at the college has [said] that...but that is not the law. Understand that the law doesn't prohibit you. It may be that particular school's policy that prohibits it—for some reason they are requiring something. But there are many undocumented folks who are enrolled, they just have to pay more—not less, not the same.

Heloísa Souza:

Not after September 11th. Before we could change our visa status inside of the country; we cannot do that any more. As an undocumented immigrant in this country, I cannot change my visa status.

Jarrett Barrios:

I understand what you are saying. What you are discussing right now is a federal law, not a state law. What I am talking about is only the state law around the treatment of immigrant students in our state colleges and universities. In that context, there is no state law which prohibits undocumented folks, people who overstayed their visa for whatever reason, haven't gone back to adjust to their native country—there is no law which prohibits them from enrolling, they just pay more; they are treated as out-of-state students. Now it is possible—I don't know the individual policy at each one of the campuses. There may be an administrator at one of the campuses that I would actually be very interested in knowing, so that I could have a conversation with them. But there is no law which prohibits you or anybody, regardless of immigration status, from enrolling. Now, if you are here from another country on an F visa, and you overstay the F visa, I would not suggest enrolling and presenting an invalid F visa at a state college or university. I used to be an immigration lawyer, I don't keep up with it anymore, so I don't want to give anybody immigration advice, because it changes very rapidly. But there is no state law which prohibits you from enrolling. In other words...I don't want to give anybody up, but I know a lot of people who present documents which perhaps are not their own documents, in terms of going through the immigration piece of it to the administration folks, but are able to enroll and get credit in their name, credit which they can use in their life and in their name going forward. So, it is possible. I don't want to, again, offer myself out as an immigration lawyer in this regard. But the law does, without amending, the law does require that they pay out-of-state tuition.

Even though that child may have come here at the age of 2, gone entirely to schools [here]; in some cases, may not even speak the native language any more. They are treated as an out-of-state resident. That is the issue, the university issue.

Audience Member (Marcony Almeida):

I can clarify that. The fact is that, before, if you graduated from high school here, have lived here all of your life, then you can include...in university, they would give you a document—I-20 or something—you would go to the Federal thing and they would give you a student [F] visa. Now, you can't do that any more because of that Federal law. You have to go back to Brazil, but if you are not legal you don't want to go back because you can't enter again. So it won't matter if you have in-state tuition or not, because now you can't enter. Before September 11th, you could do this, and that state legislation was very important. Right now, I think the big fight would be to combat the Federal law, because if you don't have access, why do you need to pay more or less?

Jarrett Barrios:

You cannot enroll through that avenue, through the F-visa avenue, but there are other avenues to enroll. If you graduated—a lot of our high school students who are graduating from institutions here in Massachusetts—if I were to enroll in Bunker Hill Community College tomorrow, I do not have to show them my U.S. passport.

Audience Member:

Do other colleges ask that? Bunker Hill made the decision to be flexible; are other [colleges]...

Jarrett Barrios:

That is precisely my point; there is no law. I understand the concern, but there isn't a state law which does that. This is an individual policy at the individual institutions of higher education. One area of activism, one thing that we can do is, well let's find out! And perhaps the MIRA Coalition, in collaboration with a lot of these other organizations...Let's identify those universities which are the "bad" universities [quotation mark gesture], which are bad to immigrants and label them as such. Believe me, they come to me asking for money all the time, in the state budget. I'd be happy to be "back at you, tell me what it is that you would like. You want money? Well, I would like to see you modify these policies." That is how politics works in the Commonwealth.

Audience member:

UMass Boston charges \$70 per credit for a resident student and \$300 for an international student.

Jarrett Barrios:

That is exactly right. That is the law, and that is what we are trying to change in the legislature right now.

Audience member:

Even if you are legal, you are not considered a resident. So you live here, you pay taxes, you are legal. But what is the "resident" concept?

Jarrett Barrios:

And that is the legal change which is currently before the legislature. If we are successful in that, if you can establish that you have graduated from a U.S., from a Massachusetts high school—so it's children who have been here for a while and graduated from a Massachusetts high school—you would be eligible for in-state tuition. It's not for people who have come as adults...And that is our first step in changing things. Ideally, down the road, we will be able to make it even broader. My feeling is that if you have lived here for a number of years and you can establish residency, then you should be eligible for in-state tuition because you pay taxes. Thank you all very much.

Ana Cristina Braga Martes:

There is a historical factor, of course, but there is also a geographical one. In Brazil, everyone knows here that we are not linked with the other Latin American countries. We have a very poor exchange (politically, economically, culturally). I am sure that my students in São Paulo, and if I were a professor at another university in Brazil, they will probably identify themselves with American students than with a Latin American students. As I said before, and my speech was trying to emphasize this, cultural pressure and American culture is very hard and strong in Brazil in my opinion, and it could in part explain why Brazilians migrants come to the United States. They don't go to Italy, to Portugal—Portugal speaks the same language! They don't go to Spain. I have met a group from Criciúma [Santa Catarina], they are Italian, they have Italian passports, and they opted to come to Boston and not to Italy, and how can you explain that?

Audience member:

I would say it is more economic [reasons] than any other thing.

Ana Cristina Braga Martes:

Yes, I agree, it is economic, but it is not only economic; that is my point.

Rav DeSilva:

Since you mentioned West Indians, I think that it is not the Latinos that they identify with, but they identify with American culture, and as I listened to the previous conversation and your question on Brazilians and Latinos—immigrants have a lot of similarities, and one group that I work with is an Asian group...you know that Asians have a very strong ethic around study and as you see further generations continue you find that they, too—as they become assimilated into American culture—you find that the ethic of how they study changes. My daughter lives in the South Shore, in Plymouth; all of her friends are white Americans but her study habits are very different from mine as a first-generation West Indian. Because what they've done is they've assimilated to the American culture where the study habits are different; you don't have the same diligence that we have. So I don't think it is just one group—you know, Brazilians migrating or Latino or Caribbean folks migrating—it is becoming part of a different culture here in the United States.

Audience member (Carlos da Silva):

I would like to speak on the Latinos and Brazilians building coalitions and working with other groups, the other Latinos, as José put the question. My name is Carlos da Silva, I am the Vice President of the board of directors of MAPS. I was also on the board of directors of the Brazilian Immigrant Center in

Allston; Fausto da Rocha is here representing the Brazilian Immigrant Center, as there is Heloísa Souza from the Brazilian Women's Group, and several others such as BRAMA in Framingham (I see Paulo Schneider here). I consider myself among the first generation of Brazilian immigrants that came to this country and did not have the option of having a good job at first; many sub-jobs, and eventually I was able to work in a decent place. I do see that there are quite a few organizations serving the Brazilian community. We are coming together now and really working on many issues, as the Senator mentioned: the driver's license, access to higher education; there are several other things that we are working together—as a matter of fact, Fausto, myself and Heloísa were talking last night about the possibility of marching together on May 1st [International Worker's Day] at the Boston Common with shirts representing the Brazilian flag, as a show of unifying our strength. So there is a lot of common ground, and we are coming together. Concerning the second generation Brazilians, Professor Ana Cristina is correct in that the second generation now identify themselves mostly as Latinos. I just want to say that, for us in the first generation, we already identified ourselves as Latinos and we are building coalitions with the other Latino organizations.

Audience member (Barbara Salvaterra):

Thank you very much for this opportunity to bring the Brazilian community to talk about our situation in this country. I just would like to suggest that next time you have a translator. So I will ask my questions in Portuguese, if I may and will later translate. Ana Cristina, eu gostaria de saber, como é que você vê a relação de instituições governamentais com a comunidade, tanto as instituições governamentais brasileiras quanto às americanas (por exemplo a MIRA), como é que eles lidam a questão imigrante e se você, na sua pesquisa, conseguiu ver alguma maneira de melhorar essa relação governo-comunidade-imigrante; por exemplo, não sei se você chegou a conhecer o Conselho Cidadão do consulado brasileiro... E a minha segunda pergunta é com relação aos imigrantes brasileiros que estão chegando nos Estados Unidos ilegalmente, cruzando a fronteira com o México, então eu gostaria de saber se—na sua pesquisa, você viu que isso não chegava a um por cento da população e eu acho que a situação está mudando um pouco, [queria saber] se você tem alguma visão sobre estes últimos anos, e se realmente está aumentando o número de imigrantes que estão chegando aqui sem ser pelo aeroporto; pela fronteira. So my first question is about the governmental institution and intellectual property; this relationship between Brazilian and U.S. governmental institutions with the Brazilian community over here, and how it should be to improve their relationships with the community. And my second question is regarding the Brazilians who are arriving from the Mexico borders, illegally, and if you see that as an increasing situation?

Ana Cristina Braga Martes:

Eu achei muito boas as suas perguntas. Na minha opinião, respondê-las significaria participar de um projeto que pudesse ser realmente transnacional. A bagagem transnacional em termos de dimensão, chama atenção para vários aspectos, principalmente aqueles que dizem respeito a maneira como a cultura de origem e a cultura de destino—os países que recebem os imigrantes—mudam e se interconectam. Como é que são ligados países e instituições nos dois pólos do fluxo migratório. Mas muito pouco é feito, em termos de pesquisa, para ter realmente uma dimensão que fosse transnacional nesse sentido que você chamou atenção e que eu acho absolutamente fundamental, que é no sentido de um conhecimento mais profundo sobre as instituições, os sistemas institucionais que estão nas duas pontas do fluxo. Então eu posso te dizer que eu não sei responder a sua pergunta mas eu acho ela extremamente importante.

**IDENTITIES: RUPTURES & PERFORMANCE:
The Use of Photography as a Tool to Visual Literacy
with Immigrant Youth in the United States**

◇
João Kulcsár

Introduction

The influence of communication in the 21st century, often called the “Civilization of Imagery” continues to grow, because we live in a time in which the greater part of our information comes from images. This situation has changed how youngsters express themselves, how they communicate with each other and how they perceive the world. Because of the importance and the ubiquity of this new medium, a basic aspect of education should be to enable them to interpret a visual point of view. This implies teaching students to create their own messages through images and to make critical readings of the media, and finally, to be visually literate. The aim of this project was to examine how the photograph and the practice of photography might be used as an experience to increase visual literacy with immigrant youth. Visual literacy can be understood as the ability of people to realize a visual representation system, associated with their capacity to express themselves through it (Curtiss 1987; Donis 1973).

The idea was to engage the Brazilian students—using their background and knowledge as a base for the educational work—in creating images (students as producers) and critical analyses of the mass media (students as consumers).

Aspect of the Term Visual Literacy

Perhaps we have exceeded the limits of the mass image stage, which started at the end of the nineteenth century and has rapidly increased during the twentieth century, where emphasis has been given to the quantity favored by the reproducing graphic arts. Every day we both receive and consume thousands of images through the press, TV, videos, photos and advertising. A large proportion of these images is photographically produced, surrounds us and is part of our everyday lives. These thousands of images that we consume have become overwhelming. “Most of what we know and learn, what we buy and believe, what we recognize and desire, is determined by the domination of the human psyche by the photograph.” (Donis, 1973).

On the other hand, in modern society our eyes seek new stimuli for news all the time, because people this century depend on receiving information in order to feel that they are participating in society and maintaining contact with what is going on in the world. Millions of images are created to be used, but they are produced by a few people who determine what is to be shown and consumed. It is necessary that people realize this influence and power. “From photos, to movies, to TV, to home videos and computers, these pictures and words have the power to tell us who we are and who we are not, to dictate what we can and cannot be.” (Kruger, 1992) and “It is a commonplace of modern cultural criticism that images have a power in our world.” (Mitchell, 1986).

Part of society is in many ways unaware of visual language. This fact has negative consequences, because there are systems in society that are developed to take political or commercial advantage of this. The use of photography is an accessible tool to understand visual language and to develop reflections on

the meaning(s) of this power. This is because it allows students to actively engage, to analyze images, and to produce photographs in order to improve visual knowledge and reduce the difference between the establishment—which produces most of the images—and the people who consume it. “We need to emphasize the role of visual literacy in the modern world. Much communication these days comes visually.” (Abrams, 1991).

This project takes references from the pedagogy of Paulo Freire and uses them in terms of visual literacy. Freire’s pedagogy demonstrated that to be literate, students must recognize the importance of the individual life of the printed word or image (Freire, 1985). Another factor in visual literacy is that, in the photographic classroom, themes must be used that are familiar to the student, that are related to their daily life as a basis for literacy teaching. When the students ‘read’ images related to their everyday lives, they can develop visual imagery and create discussion, criticism and literacy with a *critical conscience* (Freire, 1985).

A fundamental issue was that the images (photos, slides, books, videos) used in the classroom must offer a sought sense of coherency in the theme. How should it be done? There was research, before the class, to collect images from photographers such as: Walker Evans, Lewis Hine, Jacob Riis, Dorothea Lange, Sebastião Salgado, whose photography focuses on questions of migration. “Basically, the pictures of concrete situations enable the people to reflect on their former interpretation of the world before going on to read the word.” (Freire 1987).

The Project - Identities: Ruptures & Permanence

During October 2002 and May 2003, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, a photographic project, entitled “Identities: Ruptures & Permanence,” was developed with ten Brazilian youths (five girls and five boys) at MAPS, with the support of the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies and the Department of Romance Languages & Literatures at Harvard. Its main objective was the development of participants’ visual literacy. The project began as a workshop and it developed into a course due to the interest of the students, MAPS, Harvard and myself. For seven months the students had the opportunity to increase their visual literacy through a photographic class. They worked with 35 mm cameras, fixed focus, a built-in-flash and two films with 24 exposures, together with commercial processing.

The students took photos with the idea of expressing their thoughts and feelings about the situation in which they live now, and to create conversations about immigration, future aspirations, discrimination, friendship, peace, war, media, manipulation of images, opinions, family, relationships and democracy.

The Identities Project was based on a specific set of aims and objectives, i.e.

- to learn how to ‘read’ and produce photographs,
- to produce photographs which explore ways of representing the family, the students themselves and their everyday life of being immigrants.
- to understand how visual messages are generated, conveyed and interpreted,
- to involve the students in an activity wherein they could explore and develop their ideas and opinions of social group conflict and its causes.

Some of the exercises developed with the Brazilian students in the classroom were as follows:

- In the first class of the course the student chooses one picture from the floor (about fifty of the photos are spread out). In the presentation the students start to 'read' what they see in the picture and why they choose a photograph. This is to establish a relationship with the importance of the picture, and start to question the myth of the room and the figure of the teacher, and to integrate the class as well.
- They were encouraged to bring photographs from home to show each other and to 'read' them in terms of what the photo tells us? Why and when do we have our photographs taken? Where are they taken, by whom and when?
- The students brought one poem and read it in the class. They related the poetry and a photo to each other. Each one can find new ways to connect poems and photos, but the most common point of view is to relate both with the past, memory, relationships, good or bad moments, love, dreams, and other feelings, for example.
- They cut out photos from newspapers and magazines with six different compositions, to 'fix' the idea of a frame.
- We took a guided tour of the Sebastião Salgado exhibition in Portland, Maine.

Concerned by the millions of refugees, migrants and dispossessed, Sebastião photographed in 39 countries in 7 years. Salgado says "My hope is that, as individuals, as groups, as societies, we can pause and reflect on the human condition at the turn of the millennium. In its rawest form, individualism remains a prescription for catastrophe. We have to create a new regimen of coexistence."

The Exhibition at DRCLAS

The students responded to the exhibition with great enthusiasm and excitement. They had never produced one before. The exhibition was launched at David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies in April 8th, at the official opening and reception of First Brazil Week at Harvard, in which the idea was to discuss and to celebrate the experiences of Brazilian immigrants in New England.

There were twenty colour photos, two for each student. These pictures do not cover the full range of ideas that were undertaken during the course but serve as an insight into the exploratory nature of the approach. A large number of people from the community and families attended the exhibition.

This project could be understood for the benefit of the community, made *by* them *for* them. The camera could give students a 'voice' through which to communicate to the community and the world through a collective and democratic cultural process. The resulting photographs revealed a fascinating, adolescent view of the immigrant environment and encouraged a critical attitude toward photographs.

The aims of the exhibition were:

- to allow students to see others' point of view,
- to show and to promote the students' work to other people,
- to permit students to transform their ideas as a product.

It was perceived, during the course at MAPS, that photography gives students the opportunity to use a powerful means of expression through which to talk about immigration. The photographic medium provides an ideal starting point for visual literacy, because it engages the students with their day-to-day experiences.

Visual literacy can be a powerful tool in this battle for citizenship—and a better understanding of the media surrounding us facilitates a larger and better participation in the American society in which they live. It also allows people to learn how to manipulate the image instead of allowing the image to continue manipulating the people.

Let's work for the day when fluent visual and verbal literacy will have equal importance for every human being. For it would mean a consciousness of our whole environment, a treasuring of its assets and the shared enjoyment and enrichment of the whole planet—not just for a few privileged people, but for all.

BRAZILIAN IMMIGRATION: Historical Perspective and Identity

◇
Ana Cristina Braga Martes

I would like to begin by thanking the directors of the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies for inviting me to take part in this seminar, as well as the members of the event's organization committee, particularly maestro José Barros and Clémence Jouët-Pastré.

That being said, I would like to begin my lecture by highlighting a Brazilian woman's statement to a major Brazilian newspaper. A simple, middle-class woman, whose life was dedicated to housekeeping. One day, however, she was featured on the paper after winning a contest promoted by sewing machine manufacturer Elgin". With the prize—a ticket to the United States—in hand, she said: "even as a little girl I pictured myself on board a sea-liner on my way to the land of skyscrapers. Movies only made me yearn more for that".

There's an important detail I must add: this took place in the 1940s. Of course, a lot has changed since then, on two main fronts. First, instead of sea-liners, Brazilians now dream of airplanes. This allows them to get here faster, at a lower cost, and in greater numbers. Second, Brazil's largest city, São Paulo, now has more skyscrapers—America's icon and the object of the lady's desire—than any major U.S. city. But the Brazilian metropolis, which in the 1940s was the goal of Brazilians that came from all over the country in pursuit of better living and working standards, began to lose the ability to attract the internal migrant population in the 1980s.

The contest-winner's statement remains vivid and strong as far as it relates to U.S. movies which, like other media for the country's artistic and cultural communication and expression, can still attract thousands of Brazilians to these parts. They are dream-making machines.

At present, six hundred thousand Brazilians live in the United States. Half of them are supposed to reside in New England, although the 2000 U.S. Census only gives account of ---. The factors that explain the flow of Brazilians to North America from the historic perspective are manifold. But, amongst them, I would like to point out one that seems to have been little explored: a process similar to seduction. Many Brazilians are drawn to an old fascination with North-American society, which is why I quoted the winner of the Elgin contest. I believe Brazilian migration to represent the closing of a circle. The outcome of a sort of "seduction game" that involved both countries from the 1940s onwards. With Brazil as the weaker player, of course.

The charms used in this successful "courtship" were the means of communication, particularly radio and cinema, used as part of the Roosevelt administration's Good Neighbor Policy. Threatened by the Nazi sway over the tropics, an attempt was made to raise sympathy for the American way of life, which was certainly a safer, more effective strategy than any overt threat of military intervention. The tactics employed by the Americans were to praise our coffee, our music, and Carmen Miranda. We stopped ogling Europe and started to admire American progress, American movies, the gadgets industry, the 'modern' American way of life.

This strategy was spearheaded by mogul Nelson Rockefeller, the owner, among other ventures, of *Standard Oil*. Concerned with American enterprises in Latin America and particularly in Brazil,

Rockefeller believed that corporate success depended not only on selling their wares, but also on the development of a sympathy for the United States and for liberal democratic values in that portion of the Southern Hemisphere.

The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA), coordinated by Nelson Rockefeller himself, was created to take charge of the wooing process. The OCIAA's Cinema Division enlisted both Walt Disney and Carmem Miranda to the "cause of freedom in the Americas" and its mission was to promote the production of films and documentaries on the United States and the "other Americas" (as we were referred to), as well as to oppose the films produced by Axis countries. Through the OCIAA, Walt Disney made his troops (Donald Duck, Mickey Mouse and their friends) available to the war effort campaign, while Darryl Zanuck produced the first Carmem Miranda picture, which was able, to help "pull 20th Century Fox back into the black".

According to Brazilian historian Antonio Tota, the Hollywood firms were quick to win over the docile Brazilian market, with support from American film legends like Orson Welles. The director of "Citizen Kane" was called upon to produce a movie about Latin America. Imbued of this noble assignment, he disembarked in Rio de Janeiro in 1942 as one of the ambassadors of Pan-Americanism.

With the arrival of Hollywood stars (Walt Disney among them) in Brazil, we, Brazilians, also secured a presence in the U.S. A much more modest presence, by the way. We took part in the 1939 New York World Fair, showcasing our natural and artistic wealth, rocked by the music of Ernesto Nazareth in the Brazilian Pavilion, designed by Oscar Niemeyer. In 1940, the New York Museum of Modern Art promoted the Brazilian Music Festival, broadcast by NBC to the entire United States. Ari Barroso was as popular there as in Brazil after "Aquarela do Brasil" was featured in Walt Disney's "*Saludos Amigos*".

Paradoxically, it was during the Getulio Vargas dictatorship—the historic period in Brazil most closely associated with the totalitarian European regimes of the time—that North American influence was most actively disseminated, with support from Brazilian governmental institutions. The Department of Press and Propaganda was in close collaboration with the OCIAA, even offering airtime during Voz do Brasil, the country's most popular national network radio newscast, to give news about the was and the United States.

But, like I said earlier, the U.S. didn't enter Brazil on a one-way road. President Vargas also took advantage of the Good Neighbor Policy to disseminate a positive image of Brazil in the United States. The Brazilian government even sponsored radio newscasts concerning Brazilian manganese, quartz, steel and iron, indispensable to overcome the Axis. The United States needed our raw materials. Brazil needed America's manufactured goods. This justified a cooperation whose purpose was to prevent Nazi expansion in the continent. American radio shows that subscribed to the Good Neighbor policy made direct reference to this solidarity, with statements such as: "whenever you drink Brazilian coffee, you endorse the Good Neighbor Policy" to quote commentators of U.S. news how "News of the World", in 1940.

World War II is certainly a historic landmark in the process of Brazilian migration into the United States. That decade witnessed the appearance of the early links that, 40 years later, would sustain mass arrivals of Brazilians at the U.S. Although no historiographic study exists that deals with this period in

particular, I will take my chances and point out certain references that may be explored in greater detail in future research, perhaps by someone in this very audience.

During W.W.II, American engineers and technicians from the Boston area went to the Governador Valadares region to work in minerals extraction, particularly mica, thereby establishing the first contact between the two cities. Once the war was over, employees of *Morrison*, with headquarters in Boston, went to the Vale do Aço (“Steel Valley”) region to build the railroad that connects Minas Gerais to the State of Espírito Santo. Mineral extraction in Governador Valadares, during W.W.II, led the American government to take part in malaria-combat programs in the area and in water and sewage systems implementation. After the War, American businessmen established connections with the region with an eye on the trade of the semi-precious stones extracted there.

The reports I was able to find in connection with the post-war period relate to the 1960s. In the mid-60s, an American businessman set up a soccer team in *Lowell*, here in the State of Massachusetts. About 20 Brazilians left their native Belo Horizonte to work in shoe factories and later helped relatives move here. Also in the 1960s, newspapers in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo published ads for Brazilian women interested in moving to Boston to perform house work. Finally, also in the 1960s, a group of more than 10 youths from Governador Valadares decided to “have an adventure: and “spend some time” in the United States, the “land of dreams” for these youngsters. They left for New York and moved up the East Coast as far as Boston, after jobs offered by the hotels catering to the New England tourist circuits. Some returned to Brazil, but others still live in Boston and have encouraged family members to migrate to Massachusetts.

I have not investigated the truthfulness of these data and they are merely indicative in nature. But, as can be seen, the beginning of the process, as related by Brazilians, is Work War II, with the obvious American interest in mineral reserves, in the sale of goods and services in Brazil, and in supporting public action. In the 1960s, however, the references are looser in the political and economic sense, and more unusual, even playful, on making reference to a soccer team. As indicated earlier, these reports may have no historic validity. But it is the 1960s that pioneering Brazilian immigrants first appear in the State of Massachusetts. Many of these pioneers were middle-class youths that became role models in their native towns in Northern Minas Gerais. They helped reinforce the fantasies of those that stayed behind.

In retrospect, it is not difficult to see that Brazilians are drawn to an old dream; looking forward, the dream appears to give way to a series of challenges: what will be the fate of second-generation Brazilians? What shape is the institutional insertion of the Brazilian community taking? Can some social mobility be possibly achieved? Who will Brazilians articulate with and identify with, both politically and ethnically?

First-generation immigrants have a positive impression of their destination of choice. In fact, research by Carola and Marcelo Suárez-Orosko shows that this positive impression is typical of other first-generation immigrants. But not, necessarily, of second-generation ones. The former maintain links with Brazil, insisting on the rejection of ethnic and racial labels that might detract from their national roots. National identity is their primary reference for the purposes of personal socializing or collective organization. They regard themselves and want to be regarded as Brazilians, not as Hispanics and not

always as Latinos. Most categorize themselves as white or brown, but often tend to be considered black by others.

All these issues and choices point towards a highly uncertain future, albeit not a pessimistic one. And this event is proof of that. This seminar, in and of itself, shows the Brazilian community's ability to express itself, to pursue insertion and secure institutional space and respect. But much—almost all—is still left to do and I believe that, right now, one of the most important aspects is the creation of links between the areas where Brazilian immigrants originated and those where they are now. Perhaps this exchange can foster a new good neighbor policy, one that is more egalitarian and democratic, based on exchange and reciprocity.

References

The analysis and historical information presented here is inspired by the book:

Antonio Tota, *O Imperialismo Sedutor – A Americanização Brasil na Época da Segunda Guerra*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000.

The data about Brazilian immigrants are in the book:

Martes, Ana C. B. *Brasileiros nos Estados Unidos - Um estudo sobre imigrantes em Massachusetts*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2000.

The links established here between Brazilian emigration and North American cultural politics are my own and as such, I accept all responsibility for them.

**A FRONTEIRA:
Reflections on the Screenplay “The Frontier”**

◇
Zeca Barros

The saga of two Brazilian families who put everything at risk and cross the border into the United States from Mexico, in search of a better life.

Having gotten over the first leg of the journey, they all confront unexpected obstacles as they struggle to both reach their goals and adapt to their new reality. They face the pain of homesickness and unexpected mishaps. They fight for their dreams with the same courage and determination with which they cross new frontiers that appear on their way.

Writing the screenplay for the movie “A Fronteira [The Frontier] was a memorable experience. Besides the obstacles inherent to a first screenplay, I faced the great challenge of writing about a topic of which I am a part. Certainly such proximity of this kind represented an initial advantage. After all, my personal stories and stories of those close to me were constant sources of inspiration. In this way, I placed myself “in the field.” Determined to write something representative, I started observing everything and everyone attentively. My watchfulness did not even rest upon nightfall. Dreams, nightmares, everything seemed to urgently ask to be immortalized on film. I lived the fantasy of controlling the destinies of my characters, of playing with their difficulties, with the certainty that the solutions depended only on my desires. I was being naïve. I soon noticed that, little by little, the dilemmas and uncertainties that assail us on a daily basis came to interfere in the story’s direction. I struggled to continue tracing the path of so many stories as if I was ready to choose my own path. Inevitably I noticed that, little by little, the pleasant feeling of power was turning into a heavy responsibility and soon thereafter into fear and resignation over not being equipped to find the answers for which I was searching. It was fiction defeated by the rushing waters of reality. Nothing could so abruptly return me to reality as the dismantling of the story’s setting.

The most surreal part of the whole experience was the constant sensation that each line written represented the life story, the stories of so many people close to me. At each “Action or “Cut”—the commanding words of director Roberto Carminati—we, the ensemble of “The Frontier” were shaken by the powerful bursts of emotion that led us to confuse reality and fiction. Where was the border that divided the fragile limits between our own lives and those of our characters? How to forget the day of shooting Paulo’s scene where he gets home late from work, having missed spending the day of his son’s birthday with his son and wife. Upon arriving home late, Paulo’s son discloses his longing to see “you and mom together,” a portrait of the drama of so many children within the Brazilian community. At each take Vitor, the son of characters Paulo and Maria, repeated the phrase and left those present increasingly moved. Evidently Adolfo, the 12 year old actor [playing Vitor], was projecting part of his own story at that moment.

How many times are we not moved by the enactment of our own lives? Perhaps therein lies the great magic of cinema, of art. We imitate life in such a realistic manner that we feel relief from the angst caused by cold solitude, by silence and by misunderstanding. Nothing like the encouragement of compassion, even if it is sheathed with indeterminate fantasy. In this sense, “The Frontier” is not a

project so different from many others. What is special about it is that a large part of the production was accomplished through the sweat of those who today have their stories told in the film. That is, with each conquered and immortalized frame, 1/24 seconds of the most pure human experience was recorded in the memories of each person who worked on the project. I must confess that the attention I paid to the shots was always disturbed by the reality of what transpired behind the scenes. How it was interesting, for example, to witness the solidarity engendered through the project at the same time that I noticed a dark side emerging through the voracity of sick egos and personal ambitions, capable of cutting through ties of complicity, signs of shortsightedness and greed, which led to misunderstandings and deceptions. Events that are equally regrettable but equally present in relationships within the Brazilian community in the United States, marked by their inevitable dissolution and by their challenges. It was the screenplay once more imitating life.

It is funny to think that, perhaps, nothing special will happen with the movie. Imagine our trepidation over the possibility that “The Frontier” won’t be sold, distributed, that it might never reach its greater goal of showing the story, our story. Wouldn’t it be pathetic, considering the sacrifices made for the project? I must confess that I cannot rid myself of this disturbing uncertainty. Curiously, none of this truly matters. Probably, and I dare to speak here in the name of all, we would do it all again even knowing the difficulties and the few chances to tell our story to a larger audience. We would do it, I believe, due to our need to share our life experiences, to search for answers and, above all, to forever register the chapters of such remarkable stories that have gone untold until now.

Because of all of this, showing the movie during the First Brazil Week at Harvard was a very special moment. Seeing people who worked on the movie among those present was touching. Sharing the space with Dauro Aquino, co-producer and a great friend was more than special; the film spawned my great admiration for him. The project would not be what it is without his indispensable participation, as well as the participation of hundreds of other persons who lent their time, money, cars, clothes, lights, houses, food, books, earrings, toys, pictures, and so many other things that helped us create such realistic scenery that it not only looked like reality, but it carried in its character, smell and own history a piece of the lives of so many. The expectation that eventually our uncertainties will once again disappear locates “The Frontier” even closer to the reality of the lives of a large number of Brazilians abroad. When I think of this I am wrapped up in the certainty that “The Frontier” shall come to be viewed by many people, collaborating so that Brazilians living here will have the right to tell their story.

EDUCATIONAL OPTIONS FOR IMMIGRANT YOUTH Workshop

◇
Márcia Loureiro

As part of the activities of the First Brazil Week at Harvard, the “Educational Options for Immigrant Youth” Workshop was held on April 10th, 2003. The workshop’s objective was to initiate a discussion about perspectives of immigrant students’ access to universities, as well as alternative options for education and professional development. The audience included immigrant students and their families, as well as professionals from the fields of education, health, and others. I had the great satisfaction of acting as mediator of this fruitful exchange of information, which counted on the skilled participation of Ana Velasco and Luciana Andreazzi, both school psychologists in the Department of Public Schools of Framingham; Heloísa Souza e Valquíria Cabral, coordinator for Portuguese-speaking families and educational coordinator of the Department of Public Schools of Boston, respectively.

When opening the discussion of their work, I was given the opportunity to introduce the theme of existing differences between the North American and Brazilian higher education systems, which are not always clear to immigrants. These differences are already apparent in the university admissions processes: while, in Brazil, admission is based upon the results of the *vestibular* exam, in the United States admission is based upon a series of elements, such as achievement in school, recommendations, involvement in extracurricular activities, community service and more. For this reason, it is important for immigrant families to have a clear understanding that a solid application is not built in the last year of high school—on the contrary, it is the product of many years of careful preparation.

We also addressed differences between public and private North American universities, as well as community colleges. The latter, especially, are not always well-understood by Brazilian immigrant families, as there is no parallel institution in the Brazilian educational system. The workshop offered, in this way, an opportunity for the students and families present to deepen their knowledge about the institution of post-secondary education, its ends, its target public, courses offered and the possibilities of continuing one’s studies. College students present in the audience offered important contributions by comparing the advantages and disadvantages of community colleges and universities. The highly beneficial discussion only confirmed the necessity for current professionals, along with the immigrant community, to develop a permanent project of consciousness-raising for families that guides them in obtaining the necessary information so that each immigrant youth can make the most appropriate academic choice for his or her specific case.

Heloísa Souza discussed the prospect for undocumented students’ access to higher education. She described three legislative proposals under consideration: at the Federal level, the Student Adjustment Act (H.R. 1684) and the Development, Relief, and Education for Minor Aliens/DREAM Act (S. 1291) and, at the State level in Massachusetts, the In-State Tuition Bill (S. 237 or H 3136). She observed that, contrary to the State proposal, the Federal-level proposals open the possibility not just to university access but to a future regularization of the undocumented student’s immigration status. The proposal at the State level limits itself to granting undocumented students permission to enroll in institutions of higher education while paying tuition as a Massachusetts resident. At the time of this workshop, about eight American states had already approved similar legislations.

Heloísa Souza alerted us to the fact that, after the September 11th attacks of 2001, many higher education institutions have adopted more strict criteria for admitting international students. For this reason, though there is no legislation that explicitly impedes the access of undocumented immigrants to universities, in practice the access is made impossible at the moment of registration by virtue of the student's lack of a social security number.

Various initiatives of pro-immigrant groups that support the three legislation proposals outlined above were also presented. Heloísa Souza stressed how important it was for those in favor of the aforementioned initiatives to make their support known by sending letters to members of the Congress, by participating in public hearings and, above all, by identifying undocumented students who are willing to narrate their personal stories and their hopes of entering into college through written statements. In this respect, she noted the efforts of the Council of Brazilian Citizens in New England, with its Commission for Educational Issues, through their collecting of such letters and statements.

Souza concluded by observing that countless immigrant students display excellent school performance and, nevertheless, they are blocked from continuing their studies by virtue of an irregular immigration status that was not a result of their own choices. From this, great personal frustration frequently results, which leads, in turn, to relatively higher rates of dropping out during high school.

In her presentation psychologist Ana Velasco, of Framingham public schools, underscored the existence of profound differences in perspective between immigrants who already come to the United States with a certain level of education and professional skills (and therefore tend to be more conscious of the importance of education), on one hand, and those who have less schooling and [professional] qualifications, on the other. In her professional experience, it is this second group which, naturally, needs greater assistance and guidance.

According to Velasco, it is necessary to help such immigrants reformulate their conceptions and attitudes. Though immigrant parents always have the expectation of social mobility for their children, often their excessive work schedules end up limiting time dedicated to the children and to accompanying school activities. These children will be at a disadvantage at the moment of entry into college for, as was already seen, preparing a successful application is a long-term process. As Ana Velasco reaffirmed, while in Brazil the *vestibular* provides a snapshot of the knowledge acquired by the student, in the United States this knowledge is not the only element taken into consideration during the college admission process.

In this way, one of the main tasks of the educator is orienting families to substitute such short-term goals for medium- and long-term planning; to follow students' academic progress from the beginning; and to adopt an active posture in searching for information and resources that students will utilize in constructing a solid scholastic profile. At times, even difficulties that students face can come to favor them: the fact that they are not native English speakers or that they belong to a minority ethnic or cultural group can be seen as an additional challenge that students overcame and, in this way, favors them in the admissions process. As a way of illustrating this, the presenter observed that, in certain situations, it can be beneficial for candidates who are not native English speakers to take the TOEFL along with the SAT, so that they may be characterized as bilingual. Velasco stressed that students need

to inform themselves on how the system works so that they can take advantage of existing opportunities, such as scholarships and other benefits available to members of minority groups.

Valquíria Cabral, bilingual education coordinator in the Boston Public School system, outlined the role of the *guidance counselor* as a link between students, schools, families and the community. It is the task of these professionals to aid students in planning their academic lives, to orient them in their choices of subjects, their course-loads and, more recently, about what the MCAS (Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System) represents and how to prepare to take the exam. According to her, however, the actions of the *counselor* frequently go beyond pre-established duties, especially when working with immigrant communities. Concerning recently-arrived students who do not yet speak English fluently, their needs are not only of an academic nature but also psychological and emotional. The *counselor* needs to establish a connection with students, so that the latter conquer their feelings of isolation and integrate themselves into the new environment. As for students who have already adapted to the educational system, it is important to prepare them, especially in moments of transition (for example, from *middle* to *high school*, for the latter requires greater self-initiative from students). At all stages, it is the *guidance counselor's* ongoing job to insist that parents actively participate in their children's school life.

By audience request, Cabral and Velasco discussed the effects that the recent termination of bilingual education in Massachusetts had on *guidance counselors' work* with immigrant families. According to them, different school districts in the State are adopting distinct policies with relation to their transition to full English immersion. While some districts are applying more rigid policies, others are searching to interpret the new legislation in ways that offer greater flexibility to schools and families that wish to guarantee the maintenance of some form of native language support for students.

Luciana Andreazzi, a psychologist in Framingham Public Schools, started by listing various factors that influence immigrant families' attitudes concerning the education of youth. She emphasized, for example, that various families embark upon the migratory adventure with the expectation of saving some money and returning to Brazil after three or five years. These families have greater difficulties in dedicating their efforts to helping their children elaborate an internal experience of immigration and to objectively analyze the perspectives that the new society offers. The transient nature of this immigration, then, works as an obstacle to the full insertion of these immigrant youth into the receiving society. Another problem frequently encountered by Luciana Andreazzi is a reflection of the imbalance between the different "Brazils": the urban, schooled, middle class Brazil and the rural, poorly-schooled, excluded Brazil. According to her, these different "Brazils" meet each other in the immigrant community. The immigrant with little formal education and limited professional qualifications tends to consider all forms of intellectual work arduous. This work is not understood as an honor, a privilege or a responsibility, but as a weight. A true cultural reinvention becomes necessary, then, as a means of instilling in these families an attitude that values education. Another important consideration, according to Andreazzi, is the parents' comfort level in experiencing their own "not knowing": various immigrants find it extremely difficult to admit their own lack of knowledge and to look for the necessary information and, as such, feel weakened in their capacity to adequately guide their children. The parents who, on the other hand, accept their own lack of knowledge and are not intimidated by the need to search for information are better positioned to aid their children in mapping out a successful educational path.

Luciana Andreazzi also broached the importance of developing a project with immigrant students who do not desire to attend college. The job of the educator, in this case, is to aid youth in identifying the broadest range of educational alternatives and professional development possible. It is necessary to give youth a sense of purpose that encourages them to continue their studies after *middle school*. For this, it is imperative that their desire for social mobility is cultivated; that the concrete, palpable benefits of education are shown to them; that their positive self-concept is increased, giving worth to their abilities and accomplishments; that they are taught to search out information for themselves; and, finally, that their resilience against frustration and rejection, so common in immigrants' experiences, is increased. The presenter also discussed the weight assigned to the religious aspect of immigrants' lives: specifically with reference to education; while some religious leaders encourage and support students that want to attend college, for others the topic is relegated to secondary importance and others, still, adopt a position that conflicts with that of the school (a concrete example being the scheduling of religious activities during times that coincide with those reserved for parent-teacher conferences). Educators, then, are responsible for creating a project that sensitizes religious leaders to this issue and that is an effort towards collaboration, with the aim of encouraging youth throughout their educational trajectories.

The participants rated the workshop as being very beneficial. Various audience members contributed ideas and experiences that greatly enriched the debate. We were able to draw various concrete lessons from this initiative: the relevance of undertaking a permanent project of consciousness-raising for immigrant parents regarding the need for their involvement in youth's academic lives; the need to teach youth to identify and value their own abilities and talents; the importance of orienting parents and students towards where and how they can search for the information and resources they need and, in overcoming the barrier that their sense of urgency presents, facing education not as a stage to be completed, but as a life project that begins in preschool and that should proceed beyond *high school*, as personal and professional accomplishment in contemporary society largely depends upon one's continuous endeavor of personal improvement, the broadening of one's horizons and the placement of one's acquired knowledge in service of the community.

APRESENTAÇÃO
Semana do Brasil, 2003

◇
Clémence Jouët-Pastré

A Semana do Brasil não poderia ter acontecido sem a colaboração de várias pessoas e instituições. Gostaria de agradecer ao Departamento de Línguas e Literaturas Românicas, especialmente ao Professor Joaquim-Francisco Coelho, e ao Centro David Rockefeller de Estudos Latino-Americanos, particularmente à Doutora Carola Suárez-Orozco. Gostaria ainda de agradecer ao Consulado Geral do Brasil em Boston, à Alliance of Portuguese Speakers e ao nosso bufê, Restaurante Moqueca. Finalmente, agradeço a presença de todos e espero que a Semana do Brasil seja uma experiência enriquecedora. Agora teremos a honra de ouvir o Cônsul Geral do Brasil em Boston.

BEM-VINDO
Semana do Brasil, 2003

◇
Maurício Cortes Costa, Cônsul Geral do Brasil em Boston

Meus caros amigos, Carola Orozco, meu querido Professor Coelho... Não mencionarei nenhum outro nome da Universidade Harvard porque seria uma apresentação sem fim e ainda mais longa e maçante do que o próprio discurso. Não faria isso com vocês.

Preparei um discurso que, posso tranquilizá-los, não será longo. Mas, antes de começá-lo, gostaria de dizer que este é para mim um dia de conquistas pessoais e profissionais. Há três anos tenho a honra de ser o Cônsul Geral do Brasil em Boston. Lembro-me que cheguei aqui numa espécie de aventura profissional. Isto porque não tinha me envolvido com assuntos consulares por quase trinta anos, o que pode lhes dar uma idéia da minha idade.... Quando cheguei, pensei: meu Deus, este é provavelmente o centro de estudos acadêmicos e idéias do mundo. Uma das coisas que provavelmente poderíamos fazer e que eu pessoalmente poderia contribuir seria tentar estimular a introdução e discussão do tema da imigração em Harvard. Discuti esse assunto com alguns colegas e não pudemos fazê-lo há três anos. Mas o dia de hoje, como eu disse, trata-se de uma conquista pessoal e profissional. Com a ajuda fundamental das pessoas que organizaram esta Semana do Brasil, pudemos não apenas reforçar a discussão do assunto da imigração em Harvard, mas também em outras instituições acadêmicas da Nova Inglaterra, tratando especificamente e especialmente de assuntos que envolvem minha própria comunidade. Portanto, este é um momento de grande alegria para mim.

Agora meu discurso:

Sabemos que na última década o tema da imigração tem crescido visivelmente e significativamente entre os círculos acadêmicos dos Estados Unidos. Isso não é surpreendente—a imigração tem tido um forte e profundo impacto na vida diária da sociedade americana nas áreas econômica, cultural e política. A Universidade de Harvard tem sido muito ativa em pesquisas e proteção intelectual em assuntos de imigração, assim como também em iniciativas direcionadas a melhorar a vida da população imigrante. Com a primeira Semana do Brasil em Harvard, o Departamento de Línguas e Literaturas Românicas e o Centro David Rockefeller de Estudos Latino-Americanos avançam significativamente em direção ao

reconhecimento dos grupos de imigrantes recentes como um importante componente da sociedade americana.—E especialmente os imigrantes brasileiros que escolheram a Nova Inglaterra como um novo lar para eles e suas famílias. Como Cônsul Geral do Brasil, estou extremamente feliz e honrado em ver esta iniciativa concretizar-se e, ao mesmo tempo, orgulhoso em ter colaborado para sua realização. O contexto no qual a imigração e a integração dos brasileiros nos Estados Unidos têm ocorrido nos últimos vinte anos varia de acordo com as diversas áreas geográficas, mas provavelmente em nenhuma outra região dos Estados Unidos esse processo tem sido tão significativo quanto na Nova Inglaterra. Se não fosse pela imigração, a população de Massachusetts seria hoje menor do que era em 1970 em decorrência da migração interna e do declínio na taxa de natalidade. Em cada quatro crianças menores de 18 anos que vivem em Massachusetts uma delas é imigrante ou filha de imigrante. Este dado leva-nos a algumas conclusões sobre a importância dos fluxos migratórios neste país—Começando com a manutenção do crescimento econômico, o envelhecimento da população dos Estados Unidos (composta pelos atuais aposentados da chamada geração dos baby boomers) que diminuirá o crescimento da força de trabalho dos Estados Unidos, um fenômeno que afetará a habilidade deste país de crescimento econômico a não ser que a imigração permaneça uma força de trabalho alternativa. O peso da imigração é medido não somente em termos econômicos, mas também pode ser avaliado por seu impacto político e social. Como o cidadão americano tem a tendência de migrar das áreas metropolitanas para as suburbanas, os imigrantes os substituem, mantendo empregos e negócios que de outra forma desapareceriam. Sem os imigrantes, alguns estados, como Massachusetts, poderiam diminuir em termos demográficos, um fenômeno que, a longo prazo, pode afetar o tamanho de sua representação no congresso. Finalmente, como disse um jornalista: “Se não fosse pelo influxo de estrangeiros trabalhadores na economia dos Estados Unidos quase tudo que os americanos pagam poderia custar mais”.

Desde 1980, os brasileiros passaram a compor uma grande parte da população imigrante de Massachusetts e já ocupam o segundo lugar na força de trabalho estrangeira deste estado. De acordo com os meus contatos com as autoridades, representantes de negócios e da mídia, posso dizer que nossa comunidade tem ganhado o respeito e a admiração da sociedade local. Tornamo-nos um grupo próspero e dinâmico que inclui, dentre outros ramos, estudantes, professores, assistentes sociais, artistas, empregados e pessoas de negócios. Na medida em que nossa comunidade gradualmente integra-se na sociedade americana, sua contribuição passa a ser bastante relevante. Por exemplo, uma família brasileira média que vive aqui (um casal com dois filhos—esta é a composição da maioria das famílias que vivem na Nova Inglaterra) contribui todos os anos com aproximadamente 10 a 12.000 dólares no arrecadamento de impostos estaduais e federais. Portanto, nesse momento, posso dizer que a abrangência do programa da Primeira Semana do Brasil claramente reflete a multiplicidade dos aspectos envolvidos no fenômeno da imigração—o papel da força imigrante na economia americana, o exame de nossa identidade cultural, o trabalho diário dos assistentes sociais, das organizações comunitárias, a mobilização política a longo prazo, os esforços a favor da segunda e terceira geração, a arte tradicional, o artesanato e a mais recente produção cultural dos brasileiros locais. A Primeira Semana do Brasil é certamente um colorido mosaico que abordará diferentes aspectos da nossa presença nos Estados Unidos. Estendo meus sinceros parabéns à Professora Clémence Jouët-Pastré e à Dra. Carola Suárez-Orozco, bem como aos membros do comitê de organizador: João Kulcsár, Márcia Loureiro e Zeca Barros. Convido todos vocês a participarem ativamente das atividades que acontecerão durante a Primeira Semana do Brasil em Harvard. Muito obrigado por sua presença.

INTRODUÇÃO A NOSSA EXPOSIÇÃO

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João Kulcsár

Obrigado a todos pela presença esta noite. Gostaria também de agradecer muitas pessoas. Gostaria de agradecer Clémence pelo apoio e generosidade durante todo esse tempo. Ela é uma grande amiga—nós chegamos aqui quase juntos no ano passado. Quero também agradecer meus colegas do Centro David Rockefeller onde encontro muitas pessoas amáveis: Carola, Kelly, Ellen, Jennifer, Falconi por todo apoio na organização da exposição de hoje, o programa Fulbrigh, responsável por maravilhosas iniciativas como esta e Pertsil que me deu a oportunidade de compartilhar minha experiência profissional aqui em Harvard, através da Graduate School of Education e a MAPS (Massachusetts Alliance for Portuguese Speakers). Vanessa, no começo eu pensei que nós tínhamos um relacionamento difícil, no primeiro dia, o segundo, foi muito difícil... mas ela é ótima, e especialmente hoje, [ela sabe disso] Ruth é um verdadeiro exemplo para esses jovens aqui. Eu estava pensando que não pensaria duas vezes em colocar minha [própria] filha Beatriz nas suas mãos porque você é realmente mãe para toda essa criançada. Minha esposa (eu a convidei para vir mas...) ela tem tomado conta de Beatriz todo esse tempo enquanto eu preciso estar aqui. E a juventude é a verdadeira razão e inspiração para tudo isso.

Lembro-me quando cheguei a Boston... Entendo o relacionamento entre a comunidade e a vida acadêmica. Fiquei dividido entre a comunidade e a academia e espero que a Primeira Semana do Brasil em Harvard possa modificar tudo isso e possa melhorar o relacionamento entre a comunidade e a academia. Foi muito importante trabalhar com os jovens, eles ajudaram a preencher uma parte da minha vida no Brasil da qual eu sentia falta. Esta experiência fez com que me lembrasse do Brasil, este é o “pequeno Brasil” para mim aqui. E a eleição presidencial... a eleição presidencial com minha família, e eu encontro muitas pessoas boas aqui. Gostaria de dizer algumas palavras sobre o projeto “Identidades, Rupturas, e Permanência.” Foi desenvolvido com os jovens no MAPS e o objetivo principal é o desenvolvimento do letramento visual dos participantes. O curso criou um grupo de conversa; sempre foi uma conversa agradável (todo o tempo) sobre imigração, aspirações futuras, discriminação, amizade, paz, guerra, mídia, manipulação de imagens e opinião, família, relacionamentos e democracia. Fiquei impressionado com o grau de consciência crítica, assim como definiu Paulo Freire, de cada um dos jovens; talvez precisem superar todos os obstáculos encontrados pelos imigrantes, especialmente em tempos de intolerância e falta de respeito pela paz; tudo isso tem criado uma forte percepção nos estudantes a respeito de um sistema em que a maioria das informações nos chega através de imagens. Acredito firmemente que vocês possam promover uma transformação entre os jovens, em termos de futuras amizades, compartilhando suas próprias experiências. Na verdade, no último sábado alguns dos estudantes e eu estávamos participando de uma conferência com estudantes de uma escola secundária local na Kennedy School e na Graduate School of Education; os professores e os outros alunos. Nosso trabalho... os estudantes e eu, nós não paramos por aqui, agora estamos trabalhando em um documentário e em nosso website. Agradeço a oportunidade de ter conhecido os jovens e posso ver um presente que parece muito bom e um futuro muito promissor para eles. Espero que os jovens possam realizar seus sonhos. Meus sonhos já se realizaram e os jovens são uma grande parte desta experiência. Gostaria de parabenizar os pais. *Eu já estou com saudades de vocês*; Isso é difícil de ser traduzido. Muito obrigado.

AGRADECIMENTOS À COMUNIDADE

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Vanessa Santos

Boa noite a todos. Apenas preciso lembrar de agradecer algumas pessoas. Primeiramente quero parabenizar os jovens pelo maravilhoso projeto que desenvolveram com João. Estou muito orgulhosa de vocês por mais um projeto que realizaram e espero que continuem usando os serviços que oferecemos para que ganhem mais experiência no futuro. Preciso dizer que os jovens são a verdadeira inspiração para o meu trabalho. Este é um trabalho voluntário e todos os dias me pergunto porque faço isso. É um trabalho muito duro e que requer muita dedicação. Momentos como esse fazem lembrar-me que é bastante válido e que preciso continuá-lo.

Gostaria de desculpar-me e dizer algumas palavras em português para os pais que estão presentes esta noite porque algumas vezes ele não entendem o que estamos dizendo.

Eu gostaria de agradecer a presença dos pais aqui, muitos devem pensar em casa “ O que é que meu filho, minha filha faz no MAPS? Eu acho que hoje é um momento excelente para vocês verem o que eles fazem no MAPS. Parabéns e espero que vocês estejam tão orgulhosos dos filhos como eu e a Ruth estamos.

Também gostaria de agradecer o Centro Rockefeller por abrir suas portas e permitir que os jovens tenham esta maravilhosa oportunidade. Muito obrigada. Preciso ainda agradecer a MAPS, a Aliança de Falantes de Português em Massachusetts, para qual eu trabalho. Trabalho para o programa de jovens, para continuar com a mente aberta, somente porque este trabalho é voluntário e não temos condições de manter os recursos. Paulo Pinto, nosso diretor executivo e a gerente de meu programa Anabela Quelha permitem que eu continue a me voluntariar para esse programa embora não tenhamos nenhuma verba. Realmente devo agradecer por tudo isso. Ainda preciso agradecer mais duas pessoas. Gostaria de agradecer Ruth por tudo o que ela faz para o programa dos jovens. Ela é nossa voluntária em tempo integral. Se não fosse por Ruth, nem eu nem os jovens estaríamos aqui hoje. Ela realmente trabalha todos os dias, servindo os jovens em Somerville e Cambridge e preciso agradecer todos os dias da minha vida. Muito Obrigada! Finalmente agradeço meu amigo João, uma das pessoas mais maravilhosas que conheci durante minha vida profissional. Preciso agradecer não apenas pelo maravilhoso trabalho que ele desenvolveu com os jovens e pela maravilhosa experiência que proporcionou aos jovens, mas principalmente pelo seu carinho, amizade e dedicação. Tenho certeza que você não vai fazer isso comigo e não vou chorar, nós prometemos—e tenho certeza de que tudo que você compartilhou com os jovens estará com eles pelo resto de suas vidas e realmente devo agradecer por tudo o que você fez por eles. Gostaria de encerrar dizendo que se não fosse por voluntários como João e Ruth, não poderíamos servir os jovens hoje e também que é muito importante para todos nós voluntariar mesmo que seja uma hora por mês, para contribuir com nossas comunidades. Por isso eu lhes peço, se nunca o fizeram antes, se nunca fizeram nenhum trabalho comunitário antes, temos muitas agências que precisam do seu trabalho e da sua ajuda. Muito obrigada.

**IMAGENS E JUVENTUDE:
Palavras de Agradecimento**



Bruna & Carol

Boa noite, tivemos uma maravilhosa experiência trabalhando com João no curso de fotografia. João nos mostrou como usar uma câmera e como melhor fotografar. Agora sabemos como analisar fotografias e encontrar o sentido de cada uma das imagens. Aprendemos também como manipular uma imagem a fim de transmitir uma mensagem específica. Durante o curso, João nos mostrou trabalhos do fotógrafo brasileiro Sebastião Salgado. Aprendemos sobre seu trabalho e viajamos para Portland para ver sua exposição de fotografia. Ao escutar João falar sobre suas experiências de vida nos fez ver o mundo através de lentes diferentes. João nos deu a oportunidade para debater, concordar e criar. O sucesso deste projeto é resultado do amor, da amizade e educação de João que provou que ensinar e aprender não precisam ser um processo maçante.

Precisamos agradecer João por trabalhar conosco e por nos proporcionar uma experiência inesquecível. Agradecemos também Ruth Santos pela sua paciência e carinho, Clémence por nos dar a oportunidade de visitar sua classe, Tatiane Santos, Vanessa Santos, Leticia Braga e o Centro de Estudos Latino Americanos David Rockefeller. Obrigada e espero que apreciem nossa exposição.

APRESENTAÇÃO



Dr. Carola Suarez-Orozco

Bem vindos ao segundo dia da nossa Semana do Brasil. Temos várias pessoas aqui e gostaria de fazer uma breve apresentação. Falarei por cinco minutos, oferecendo um panorama de como imigração não é apenas um fenômeno local, mas um fenômeno nacional e internacional. Em seguida, passarei a palavra para nossos apresentadores. Temos aqui o Senador Jarret Barrios, Senador Estadual de Massachusetts—representante de Cambridge, Everett, Charlestown e algumas partes de Revere. Seus principais interesses estão voltados para a moradia, o cuidado infantil, as escolas e a saúde. Foi eleito pela primeira vez em 1998 para a State House of Representatives e foi eleito para o State Senator Justice (e seu escritório era do outro lado da rua—foi um prazer termos presenciado a retirada das placas, o resultado foi o que esperávamos). Estudou em Harvard, tem liderado o comitê de segurança pública e é o vice-presidente do comitê da Saúde. Também é sócio fundador do Caucus Latino e estamos muito felizes em tê-lo aqui hoje.

Temos também a presença da Professora Ana Cristina Braga Martes que ensina na Fundação Getúlio Vargas em São Paulo. Sua mais recente publicação é o livro *Brasileiros nos Estados Unidos: um Estudo sobre Imigrantes em Massachusetts*. Além deste livro, escreveu vários artigos sobre o assunto da imigração brasileira, incluindo artigos sobre empreendedores brasileiros, cidadania e solidariedade, assim como muitos outros. É um prazer tê-la conosco.

Gostaria também de apresentar Ray de Silva, Vice-Presidente do Citizen's Bank. Um experiente banqueiro há mais de trinta anos (no entanto, não aparenta) no centro de financeiro regional e bancos internacionais. Nativo de Trinidad mudou-se para Brooklyn, Nova Iorque em 1965, formou-se pela NYU e tem um mestrado da Farley Dickenson e um diploma de pós-graduação pelo Consumer Bank Association. Ray é uma importante fonte de recursos para colegas, clientes e comunidades. Em 1997 iniciou o Citizen Multi Cultural Resource Center Group. É um grande prazer tê-lo conosco. Temos também a presença do Professor José Antonio Mazzotti, do Departamento de Línguas Românicas.

É uma grande satisfação tê-lo aqui como comentador. Professora Clémence Jouët-Pastré que, além de ser Senior Preceptor aqui no Departamento de Línguas Românicas, ensinou-me português, mas eu ainda tenho um longo trabalho pela frente—estamos muito satisfeitos em tê-la conosco. E ainda temos a presença de Márcia Guimarães que é candidata ao diploma de mestrado em Relações Interculturais pelo Lesley College. Bem-vinda e estamos muito satisfeitos em tê-la conosco.

Deixe-me dar-lhes um breve panorama sobre imigração. Imigração não é somente um acontecimento em Massachusetts, nem tão pouco na Califórnia, é um acontecimento internacional. Há atualmente mais de cento e trinta milhões de imigrantes e refugiados em todo o mundo. Foi admitida a entrada de vinte milhões nos Estados Unidos desde 1965. Conseqüentemente, tivemos constantemente novos fluxos migratórios. Desde 1990, o número tem sido de aproximadamente um milhão por ano. No entanto, o que parece ser um número enorme de pessoas é, em termos de porcentagem, bem menor do que a porcentagem da última grande onda de imigrantes que tivemos entre 1880 e 1920 quando 14% da população era de imigrantes. Atualmente temos uma porcentagem de 10% que está crescendo. Ainda que seja um número considerável de pessoas, trata-se da metade do número do Canadá, por exemplo, 20% da população do Canadá é de origem imigrante. Em muitos lugares da Europa o cenário é o

mesmo. Apenas para lhes dar alguma perspectiva da forma como o fenômeno está acontecendo... Agora, se olharmos apenas para os Estados Unidos, mais de 50% dos imigrantes vem da América Latina. Isto inclui brasileiros, argentinos, mexicanos, cubanos, qualquer outro grupo de origem latino-americana. Embora os mexicanos formem a maior porcentagem dos grupos de origem latino-americana, novos grupos, como os brasileiros, estão rapidamente aumentando.

Há três fatores principais que motivam a imigração. Um deles é a procura de asilo—o que realmente não é o caso, no meu entender, dos brasileiros neste presente momento. Entretanto, talvez tenha havido alguns casos na época da ditadura. Mas, o grupo atual tende a migrar por motivos econômicos ou para se reunir com membros da família que vieram anteriormente. Os imigrantes em toda a nação são bastante diversificados. Há, atualmente, mais diversidade do que nos grupos que vieram em 1880 e em 1920, em termos de etnia, raça e cor. Creio que os brasileiros reproduzem esta diversidade em termos também de background lingüístico. Perto de 75% das línguas encontradas nas escolas, 75% dos estudantes cuja segunda língua é inglês são falantes de espanhol. Mas há cem diferentes línguas representadas nas escolas públicas de Nova Iorque, noventa línguas representadas nas escolas públicas em L.A e localmente português é a língua que está crescendo. Os imigrantes que estão vindo para cá também são bastante variados em termos de situação econômica e tenho a impressão que o mesmo acontece com a comunidade brasileira.

Estou muito satisfeita que o foco será os jovens, particularmente amanhã, porque os jovens são nosso futuro e o futuro deles será crítico para nosso funcionamento como nação e para nossas comunidades. A maior parte do que sabemos sobre imigração, infelizmente, é sobre os adultos. Temos muito que aprender sobre crianças. De cada cinco crianças atualmente nos EUA, uma é filha de imigrante. Mencionei ontem que de cada quatro crianças aqui em Massachusetts, uma é filha de imigrante. Sendo assim, esta é mais uma razão para pensarmos neste grupo. De uma maneira geral algumas dessas crianças imigrantes têm mais sucesso do que as crianças aqui nascidas. Muitas vêm para cá com muita energia, trabalham duro, vão bem na escola e obtêm sucesso rapidamente. Outras têm o mesmo desempenho que as crianças aqui nascidas (elas não estão tendo um desempenho pior ou melhor). Infelizmente um grupo de crianças imigrantes está rapidamente juntando-se às nossas classes baixas, abandonando o sistema educacional na medida em que encontram uma barreira após a outra. Então, precisamos pensar neste problema. Escolas são particularmente importantes e eu os parableno por terem proposto esse tópico para amanhã. Porque esse é realmente o primeiro ponto de contato com a nova cultura para as crianças recém chegadas e é também um grande indicador de como se ajustarão na sociedade. Desta forma e pelo fato de a educação ter cada vez uma importância maior, este é um assunto que merece mais reflexão. Muito obrigada por organizar tudo isso, Clémence.

CONTRIBUIÇÕES DOS IMIGRANTES TRABALHADORES

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Ray DeSilva

Boa noite, bem-vindos. [Este é um bom problema para se ter, quando tentamos providenciar lugares adicionais para as pessoas sentarem-se.] Estou muito feliz por representar o Citizens Bank e por fazer parte deste ilustre grupo esta noite para falar sobre a contribuição dos imigrantes em Massachusetts e nos Estados Unidos. Larry Fish, nosso CEO, gostaria de estar aqui esta noite. Eu sei que muitos de vocês mencionaram que conhecem Larry e sentem falta dele—mas infelizmente seus compromissos não permitiram que estivesse aqui conosco. No entanto, como muito dos meus colegas do Citizens, compartilho com Larry a visão de um banco que valoriza as contribuições dos imigrantes para a economia dos Estados Unidos e para o Estado de Massachusetts. Sendo eu mesmo imigrante, como foi mencionado anteriormente, com uma diversificada experiência bancária (obrigada pelo elogio, foram 30 anos), e como gerente das filiais do Citizens nas comunidades (o que quer dizer que me concentro nas filiais de vizinhanças diversificadas) e o diretor do grupo de recursos multi culturais do Citizen, sinto-me de capaz falar sobre as contribuições dos imigrantes em Massachusetts, especialmente na comunidade financeira.

Em 1965, imigrei da Ilha de Trinidad e Tobago conhecida por muitos como a terra do beija-flor, do Calypso e do carnaval. Obviamente, sei que para esse público seria possível discutir se o carnaval de Trinidad chega perto do carnaval brasileiro, mas este talvez possa ser assunto para uma próxima vez. Meu objetivo principal esta noite é falar sobre as contribuições dos imigrantes para a economia dos Estados Unidos e falar, sobretudo das contribuições nos setores de serviços financeiros. Os imigrantes representam no Citizen uma porcentagem significativa de nossos clientes. Nos últimos dez anos, a população de imigrantes tem crescido em Massachusetts. Falando de uma outra forma, sem os imigrantes o estado teria tido pouco ou nenhum crescimento populacional.

Crescimento populacional é saudável para a economia e para o setor de negócios, aumenta a necessidade e demanda por produtos e serviços. Tentamos fazer no Citizens o que é lógico e empregar pessoas que possam falar a língua dos nossos clientes. Ou que pelo menos possam dialogar através dos maravilhosos dialetos e sotaques originados em várias partes do mundo. Como muitos de vocês sabem, inicialmente, logo que chegam aqui, as pessoas ficam tão surpresas com seu dialeto que eles não vão além disto e isso normalmente inicia uma conversa, mais do que a temperatura. Onze línguas são faladas em nosso Centro de Serviço Telefônico ao Cliente e vinte e cinco no banco em Medford. Mais de dez por cento da nossa força de trabalho no Citizens fala inglês como segunda língua e nossos empregados falam mais de 42 línguas. Falar a língua dos nossos clientes é extremamente importante porque se não se fala um pouco de português em Upham Corner, vietnamita em Field's Corner, cantonês em North Quincy, russo em Brookline ou espanhol em East Boston, será muito difícil atrair novos clientes. Acabo de ficar sabendo por alguém na platéia que se não tivermos funcionários brasileiros em Framingham e em Weymouth, perderemos clientes. Vamos trabalhar nisso.

Aprendemos rapidamente. Na verdade, no próximo mês estaremos lançando nosso novo website com várias melhorias. Uma das melhorias é a “informacion en español” em que um falante de espanhol pode clicar e receber informações sobre a conta bancária, a poupança, o cartão ATM e programas de financiamento. Temos também um número telefônico em espanhol do serviço automatizado de assistência ao cliente, assim como folhetos de informação em espanhol. Reconhecemos a necessidade de atingir clientes através de canais múltiplos e compreendemos que falar a língua dos nossos clientes,

muitas vezes faz uma grande diferença para conquistar novos clientes. Como exemplo de como isso funciona, hoje tenho o prazer de ter dois dos meus ilustres colegas comigo: François que faz um ótimo trabalho na nossa pesquisa de marketing em nossa filial de Westbrook é canadense. Temos também aqui conosco Claudia Lucia-Carob que está agora na nossa filial de South Boston, ela é originalmente da Colômbia. Quando Claudia foi contratada não havia nenhuma vaga disponível nos mercados latinos principais—como Jamaica Plain, East Boston e South End—onde sua habilidade bilíngüe teria sido uma contribuição adicional para trabalhar em um desses mercados, mas seu alto nível de entusiasmo e sua ética profissional motivaram-me a contratá-la assim mesmo. Neste momento, nós a colocamos na filial de South Boston. É com prazer que relato que ao adicionar uma funcionária que fala espanhol na comunidade de South Boston descobrimos que existe uma grande população hispânica neste mercado e que Claudia nos ajudou a aumentar significativamente nossa clientela na área de South Boston. Enquanto esta é uma excelente história e muito do sucesso é baseado no talento único de Claudia, esta história se repete freqüentemente—em North Quincy, MengYin Moi, funcionária asiática, consegue bons resultados por alcançar um segmento importante de clientes asiáticos. Uma recente adição de um funcionário Somali logo encontrou clientes que falam sua língua em Jamaica Plain. O claro enfoque na população imigrante tem sido uma fórmula de sucesso para o Citizen’s Bank. Concentrar-se em pessoas que falam a língua da nossa população imigrante tem sido importante e nos tem ajudado a nos transformar de um pequeno banco de Rhode Island em um dos vinte maiores bancos dos Estados Unidos.

Em 1990, o Citizen patrocinou um estudo com MASSInc (parte da razão por que fomos convidados hoje) que muitas pessoas tiveram oportunidade de ler. O trabalho intitulado “A mudança da força de trabalho: Imigrantes e a Nova Economia em Massachusetts”. Este estudo confirmou que a Nova Inglaterra depende mais da força de trabalho e da população imigrante do que qualquer outra região no país. Sem o influxo dos imigrantes, a força de trabalho em Massachusetts teria diminuído—200.000 empregos—desde 1970. Desde meados dos anos oitenta, os imigrantes são responsáveis por 82% do valor da renda da força de trabalho em Massachusetts. Os imigrantes estão vastamente espalhados pela população—esta é uma estatística interessante—imigrantes não estão concentrados em um lugar específico. Estão espalhados entre a população que em nenhum condado supera os dez por cento do total da população imigrante. E mais significativamente, a prosperidade da Nova Inglaterra na última década aconteceu não só “apesar dos imigrantes” mas em grande parte por causa deles. No Citizens reconhecemos a importância de atender as necessidades de todos os clientes e estamos orgulhosos de estarmos acertando através dos nossos esforços para valorizar as oportunidades existentes na nova população imigrante e respeitar a diversidade das comunidades da Nova Inglaterra através da composição dos nossos empregados. No Citizens trabalhamos arduamente todos os dias para apoiar nossos clientes, nossos colegas e nossas comunidades. Esta noite eu trouxe algumas cópias do nosso estudo, que estão com Claudia. Infelizmente não sabia quantas pessoas teríamos aqui hoje, então temos aproximadamente vinte cópias, que provavelmente poderemos compartilhar com vocês, em caso de precisarem mais estatísticas.

Apenas para mencionar, fora do discurso oficial, cheguei aos Estados Unidos, como imigrante aos 15 anos. Ao chegar a Nova Iorque nesta época, muitas pessoas tomaram consciência de que éramos considerados do “Banana Boat” porque éramos diferentes dos outros, meu pai é português, minha mãe africana. Reconheci rapidamente que era um pouco único. Como todos sabem, com a imigração, algumas vezes existem muito mais oportunidades e algumas vezes menos. Tive a sorte de ter sido escolhido de Bedford Stuyvesant em Brooklyn por causa do programa de ação afirmativa que existia

nessa época. Ganhei uma bolsa de estudos para o programa de verão em Yale e Philips Andover Academy e uma bolsa de estudo de Trinity. Era também um jogador de futebol (outro passa-tempo que é muito popular na comunidade brasileira). Imediatamente entrei no sistema bancário logo após a Universidade e tenho feito isso desde então. A razão pela qual eu gosto de trabalhar no sistema bancário é porque bancos nos dão a oportunidade de ajudar muitas pessoas. Como sabem, a compra e venda de casas é essencial para se obter sucesso no sistema bancário. Como funcionário, considero minha ocupação uma das que ajudam as pessoas a realizarem seus sonhos. É um prazer estar aqui com vocês esta noite. Responderei perguntas mais tarde. Muito obrigado.

MIGRAÇÃO BRASILEIRA: Perspectiva Histórica e Identidade

◇
Ana Cristina Braga Martes

Gostaria de agradecer a diretora do Centro de Estudos Latino Americano David Rockefeller, também Clémence, João Kulcsár, Jarrett Barrios e Márcia Loureiro. É um prazer estar aqui e gostaria realmente de agradecer o convite. O título da minha apresentação é “Imigração Brasil: Perspectiva Histórica e Identidade”. Apresentarei mais minhas impressões do que a pesquisa final sobre um fator importante deste fluxo migratório que, em minha opinião, não tem sido suficientemente estudado. Não está relacionado com fatores econômicos, mas sim culturais. Gostaria de começar minha apresentação mencionando o depoimento dado por uma brasileira a um dos principais jornais do Brasil. Uma mulher comum da classe média cuja vida foi dedicada aos afazeres domésticos. Um dia, no entanto, apareceu no jornal depois de ganhar um concurso promovido pela fábrica de máquinas de costura Elgin. Com o prêmio—uma passagem para os Estados Unidos—em mãos, ela disse: “quando criança sonhava em estar em um avião a caminho da terra dos arranha-céus. Filmes, fizeram com que eu sonhasse ainda mais”. Existe um detalhe importante que devo adicionar a este acontecimento: Essa declaração, esse depoimento foi feito em 1940 e, naturalmente, a declaração da vencedora do concurso continua válido no que diz respeito aos filmes dos Estados Unidos e outros meios de comunicação em massa. Esses meios de comunicação, na minha opinião, ainda continuam a atrair milhões de brasileiros aos Estados Unidos. No momento, seiscientos mil brasileiros vivem nos Estados Unidos e talvez (ninguém sabe exatamente) a metade viva na Nova Inglaterra. Segundo uma perspectiva histórica, são muitos os fatores que explicam esse fluxo de brasileiros para a América do Norte. Entre eles, como disse anteriormente, gostaria de reforçar o que parece ter sido muito pouco explorado -- é um tipo de processo similar à sedução. Muitos brasileiros são atraídos por uma velha fascinação pela sociedade norte-americana, o que me faz focalizar a vencedora do concurso da Elgin.

As estratégias usadas nesse processo de sedução, muito bem sucedido, incluem os meios de comunicação, principalmente, o rádio, e o cinema que foram usados como parte da Administração de Roosevelt “Good Neighbor Policy” (política da boa vizinhança). Temendo a influência negativa nos trópicos, uma tentativa foi feita para aumentar a simpatia pelo tipo de vida americana. Essa tentativa era certamente mais segura e mais eficaz do que qualquer intervenção militar direta. A Política da Boa Vizinhança foi liderada por Nelson Rockefeller, o pai de David Rockefeller. Preocupado com as empresas americanas na América Latina, Rockefeller acreditava que o sucesso das corporações não dependia somente das vendas de seus produtos, mas dependia também do desenvolvimento de simpatia pelos Estados Unidos e pelos valores democráticos e liberais. O “Office of the Coordinator of International American Affairs (OCIAA)” foi coordenado pelo próprio Nelson Rockefeller. Esta agência tinha uma divisão de cinema que analisava Walter Disney e Carmem Miranda com interesse na liberdade nas Américas. Através dessa agência, Walter Disney fez sua tropa—Donald Duck, Mickey Mouse e seus amigos—acessível ao mundo para a campanha. Enquanto isso, Derek Zinner produzia o primeiro filme com Carmem Miranda. Com a chegada de estrelas de Hollywood ao Brasil—entre eles Orson Welles e o próprio Walter Disney—nós brasileiros também asseguramos nossa presença nos Estados Unidos (uma presença bem mais modesta, é claro). Em 1939, fizemos parte da Feira Mundial de Nova Iorque mostrando nossa riqueza nacional e artística trazida pela música de Ernesto Nazaré. Em 1940, o Museu de Arte Moderna de Nova Iorque promoveu um Festival de Música Brasileira levado ao ar pela NBC para todos os Estados Unidos. Ari Barroso, um famoso músico brasileiro, era tão conhecido nos EUA quanto no Brasil, depois de “Aquarela do Brasil” (famosa música brasileira) ter sido tema em “Saludos, Amigos” de Walter Disney.

De uma forma paradoxal, foi durante a ditadura de Getúlio Vargas que a influência da América do Norte se propagou ativamente com o auxílio das instituições governamentais brasileiras. Os Estados Unidos precisavam de nossa matéria prima e o Brasil precisava dos produtos manufaturados norte-americanos. Isto justificava uma cooperação cujo propósito era prevenir a expansão nativa no continente. A rádio americana reforçou a Política da Boa Vizinhança fazendo referências diretas à solidariedade através de declarações como “Sempre que você toma o café brasileiro, você está apoiando a Política da Boa Vizinhança”, apenas para citar locutores americanos da USA News of the World nos anos cinqüenta. A Segunda Guerra Mundial é certamente um importante marco histórico no processo da migração brasileira para dos Estados Unidos. Aquela década testemunhou o aparecimento das primeiras conexões que quarenta anos depois (em 1980), sustentariam a chegada em massa de brasileiros nos Estados Unidos. Embora não exista nenhum estudo histórico, apontarei algumas referências que talvez possam ser exploradas mais detalhadamente no futuro, quem sabe por alguém na platéia. Durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial, engenheiros e técnicos americanos da área de Boston foram para a região de Governador Valadares para trabalhar na extração de minérios, particularmente mica, desta forma, estabelecendo o primeiro contato entre as duas cidades: Boston e Governador Valadares. Uma vez que a guerra acabou, empregados da Morrison (uma grande campanha americana) foram ao Vale do Aço (outra região perto de Governador Valadares) construir uma estrada de ferro que liga Minas Gerais ao Estado do Espírito Santo. A extração do minério em Governador Valadares durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial levou o governo americano a tomar parte do programa de combate à malária na área e da implementação de um sistema de água. Depois da guerra, empresários americanos estabeleceram conexões com a região, visando o comércio de pedras semipreciosas extraídas na região.

Em retrospectiva, não é difícil ver que os brasileiros são atraídos por um antigo sonho. Olhando para frente, o sonho parece abrir caminhos para uma série de desafios. Gostaria de dizer quais são as minhas preocupações sobre isso. Qual será o destino da segunda geração de brasileiros? Existe a possibilidade de conseguir alguma mobilidade social?

Com quem os brasileiros se articularão e se identificarão tanto politicamente quanto etnicamente? A primeira geração teve uma impressão positiva da nação escolhida—na realidade, pesquisa feita por Carola e Marcelo Suárez-Orozco mostra que esta impressão positiva é típica de outras primeiras gerações de imigrantes—mas não necessariamente da segunda geração. A anterior mantém laços com o Brasil e insiste em recusar rótulos étnicos e raciais que possam desviá-los das suas raízes nacionais. A identidade nacional é a primeira referência para a socialização pessoal e para a organização coletiva. Os brasileiros se consideram e querem ser considerados como brasileiros, não como hispânicos e nem sempre como latinos. Muitos se categorizam como brancos ou morenos, mas tendem a ser considerados negros pelos outros. Todas essas questões e escolhas apontam para um futuro de grande incerteza, mas em minha opinião, o futuro não é ruim.

E este evento, na minha opinião, é a prova disto. Esse Seminário mostra a habilidade da comunidade brasileira de se expressar em busca de inserção e de obtenção de um espaço e de respeito internacional. Acredito que, agora mesmo, um dos aspectos mais importantes é a criação de laços entre as áreas em que os brasileiros estão vivendo aqui e as áreas de origem dos brasileiros no Brasil. Talvez esses laços possam sustentar um intercâmbio que possa promover uma nova Política da Boa Vizinhança. Uma que seja mais igualitária e mais democrática, baseada em um intercâmbio e reciprocidade reais. Obrigada.

IDENTIDADES: RUPTURAS & PERMANÊNCIAS
O Uso da Fotografia Como um Instrumento para a Alfabetização Visual
Com os Jovens Imigrantes nos Estados Unidos

◇
João Kulcsar

Introdução

A influência da comunicação no século 21, geralmente chamado de “civilização da imagem”, continua a crescer porque vivemos num tempo em que grande parte da informação que recebemos vem pelas imagens. Esta situação tem mudado o modo como os jovens se expressam, como se comunicam entre si, e como percebem o mundo. Devido à importância e ambigüidade da mídia, a educação deveria dar mais atenção à imagem. Isto implica capacitar os alunos a criarem suas próprias mensagens pelas imagens e torná-los leitores críticos da mídia, e finalmente serem alfabetizados visualmente. A proposta deste projeto foi examinar como a fotografia e a sua prática podem ser usadas como ferramenta para desenvolver a alfabetização visual com jovens imigrantes. Alfabetização visual pode ser entendida como a habilidade das pessoas compreenderem um sistema de representação visual, associada com a capacidade de se expressar através dele. (Curtis 1987; Donis 1973).

A idéia foi engajar os estudantes brasileiros a usarem seu “background” e conhecimento como base para o trabalho educacional, criando imagens (alunos como produtores) e análise crítica da mídia (alunos como consumidores).

Aspectos do termo Alfabetização Visual

Talvez tenhamos excedido os limites da comunicação em massa—que começou no final do século 19 e rapidamente cresceu durante do século 20—em que a ênfase deu lugar à quantidade favorecida pela reprodução das artes gráficas. Todos os dias recebemos e consumimos centenas de imagens pela imprensa, TV, vídeo, e anúncios. Grande parte destas imagens é reproduzida fotograficamente, nos envolve e é parte do nosso dia-a-dia. As imagens que consumimos talvez sejam demasiadas. “Most of what we know and learn, what we buy and believe, what we recognize and desire, is determined by the domination of the human psyche by the photograph.” (Donis, 1973).

Por outro lado, a sociedade moderna procura por estímulos nas notícias todo tempo porque as pessoas neste século dependem de receber informação para se sentirem participantes na sociedade e se manterem atualizadas com o que acontece no mundo. Milhões de imagens são criadas para serem usadas, mas elas são produzidas por poucas pessoas que determinam o que vai ser visto e consumido. É fundamental que as pessoas percebam esta influência e poder. “From photos, to movies, to TV, to home videos and computers, these pictures and words have the power to tell us who we are and who we are not, to dictate what we can and cannot be.” (Kruger, 1992) e “It is a commonplace of modern cultural criticism that images have a power in our world.” (Mitchell, 1986).

Parte da sociedade não tem consciência desta linguagem visual. Este fato traz conseqüências negativas, porque existem sistemas na sociedade que tiram proveito político ou comercial desta situação. A utilização da fotografia como ferramenta acessível para entender a linguagem visual e desenvolver reflexões sobre o sentido deste poder. A fotografia permite aos alunos um ativo engajamento para analisar imagens e para aumentar o conhecimento visual e reduzir a diferença entre o “establishment” que produz a maioria das imagens e as pessoas que as consomem. “We need to emphasize the role of visual literacy in the modern world. Much communication these days comes visually.” (Abrams, 1991).

Este projeto usa referências da pedagogia de Paulo Freire e a utiliza em termos da alfabetização visual. “Freire’s pedagogy demonstrated that to be literate, students must recognize the importance of the individual life of the printed word or image.” (Freire, 1985). Outro fator da alfabetização visual é que, nas aulas de fotografia os temas devem ser familiares aos alunos. Eles devem relacionar o seu cotidiano como base para o aprendizado. When the students ‘read’ images related to their everyday lives, they can develop visual imagery and create discussion, criticism and literacy with a *critical conscience* (Freire, 1985).

A questão fundamental é que imagens (fotografias, slides, livros e vídeos) usadas na sala de aula devem oferecer coerência ao tema.

Primeiramente foi feita uma pesquisa antes do curso começar para coletar imagens de fotógrafos como Walker Evans, Lewis Hine, Jacob Riis, Dorothea Lange e Sebastião Salgado, cujas fotografias focam a questão da imigração. “Basically, the pictures of concrete situations enable the people to reflect on their former interpretation of the world before going on to read the word.” (Freire 1987).

Durante os meses de outubro de 2002 e maio de 2003, em Cambridge, Massachusetts, um projeto fotográfico intitulado “Identities: Rupturas e Permanências” foi desenvolvido com dez jovens adolescentes brasileiros (cinco meninas e cinco meninos) na MAPS (Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers) com apoio do David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies e do Department of Romance Languages & Literatures de Harvard. Seu principal objetivo era desenvolver nos participantes a alfabetização visual. O projeto começou como um workshop e tornou-se um curso em função do interesse dos alunos, da MAPS e da Harvard. Durante sete meses os alunos tiveram a oportunidade de ampliar a alfabetização visual por meio das aulas de fotografia. Eles utilizaram câmeras de 35mm, com foco fixo e flash embutido e dois filmes de 24 poses com revelação e ampliação comercial.

Os alunos tiraram fotografias com a idéia de expressar seus pensamentos e sentimentos sobre a situação que eles vivem agora como imigrantes não documentados. Durante o curso foram criadas situações sobre temas como, aspirações futuras, imigração, discriminação, amizade, paz, guerra, mídia, manipulação de imagens, opiniões, relações familiares e democracia.

O projeto Identities foi baseado nos seguintes objetivos:

- Aprender como ler e produzir imagens
- Produzir fotografias que explorem maneiras de representar a família, os próprios alunos e seu cotidiano de serem imigrantes.
- Compreender como mensagens visuais são geradas, consumidas e interpretadas.

- Envolver os alunos numa atividade em que eles possam explorar e desenvolver idéias e opiniões de um grupo social em conflito e suas causas

Alguns exercícios desenvolvidos com os alunos brasileiros na sala de aula foram:

- Na primeira aula do curso os alunos escolheram uma imagem e a utilizaram para se apresentar. Começaram a descrevê-las. Esta dinâmica pode estabelecer outras relações com leituras de imagem, além de integrar os alunos na sala de aula.
- Eles foram encorajados a trazer fotografias de casa e mostrar para os colegas e lê-las na aula. Responder quando, onde, por quem e por que essas fotografias foram tiradas.
- Os alunos trouxeram poesias e as leram na sala de aula. A idéia é que eles relacionem fotografia com poesia. O mais comentado foi que ambas evocam o passado, a memória, os relacionamentos, os bons e maus momentos, os amores e os sonhos.
- Recortar imagens dos jornais e revistas com seis diferentes composições para fixar a idéia de enquadramento.

Fizemos uma visita monitorada à exposição de Sebastião Salgado em Portland, Maine. A exposição de Salgado “Êxodos” discute os milhões de refugiados e imigrantes em 39 países e foi produzida durante sete anos. Salgado diz que “My hope is that, as individuals, as groups, as societies, we can pause and reflect on the human condition at the turn of the millennium. In its rawest form, individualism remains a prescription for catastrophe. We have to create a new regimen of coexistence.”

Exposição no David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies (DRCLAS)

Os alunos participaram da exposição com grande entusiasmo e motivação. Nunca tiveram a oportunidade de produzir uma anteriormente. A exposição foi apresentada no David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies no dia 8 de abril, na abertura oficial e coquetel da Primeira Semana do Brasil na Harvard, cuja idéia foi discutir e celebrar a experiências dos imigrantes Brasileiros na Nova Inglaterra.

Foram expostas vinte fotografias coloridas, duas de cada aluno. Estas imagens não cobriram todo os aspectos que foram discutidos durante o curso, mas servem como amostra do percurso. Um grande número de familiares e de membros da comunidade aceitou o convite e visitaram a exposição.

Este projeto pode ser entendido como benefício para a comunidade, feito por eles e para eles. A câmera pode dar ‘voz’ aos alunos para que se comuniquem com o mundo por meio de um processo coletivo e democrático. O resultado fotográfico revela uma crítica atitude no meio em que o imigrante vive.

A proposta da exposição foi:

- permitir aos alunos observar outros pontos de vista,
- promover e apresentar as imagens dos alunos, e
- permitir aos alunos transformar suas idéias em produtos.

Durante o curso na MAPS, a fotografia deu oportunidade aos alunos de utilizar o poderoso meio de expressão para discutir o tema imigração. A mídia fotográfica propõe um ideal ponto de partida para a alfabetização visual, porque engaja o aluno com a sua experiência do cotidiano.

Alfabetização visual pode ser uma ferramenta importante nesta batalha pela cidadania, pois um melhor entendimento da mídia do mundo em que vivemos pode facilitar uma maior e melhor participação na sociedade americana na qual eles vivem. Também permite as pessoas aprenderem a manipular a imagem ao invés da imagem continuar a manipular as pessoas. A idéia é trabalhar para que um dia a alfabetização visual esteja ao alcance de todos e não só para poucas e privilegiadas pessoas.

ROUNDTABLE: STUDIES OF THE BRAZILIAN COMMUNITY

November 8, 2003



David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University

11:00 - 11:15: Opening

11:15 - 11:30: **Sheila Skitnevsky-Finger**

Psy.D Candidate, Mass. School of Professional Psychology

Denaturalizing the American Naturalization Process: The Impact of American Immigrant History on the New Immigrant and Clinical Consequences

11:30 - 11:45: **Cileine de Lourenço**

Assistant Professor, Bryant College, RI

Politics of Identity and (Not) Belonging

11:45 - 12:00: Discussion - Moderator: **Eduardo Siqueira**

12:00 - 1:00: Keynote Speaker: **Carola Suárez-Orozco**

Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Immigrant Youth: The Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation Study

1:00 - 1:15: **Fausto da Rocha**

Executive Director, Brazilian Immigrant Center

Brazilian Immigrants in Massachusetts

1:15 - 1:30: **Marcony Almeida**

Chief Coordinator, Brazilian Immigrant Center

Eu vim pelo México

- 1:30 - 1:45: **Heloísa Souza**
 Community Field Coordinator, Boston Public Schools
 Co-founder, Brazilian Women's Group
Brazilians in New England: A Changing Profile and the Consequences of 9/11
- 1:45 - 2:00: **Carlos Eduardo Siqueira**
 Asst. Professor, UMass Lowell
 Doctoral Candidate, UMass Lowell
Work Environment Justice Partnership for Brazilian Immigrant Workers in Massachusetts
- 2:00 - 2:30: Discussion - Moderator: **Márcia Loureiro**
- 2:30 - 2:30: **Mary Helen Johnson**
 Harvard Graduate School of Education
Undocumented Students in the Boston Brazilian Community
- 2:45 - 3:00: **Márcia Loureiro**
 Former Deputy Consul of Brazil in Boston
Young Brazilian Immigrants in the United States: The Challenge of College Education
- 3:00 - 3:15: **Valquíria Cabral-Gouvea**
 Guidance Counselor, Umana-Barnes Middle School
Brazilian Adolescents and the American Educational System: Displacement and Transnationalism
- 3:15 - 3:30 Discussion - Moderator: **Heloísa Souza**
- 3:30 - 3:45 **Teresa Eliot Roberts**
 Doctoral Candidate, Nursing, Boston College
Health Beliefs Among Brazilians Resident in Massachusetts

- 3:45 - 4:00: **Wilson Bezerra-Flanders**
Fellow, Center of Psychoanalytic Studies, Dept. Psychiatry, MGH.
Harvard Med. School Ph.D. Candidate
*Tolerance for Family Aggression: Cross-cultural Perspectives- The
Brazilian Perspective*
- 4:00 - 4:15: Discussion - Moderator: **Márcia Guimarães**
- 4:15 - 4:30 **Antonio Luciano de A. Tosta**
PhD Candidate, Brown University
Portuguese Instructor, Harvard University
Latino, eu? The Paradoxical Interplay of Identity in Brazuca Literature
- 4:30 - 4:45 **Marcílio Farias**
Professor of Portuguese, UMass Boston
The Brazilian Community, Or The Intellectual Myth Of Macunaíma

ROUNDTABLE CONTRIBUTORS:



Biographical Sketches of Participants

Marcony Almeida	<p>Marcony Almeida is a journalist who graduated from the Universidade Católica de Pernambuco, Brazil, in 1998. He came to the U.S. five years ago to study English and to start his master's degree in Business, at Northeastern University. Before coming to the US, Almeida was a reporter at <i>Jornal do Comércio</i>, one of the most widely read newspapers in Brazil. Here in the U.S., Almeida started to get involved with the many problems faced by immigrants when he first became a volunteer at the Brazilian Immigrant Center, in Allston. Almeida was hired as a Community Organizer, later becoming an Outreach and Education Coordinator. In addition, Almeida is a contributing writer for <i>O Jornal</i>, in Brazil, writing weekly about Brazilian immigrants in the United States.</p>
Wilson Bezerra-Flanders	<p>Wilson Bezerra-Flanders earned his B.A. in Psychology at Boston University in 1998. He earned his Master's in Clinical Psychology in 2001 at the Fielding Graduate Institute, where he is a Ph.D. candidate in Clinical Psychology. He has trained at Harvard Medical School Department of Psychiatry at Cambridge Hospital and at Mass. General Hospital, where he is currently a fellow at the Center for Psychoanalytical Studies. He has worked for the Murray Center at Harvard, and for the Brazilian Foreign Service. He has also done research at the department of psychology at Boston University.</p>
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REFLECTIONS ON RESEARCH OF THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE

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Carola Suárez-Orozco

The forces of globalization are transforming economies, cultures and societies. International flows of trade and capital along with large-scale political, religious, and ethnic upheavals have led to unprecedented levels of worldwide migration. As a result, at the beginning of the new millennium, there are over 175 immigrants and refugees worldwide (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). Since 1960, in the United States, immigrants have been entering the country at the rate of approximately one million individuals per year. Currently there are an estimated 32.5 million people who were born abroad and 55 million who are of so-called “foreign stock”—that is, of the first-generation immigrants and second-generation U.S. born children of immigrants (Census, 2000). While in sheer numbers it is impressive, it is important to note that the U.S. immigration rate is considerably less than in several post-industrial nations—37.3% in Luxembourg; 23.1% in Australia; 18.2 in Canada, for example (OECD, 2003,) as well as proportionally less than during the last great migratory wave of the 1880’s to 1920’s.

The new immigrants are extraordinarily diverse and their experiences resist facile generalizations. Nearly eighty percent are of color, coming from Latin America, Asia, and the Caribbean. They bring with them an astonishingly wide array of languages, religions, cultural beliefs and practices. Some come from highly educated professional backgrounds, while others are illiterate and low skilled struggling in the lowest paid sectors of the service economy (Suárez-Orozco, 2000). Some are escaping political, religious, or ethnic persecution; others are lured by the promise of better jobs and the hope for better educational opportunities. Some families have officially sanctioned, documented, legal status; some do not, and still others have families with mixed documentation—some siblings are documented while others are not. Some come to settle permanently and others move from one migrant work camp to another. Some engage in transnational strategies, living both “here and there”—that is, shuttling between their country of birth and their country of choice (Levitt, 2001). The immigrant journey today follows complex paths bifurcating into divergent experiences and varied outcomes—some thrive with immigration while others struggle, too quickly joining the “rainbow underclasses.” (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Large scale migration from Brazil to the U.S. is a relatively new phenomenon. Indeed, Brazil has historically been a host society for immigrants from many nations. Perhaps in part because Brazilians are a fairly new group to the U.S.; perhaps because they are often subsumed within a larger “Latino” designation (despite resistance); and perhaps because they tend not to be a “problem” group, there is still relatively little systematic work done on the Brazilian immigrant experience. Hence, it is an area of research ripe for cultivation.

Conducting sound research with immigrants is a challenge given the magnitude, diversity, and complexity of the migratory phenomenon as well as the dearth of cross-culturally effective and meaningful research strategies. There is certainly a long history of research on immigration; in the United States, the field of study first became established during the last great wave of migration between 1880 and 1920. Assimilation and the adaptation of the second generation were particular areas of concern. At the end of the last millennium, migration was an area of scholarship that had been dominated by demographers (focusing on where the new immigrants were from and where they were settling), economists (concerned with understanding the economic forces that push migrants from their homes and lure them to new destinations as well as establishing the fiscal and wage implications of

immigrants for host society economies), sociologists (investigating how immigrants were adapting to the new society), and anthropologists (inquiring into what cultural practices the new immigrants brought with them and how those in the host society responded to them). With the exception of anthropologists and ethnographically savvy sociologists, these disciplinary gazes have for the most part taken a telescopic view. The more family- and person-centered aspects of migration is the logical purview of the discipline of psychology. Psychologists, however, have only recently begun to systematically consider the migratory experience.¹ In this paper I will briefly review the most pressing gaps in the literature and make recommendations for further research on the migratory experience—a growing issue encountered in nearly every continent.

Significant Gaps in Migrant Research

Neglected Populations. Research on immigrant origin groups tends to be focused on so-called problem populations. Research abounds around why Latinos not doing better as a group in the educational system or how particular groups are over-represented in the penal system or in gangs. Conversely, researchers also look towards the other end of the continuum—the so called “model minority” (Lee, 1996). Asian immigrants are often held up as the gold standard—why can’t other groups do as well as the Asian students? Of course this is highly simplistic as a line of research. It considers neither the fact that just like Latinos, Asians are highly diverse in their origins. Some groups tend to be advantaged (upper status Indians or 5th generation persons of Japanese origin or 2nd generation Koreans) and do very well within the new context while others face many of the same challenges as their counterparts in other groups that are struggling (such as Hmong or Laotian refugees who do not come from literate traditions). Groups that tend neither to overachieve nor to dramatically underachieve are often under-researched. Filipinos are certainly an example—there is little research among this group although they are the second largest country of origin group in the U.S. This phenomenon may also be contributing to the understudy of Brazilians.

Latinos. At over 30 million individuals, the complex category of Latinos represent well over half of all immigrants to the U.S.. Latinos are extraordinarily diverse and their experiences resist facile generalizations. Some have ancestors who were established on what is now U.S. territory long before the current borders were set through conquest and land purchases. Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans have historically been the most represented groups in the aggregated the Latino category. In recent decades, however, large numbers of Latinos have been immigrating from dozens of countries (such as Brazil) that fuel this burgeoning population. Today, an estimated two-thirds of Latinos are either immigrants or the children of immigrants (Suárez-Orozco & Paez, 2002). The sending countries, the areas of settlement, the historical timing of the migration, and economic circumstances vary considerably for Latinos from different circumstances. This array of backgrounds and experiences further challenge any semblance of Latino homogeneity.

Whether or not Brazilians will embrace “Latinoness” remains to be seen. Many cast off this designation citing language differences and a general sense of not belonging to an underclass as primary reasons. Others argue that Brazilians originate in Latin America and given that this identity seems to be imposed upon Brazilians within the receiving culture, it may be politically strategic to make this alliance. How this drama will be resolved remains to be seen.

Immigrant Youth. Research in the field of migration has largely focused on immigrant adults—the immigrant child and youth experience has largely been neglected (Garcia-Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). This is quite puzzling given that at the turn of the century, one in five children growing up in the U.S. is a child of immigrants and that proportion is projected to increase to one in three by 2030 (Rong & Preissle, 1998). Migration certainly presents a variety of challenges to the development of immigrant youth (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001), including disrupted networks or relations and family separations (Suárez-Orozco, Todorova, & Louie, 2002)², parents who are unavailable because they work long hours or are depressed (Athey & Ahearn, 1991), a hostile ethos of reception (Suárez-Orozco, 2000), neighborhood and school segregation (Orfield & Yun, 1999), and challenges to identity formation (Suárez-Orozco, 2004).

Academic adaptations are a particular area of importance for research. As for newcomer children, schools are the primary entry point into the host society as well as the first setting of sustained contact with the new culture. Further, academic outcomes are a powerful barometer of current as well as future psycho-social functioning (Mandel & Marcus, 1988) (Steinberg, 1996). Much of the research literature on immigrant youth has focused on the questions related to second language acquisition. While an important concern, many other factors are related to how immigrant youth adapt to their new school environments including those noted above as well as others. Given the numbers of youth involved, clearly how these children adapt and the educational pathways they take will have profound implications for our society. Hence, this is a fertile area for important future research.

Gendered Patterns of Adaptation. Gendered migratory experiences are another domain of significant neglect within the immigration research community. Scholars all too often fail to consider whether or not women are motivated by the same forces as men as well as how their experience within the new context may or may not be different than that of their male counterparts. There is ample evidence to suggest that there are many dimensions of experience which are indeed different for males and females (Hongdagneu-Sotelo, 1999; Mahler, 1999; Pessar, 1989). Females seem to do better within academic contexts, for example, and young men tend to contend with a more unforgiving, hostile reception within the new county (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). On the other hand, assuming that gender will always lead to different experiences is a mistake. Although there are certainly differences between immigrant males and females, there are also many similarities (Cornell, 2000; Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004a & 2004b). Interestingly, many of the dimensions we have examined over the years have revealed no gender differences, including attitudes toward teachers, perceptions of school safety, attitudes toward Americans, self-reports of somatization and hostility (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004a). We have also found that often country of origin trumps gender—that is to say being from a particular country of origin has more salience (or is more predictive) than being of a particular gender. Hence, while it is important to consider gender, as researchers it is also important to recognize that non-findings of overlap in attitudes, behaviors, and experiences are in some ways as interesting as findings of differences. Future research should consider how, when, and why it makes a difference to be an immigrant or to be from a particular country or to be female rather than male (Eckes & Trautner, 2000).

Focus on Pathology. Psychologists in particular, but social scientists in general, have focused excessively on pathology, in my estimation. Much of the research has searched for links between the stresses of the migratory experience and expected negative fall-out (depression, marital conflict, crises of identity, incarceration rates, and the like) resulting from that experience (Ainslie, 1998; Arrendondo-

Dowd, 1980; Grinberg & Grinberg, 1990; Sluzki, 1979; Suárez-Orozco, 2000).³ When sampling from a non-clinical population, the data that has emerged from this line of research has demonstrated little relationship between migration and psychopathology, however (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004b). Though few studies examine mental health issues in the country of origin, there is some evidence that there is not a significant difference between non-migrants in country of origin and migrants in a new setting. Further, when comparing immigrants to non-immigrants, it appears that immigrants do not demonstrate significantly higher rates of psychopathology than do non-immigrants (Arorian, Norris, & Lenny, 2003; Noh, Speechley, Kaspar, & Wu 1992).

This general finding that the link between migration and negative mental health outcomes is relatively weak is consistent with growing counter-intuitive evidence that the first generation in fact seems to do better on a variety of indicators of wellbeing when compared to second generation as well as the native-born peers (Davies & McKelvey, 1998; Hernandez & Cherney, 1995). Several fairly recent international large-scale studies have replicated this epidemiological paradox in Canada (Beiser, Hou, Hyman & Tousignant, 1999), in New Zealand (Davies & McKelvey, 1998) as well as in Europe. First generation immigrants seem to do considerably better on a number of mental and physical health indicators in spite of their higher poverty levels.

The underlying explanation for this phenomenon has yet to be proven, but a number of potential explanations could be considered. There may be a selective pattern of migration—individuals with greater psychological and physical robustness may be more likely to embark on the immigrant journey. First-generation immigrants may also be engaging in healthier cultural practices. The longer they are in the host country the more likely they are to assimilate to less health habits—greater dependence on processed, high-fat, low-fiber fast food; employment in work sectors that require less physical exertion; greater likelihood to abuse substances, and the like. Those in the first generation may be more likely to draw on the inoculating effects of the dual frame of reference (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995) and hope (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Further, the 1.5 generation and beyond may be made more vulnerable as a result of developing and growing up in the face of a negative social mirror that reflects back a distorted negative image of their worth and potential (Suárez-Orozco, 1998). Future studies that focus on the psychological sequelae of migration would do well to consider not simply pathological outcomes but also the particular strengths and resiliencies that may emerge through migration.

Best Practices in Future Research

Cross-cultural research on immigrants forces us to reexamine the traditional social science assumptions around validity and reliability (McLoyd and Steinberg 1998; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 1995). Questions and prompts that are valid for one group may not be valid for another. Hence, it is a challenge to develop single instruments or approaches that capture the experiences of individuals from a variety of backgrounds. There is a growing consensus in the field of cross-cultural research that mixed method designs, linking etic (outsider) and emic (insider) approaches, triangulating data, and embedding emerging findings into an ecological framework are essential to this kind of endeavor (Sue and Sue 1987; Bronfenbrenner 1988; Hughes, Seidman, and Edwards 1993; Doucette-Gates, Brooks-Gunn, and Chase-Lansdale 1998; Branch 1999).

The goal of research should be to capture the migratory experience in all of its subtleties—understanding that there are many common denominators of experience between the groups of origin while recognizing the specificity of experience of particular groups as well as individuals. To paraphrase famed anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn, every immigrant is like all other immigrants, like some other immigrants, and like no other immigrants. The accomplished researcher should strive to capture that reality.

Briefly now, I turn to some broad recommendations for researchers of migration:

Interdisciplinary Collaborations. Migrations are complex and outcomes are multiply determined. We must recognize that this domain requires inter-disciplinarily, mixed-method strategies to achieve any depth. Psychologists need the perspective of the sociological understanding of social forces (such as power inequities) as well as the cultural insights that anthropologists can provide. Interdisciplinary teams whose members are “bicultural” in one another’s methodologies lead to more robust research contributions.

Etic & Emic Perspectives. Combining “outsider” (etic) and “insider” (emic) approaches to diverse populations is important in the phases of both data collection and analysis (Cooper et al. 1998). Bicultural and bilingual researchers are better able to establish rapport and trust within the communities and gain entry into immigrant populations that might otherwise be difficult to access. Further, insiders are essential for appropriate linguistic and cultural translations of protocols. Their perspective is also essential for accurate and culturally relevant interpretations. If the research is not conducted by members of the immigrant community, it is essential that cultural experts be consulted in the development of instruments as well as the interpretation of findings. Outsiders provide a fresh interpretive perspective and may lend specific disciplinary expertise. Interpretive communities of “insiders” and “outsiders” as well as individuals representing a range of disciplinary expertises are highly recommended.

Culturally Sensitive Tools. Research protocols should always be provided in the language of dominance of the informant. Measures developed with mainstream English speaking populations (as are many standardized instruments) are often culturally and linguistically biased (Doucette-Gates, Brooks-Gunn, & Chase-Lansdale, 1998). New tools, either adapting pre-existing instruments or developing entirely new approaches, often must be developed for research with immigrants. The process of development should be a dynamic inductive one involving theoretically based formulations along with themes emerging from the field. As culturally informed questionnaires are developed they must be carefully translated and piloted.

Triangulated Data. Using triangulated data in multiple settings and taking multiple perspectives is crucial when faced with the challenges of validity in conducting research with groups of diverse backgrounds. A variety of approaches and sources of data allow us to be more confident that our data is accurately capturing the phenomenon under consideration. Researchers should consider various levels of analysis in their research including the individual, interpersonal relations, context-specific social groups (work force peers, church members, for example) as well as cultural dimensions. Triangulated data serves to counteract the inherent limitations of self-report data—a problem we suspect is exaggerated among immigrant youth. By sifting through a variety of perspectives—self reports, parent reports, teacher reports (in the case of youth) or other community members (in the case of adults) as well as

researcher observations, concurrence and disconnections can be established between what informants say they do, what others say they do, and what the researcher sees them do.

Sending & Host Contexts Perspectives. Researchers should consider the historical, political, and cultural forces at work, not simply within the host context but also that of the sending countries as well. Within the sending context, for example, the circumstances surrounding the migration; the socio-economic background of the immigrants, whether or not there has been a rural to urban shift, as well as how cohesive the family is and whether or not they were separated as a result of the migration can greatly affect the post-migratory adjustment. Within the receiving context, the available networks of social relations, whether or not they are documented, neighborhood segregation, the availability of work for adults and the quality of schools for youth as well as the ethos of reception towards the particular immigrant group and the disparagement & social mirroring they may encounter will contribute to variable pathways of adjustment.

Longitudinal Perspectives. Cross sectional data is necessarily limited because it limits our ability to detect changes over time. Though time consuming and expensive, longitudinal research has much to offer and should be pursued when possible (Fuligini, 2001; Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Comparison Samples. Whenever possible it is important to incorporate non immigrants within the host culture as well as non-immigrants in the sending culture into the study design. Are immigrants different from peers who have not migrated in their country of origin or from native born peers in the host country? These comparison groups provide “baselines” in order to contextualize findings (see Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995).

Including groups from other originating countries arriving to the same context also can provide an important comparative perspective. Brazilians certainly exhibit characteristics that make them quite different than Mexicans or Argentines, but do they share any migratory parallels? How are particular groups similar to others? How may they be different? And how can we account for these differences? Only by considering other groups can we begin to answer these types of questions.

Considering Understudied Groups. The majority of work in the U.S. has focused on Latinos and most especially those of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Central American refugee origins. We need to expand research to consider South Americans, Caribbeans and South Americans as well as other ethnic groups from a variety of Asian, Eastern Europe, and Africa origins.

Immigrant Generations. Researchers should recognize the differences between the first, the 1.5 generation, and the second generation and beyond in their analyses. This is an oft ignored dimension of analyses. Much of the work on Latinos in particular simply ignores generational dimensions altogether.

Developmental Perspectives. Sociologists and anthropologists have provided a great deal of insight into the gendered experience of migration for adults. Developmental psychologists have much to offer in providing a nuanced developmental perspective about immigrants of a range of developmental stages including latency age, adolescents, early adulthood, middle-age and the elderly. More work should be done in this domain.

Racial Awareness. Overlooking the racialized experiences of immigrants is a serious oversight. Immigrants encounter very different receptions depending upon whether or not they are “racially marked” by phenotype (Bailey 2001; López 2002; Waters, 1999). Given the color spectrum represented by Brazilian society, keeping this perspective in mind is essential while conducting research into the adaptation of Brazilian immigrants in a racially conscious society.

Careful Sampling. The settings from which informants, participants, and subjects are drawn are likely to influence the kinds of conclusions we draw. If we sample from a clinical context we are likely to find more pathological outcomes. Drawing representative samples is critical and we should always ask ourselves if and how our sample may or may not be representative.

Theory Building. Researchers should be willing to engage in theory building as part of the process of doing research. When observations of differences are made, theories of why and under what circumstances those differences occur should be developed. The next stage of research should then involve testing hypotheses that emerge from those theories.

Focus on Resilience. Research should consider sources of resilience that arise from the migratory experience. For example, are such inoculating traits as hope, perseverance, and capacity to delay gratification more often found among immigrants than their native born peers? This shift to a consideration of both challenges and strengths has the potential to deepen our understanding considerably.

In this paper, I have outlined what I consider to be the most glaring oversights in immigrant research and have made a number of recommendations for future research. Meaningful understanding requires insights provided by parallel fields of the social sciences. Inter-disciplinary, triangulated research is essential to begin to unpack the nuanced effects of migration, its particular challenges as well as its protective characteristics.

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Endnotes

¹. Research on the migratory experience done by psychologists has tended to examine four broad domains: acculturative stress & “migration morbidity; relational strains in family dynamics; the challenges in identity formation; and educational outcomes.

². Immigrant youth often immigrate not just to new homes but also to new family structures. In our study of 400 immigrant youth to the United States coming from a variety of sending origins including Central America, China, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Haiti, we found that fully 85 percent of the youth in this project had been separated from one or both parents for periods of several months to several years.

³. It should be noted that these outcomes would be most likely to be more pronounced among refugees but in fact there is frequently little distinction made within the field of psychology between immigrants and refugees.

DENATURALIZING THE AMERICAN NATURALIZATION PROCESS: The Impact of American Immigrant History on the New Immigrant

◇
Sheila Skitnevsky-Finger

Introduction: Personal Account

My experience in moving to the U.S. has been one of becoming a recipient to overt (and subtle) projections and pre-judgments about my cultural and personal identity—as a newcomer, as a Latina, and as a Brazilian. Such projected characteristics caused me a discomfiting and disorienting experience: the experience of being seen as something alien to myself. What I came to understand were some assumptions that existed about me as a foreigner.

When a computer breaks down and experiences a “crash” it becomes necessary to undergo a process of reformatting. In a similar way, my move to the U.S. started me on the road to a personal reformatting; revising my values, re-evaluating my principles and beliefs, and even questioning my own psychological dynamics. In keeping with the computer metaphor, I refer to my cross-cultural transition as “the reformatting of identity,” which begins with the investigation of how this powerful, and often-painful process relates to the majority of newcomers. The first motivation to the present study came from this experience of being overloaded with those projections and assumptions.

However, in reviewing the literature on the psychology of immigration I observed two interesting facts: first, that other theorists had already talked about the immigrants’ internal turmoil (some even referring to the revising process I call “reformatting of identity”). Second, and more importantly, they tend to focus on the immigrants’ internal world, which means psychological dynamics, personal struggles, the several possible ways to overcome this process, and so forth. Overall, the theorists fail to account for what in my experience triggers the reformatting process to begin with—the external projections and assumptions about foreigners’ identity.

As a consequence, I gradually switched my focus from the newcomers to those who hold the assumptions. What could be the social or cultural purpose of this dynamic of assigning characteristics to newcomers, especially when based on uninformed ideas about their countries of origin, their language, their culture, and their “race”? The projections and generalizations assigned to immigrants relate mostly to characteristics thought not to belong to “real” Americans: native peoples are “uncivilized and wild”; Latinos are “loud”; Brazilians are “highly sexualized”; Asian/“Oriental” people are “exotic”; the French are “bon-vivants”; and so forth. It is easy to assume that this is an issue that concerns only those who come, not the ones who host; it is all too easy to overlook how social, political, and historical forces shape the way Americans define and deal with other immigrants. With their tendency to classify immigrants in static clusters of meanings, Americans fail to see and relate to the new waves of immigrants beyond the stereotypes, further reinforcing a culture unaware of its own ancestral genesis.

One way of investigating the origins of this dynamic is to look at the history of American culture and society by way of analyzing the historic role of immigration. In so doing, I hope to propose a way of understanding acculturation that goes beyond the internal processes—one that also integrates the external pressures that contribute to the internal transformation.

Cross Cultural Experience

This presentation examines the experience of immigrants in the process of crossing cultures. I focus on two major aspects:

1. What happens within the psyche of the immigrant, which is to say, the transformations that occur from the inside out: internal turmoil and its origins
2. What happens towards the psyche of the immigrant, which is to say, the transformations imposed from outside in: projections, “otherness” and their origins

1. Inside Out: Internal Turmoil and Its Origins

Psychic Symptoms. In psychoanalysis, symptoms are not thought of solely as pathologies, but rather as sets of beliefs and behaviors that we develop throughout our lives—ways we have of dealing with day-by-day relationships and challenges. Followers of Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan name these psychological contortions “psychic symptoms.” This nomenclature does not refer solely to specific pathological behaviors, like obsessive acts or paranoid symptoms. Rather, it refers to a body of determinations that justify the person’s behaviors, attitudes, beliefs, thoughts, and feelings—whose motivations are at times conscious, and at times unconscious.

In addition, our psychic apparatus is constantly adapting to changing external realities. A person who marries has to integrate the identity of “spouse;” upon having children the person assumes the identity of “parent”. This process of integrating identities might be translated as the process of incorporating new ways of thinking and acting in accordance to the new social status; it also represents new ways of seeing oneself and being seen by others.

Consequently, we tend to respond in certain ways, ways that are usually functional within our social relations and environment. And precisely because these responses are functional, we become attached to them. In a cross-cultural situation, those patterns of behaviors do not achieve the same results; they do not trigger the reactions we expect. Unable to be who we believe we are, and to retain how we have been in our home cultures, we feel lost, in pain, at times in despair.

In a cross-cultural situation, our sense of personal identity—“who am I”—is therefore also modified. The previous social space is no longer there: our social function is modified from micro to macro systems, from place in the family, to place in the community and in the world. Along with this modification comes a sense of altered self-identity.

Examples of Psychological Distraught Caused by the Cross Cultural Experience. In working as a liaison between public schools and recently emigrated Brazilians, I encountered several cases where the immigration experience caused great psychological distress on entire families—adversely affecting each family member’s ability to adapt.

For example, fathers felt they had lost the position of “head of the family” because they could not express themselves in the language of the new country. These men confessed to feeling insecure and

intimidated by the new culture. Many were socially and professionally recognized in Brazil—and described themselves as going from being “somebody” to becoming “nobody.” When their children became fluent in English, more quickly and confidently, some fathers felt a blow to their pride. In the Brazilian culture, the role of the father is believed to be one of support and help to their children. Consequently, the new situation provoked a painful and demoralizing role reversal, in which they had to face the reality of being helped and supported by the very people they believe they had to be helping and supporting.

I also met mothers who were formerly teachers in Brazil, and who felt now intimidated by the language and cultural differences of America, often feeling too “paralyzed” to deal with tasks they had mastered in their past. It took a number of meetings with these women to help talk, remember their past, and remind them of their strengths and competency, so that they could revive their sense of security and entitlement of authority in dealing with their children. These mothers, at one time confident in their skills to discipline and guide their children, felt painfully unprepared to cope with their children’s new environment and educational challenges after crossing cultures.

The children, aware of their parents’ reluctance to maintain authority in the new context, often felt scared and anxious; they were required to mature beyond their years to respond to familial demands of assuming tasks formerly and ideally performed by grown-ups. For example, many children are asked to mediate meetings, to translate documents, and to meet with authority figures like bankers, legal agents, and even medical professionals. If, in their countries of origin, the adults helped them to understand and adapt to the external world, in the new country the situation becomes inverted: the youngsters become responsible for assisting adults. The pressure felt by these children, to mature quickly to keep-up in the new society, is a feeling common to immigrants of all ages.

Origins of Psychological Distraught: The Failure of Psychic Symptoms. In cross-cultural situations, social relations are changed, and so is one’s sense of identity. Bringing back the concept of psychic symptom as a product of the interaction between our conscious and unconscious motives and the external world, one way of understanding the psychological effects of the cross-cultural experience is in comprehending that the suffering is caused by the failure of the symptom. In other words, what fails is the deployment of former attitudes, behaviors, beliefs, thoughts, and emotional responses. The methods created by an individual to relate and be in the world are no longer functional or successful in the new environment, resulting in self-doubts, feelings of loss, anxiety, and despair.

This pressure to socially re-invent oneself has been described as a “blank notebook” which triggers different reactions based on perspective. For some, the “blank notebook” experience translates into a great opportunity—of changing, of improving ways of relating—to the extent that some people experience it almost as a chance to go back and start all over again. For others, however, this phenomenon marks an impasse, a very difficult obstacle—for those who struggle in this way, immigration might cause symptoms of anxiety and depression.

2. Outside In: Cultural Pressures

Historically, this country was founded for, and populated by immigrants—aside from the Native Americans and the annexed Mexicans, all others are more or less generations away from their immigrant ancestors. Like all immigrants, the international contingent that constituted this country at its origin had to endure the process of immigration, adaptation, and acculturation.

The first English village was established in Virginia, in 1607, comprised mostly of Puritans who had been persecuted in England for their extremist religious doctrine; they risked immigration looking for freedom. When they arrived, Virginia was already the home of fourteen thousand Powhatans, a tribe that had an advanced system of agriculture, tool-building, and food storage.

Who were the Indians? It is believed that the Indians have been here for the last twenty five thousand years. They crossed the land bridge of the Bering Straits to Alaska, and later moved southward to Central and South America. When Columbus arrived there were hundreds of different tribal cultures communicating in over two thousand different languages and engaging in the process of making “civilized” advances similar to those in Asia, Europe and Africa.

In the English interactions with this native population, the Pilgrims felt pressured not only to re-invent themselves individually, but also as a social group. England’s plan was to extend intact to the Americas, but persecution for their religious differences drove the colonists to create something new, an experiment in freedom that could govern itself. The elite of their group, which established laws and government, had a very specific agenda concerning their venture. Their intention was to create a homogeneously white society. This dilemma of preserving racial oneness while becoming a multicultural society perplexed the policymakers. The very undeniable reality of the multicultural society started to threaten the dream for an all white society; several measures taken to avoid that threat led to the virulence of racism and racial segregation.

In supporting the Naturalization Act of 1790, Congress affirmed its commitment to the “pure principles of Republicanism” and a determination to develop a citizenry of good and “useful” men. Only the “worthy part of mankind” would be eligible for citizenship. The “worthy” also had to be “white.”

Perhaps the forefathers intended to correct the mistakes of the aristocratic English society, with its lack of religious freedom and social mobility. America was to be a better place ... for whites! The consequence was indeed the successful birth of democracy, but at the expense of the denial of a multicultural reality. Ironically, the freedom offered by their enterprise became a threat to the members of that community, one that led to rigid social mechanisms to control its members and the destinies of many generations to come. Two of those social mechanisms still affect new immigrants: projection of attributes, and otherness.

The Mechanism of Projection

Historical Origins. As with all immigrants, this first group of colonists also had to endure the painful process of immigration and acculturation. What were the external pressures for them?

The English colonizers were afraid of losing their identity and ultimately, of losing control. Their closeness to the ‘wilderness,’ and to what the wild represented (sin and damnation), certainly added to their insecurity. As a group with a specific agenda and strong religious beliefs, the threat of losing control, of creating a new society, was a daunting prospect. Fear caused these Pilgrims to fight against the threat of internal boundaries with the only tools they had at hand: religion and rationalization. Trying hard to preserve their identity, they projected the negative aspects of their inner conflict onto the Indians—they devil-ized the native “other,” characterizing their developed culture as primitive and savage. In addition, to reinforce this projection, the colonists identified themselves with the opposite of what was projected—not only would they not own the negative aspects of their inner conflict, they would identify themselves as “not-savage nor-primitive.” They were the ones who would NOT be tempted.

For those men, women, and their leaders, the way to prevent identity and cultural dismantlement was to create myths about the dangers of becoming “the other”, now signified as “savage,” and its culture as “decivilization.” The creation and perpetuation of this myth worked to protect the Puritan’s sense of identity.

The mechanisms of projection were applied: the creation of cultural myths that portrayed Indians as “wild and savage” and the Puritans as pure and superior, served at least two purposes. First, to calm down the inner conflicts, and second, to justify the atrocities committed against the natives, through the rationalization that their acts represented a fight against evil.

Case example. In the introduction of her doctoral dissertation, Mattar (1994) described her cross-cultural experience as an “experience of partial ‘disintegration’,” one that triggered both a “revision/reassessment” of self and identity, and a “redefinition” of her social self:

My whole ethnic and cultural background was dismissed and ignored in my daily exchange with North Americans. For example, I was many times approached with the question: ‘where are you from?’ I would answer: “from Venezuela’, hoping that the person would know some geography. However, there were no questions asked; only generalizations and stereotypical comments to account for my behavior and way of thinking: ‘do Latino children have abstract thought?’ or, ‘Oh, you are from Venezuela... no wonder you are so dark-skinned!’ (I have a light complexion). Things would get much more complicated if I made a comment about my Lebanese origin. That is how far things would get (Mattar 1994).

Accordingly, Mattar not only accounts for the internal process that comes with moving into another culture, but with the impact of that culture’s ways of dealing with foreigners, or, said another way, the external forces that influence this cross-cultural situation. Historically, this projective mechanism leads to a second cultural phenomenon that influenced all the next generations of immigrants: the dichotomy between “us” and “others.”

Otherness: Dichotomy Between “Us” Versus “Others”

Case example. In my clinical experience, I met a young woman who was distraught over having to deal with immigration and racial issues. She was born in Africa and came to the U.S. when she was a teenager. During her process of acculturating, her situation was aggravated because of social disdain all around: as an African, she was seen by her African-American peers as a “traitor,” part of “the group that exploited and sold their brothers as slaves.” In turn, she was seen by white Americans as a member of the African-American society, the very group that frightened and patronized her with their hostility and presumptions. The young woman was filled with anger towards both groups. Conflicted with feelings of love and hate towards both her old and new homes, the dichotomy seemed constructed from elements of the North-American culture.

In this clinical example, the young woman was struggling to make sense of her own identity—African between African-Americans, African-American between Americans. She felt herself the victim of projections of historical faults and facts, and an anger created by an incarnation of “otherness.”

Otherness: Its Historical Origins. As argued by historians like Ronald Takaki (1993), the “hidden” origins of slavery were rooted in class rather than race. Most English colonists migrated to Virginia as servants. They planned to complete their period of indenture and become landowners. However, colonists with financial advantage dominated the Assembly and enacted legislation to advance and protect their own class interests. Frustrated and angry, many white workers felt they were duped into coming to America; they became a threat to social order, forming a discontent class of both whites and blacks. The landowners soon understood that as long as they were dependent on white labor, the social order would always be in danger.

The goal of creating a homogeneous white society was the reason why the recruitment of African slaves had been low until the 1660s. But with the decrease of white labor, for the lack of new white immigrants, and the freedom of existing ones, the elite felt cornered. To import more Africans would solve the demand for labor, but could threaten the white homogeneity. The colonists then realized that black slaves could be more effectively controlled by state power than their white counterparts, for they could be denied certain rights based on the color of their skin. The solution was the establishment of slavery.

With the inception of the Naturalization Act that established that citizens had to be “white,” their problems were solved: with slavery, blacks would remain at the margins of the white society, allowing for more blacks to be imported to supply the short- and long-term demand for labor. At the socio-cultural level, those measures led to the construction of the concept of otherness, which would later prevent “others” from integrating the mainstream society. Defining the mainstream as “white” from European ancestry, they divided the world in two—“people like us” and “the others.” Until today, the mainstream American identity is portrayed as white of European origins, despite the fact that one third of the North American population is in fact not European in origin.

Once again, utilizing their tools of religion and rationalization, the Puritans defined blacks to fit their own misguided projections. As if convincing, more likely protecting themselves, the Puritans proclaimed: “Chain him, either chain him or expel his black shape from our midst, *before we realize that he is ourselves*” (Takaki, 1993).

In this manner, the concept of otherness also gained “colors:” for socio-economic reasons, Africans were painted as “blacks;” for their religious differences the Irish were “painted” as green; for their cultural differences, Asians were painted as yellow; and more recently, Latinos have been painted as “brown.” North American culture created a racial color-coded divide between the “us” whites, and all others.

Other Considerations

The Latinos. A contemporary group that has been embodying social otherness is the Latino minority. The Latinos are comprised of a diverse group of ethnic and cultural communities that have been grouped together under the social construction of their “race.” In a meeting with members of the “Latinos” from a renowned university, I learned that they do not consider international students from Hispanic cultures as Latinos. As they explained to me, “Latinos are those from Hispanic background AND low economic class. International students pay their own studies, therefore even if they speak Spanish, they are excluded from our minority group.”

The denomination of “Latino” does not make sense: first, Latin America is named after the “latin” languages of their colonizers, Spain and Portugal. But included in “latin” languages are also Italy and France, so that “latin,” in its origins, has no special relation with Spanish. Second, geographically many “Latinos” come from Spanish countries arguably outside Latin America, such as Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. And third, culturally “latinos” are often equaled to “Spanish” (“Hispanos”), a category that excludes, however, all immigrants from Spain itself. Therefore, as with many other racial or ethnic social constructions, calling a group “Latinos” has been consequent of the social need for grouping individuals as “others”, different from “us.”

The Brazilians Living In the U.S.: Some Considerations

As many professionals are coming to realize, Brazilians live in limbo as to their ethnic background: asked to check our “ethnic group,” we find ourselves in the “others” category. I have heard many Brazilians feeling uncomfortable with this “otherness.” Understandable. As Brazilians, we have not yet been completely studied or classified, a condition that some might foresee as a problem. In some instances, it might indeed constitute a problem, for example when special situations require a diagnosis of the profile of Brazilians in some regions, to assess their status and needs, to provide services, or even to account for their existence.

However, as my research is starting to indicate, the pressure to be recognized as a homogeneous group, within some classificatory category, has local cultural motivations that are not intrinsically needed. As the analysis of this social and historical constructs indicate, they cause the American culture to fail to recognize their own immigratory past, and varied ethnic background. Creating a “Brazilian category” might indeed bring some social and perhaps even economic benefits to the Brazilian community—in Rome, do as the Romans. But it might lock us into stereotyped descriptions that exclude the richness diversity of our culture. This is an issue we should all consider carefully when assisting this culture to classify and “othernize” us.

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POLITICS OF IDENTITY AND (NOT)BELONGING

◇
Cileine de Lourenço

Despite the excellent works published about Brazilians living in the USA, the possibility of positioning Brazilian identity formation within the Latino context has remained practically untouched. I would like to propose a discussion on the politics of identity of Brazilians vis-à-vis Latinos. Beforehand, we should be reminded that identity formation is a dynamic process involving constant changes and subject positionings. It is a fluid process that allows for subordination as well as transgression/resistance in the tricky negotiations involved in hegemonic dealings. I shall add that identity formation is both individual and collective. I assert, too, that one is not born Latina/o; one *becomes* Latina/o.

It will also be clear to you that my observations and proposition have a lot to do with my own experience as an immigrant who left Brazil at the age of 19 to come to this country, for the first time, some 26 years ago. Although I have lived in other countries, the majority of this time I have spent in the USA. Most of this time I lived in places where there were either no other Brazilians or very few.

My views are also shaped by the fact that at an early age I became fully conscious of the difficult task of being a Latin American outside Latin America. A sense of historical communality with Spanish-speaking America and my affinity for the many cultures of the “Latin” continent I encountered in the USA influenced my identification with Spanish-speaking Americans.

My perspective is also shaped by other significant personal experiences, particularly my formal education and the educational path I chose to embrace. As a poor young woman I did not have the opportunity to access higher education in Brazil. I accomplished my undergraduate, master’s and doctorate degrees in the USA, choosing primarily Spanish America as my area of interest. Rigoberta Menchú permitting, I must add that “*y así me nació la conciencia*”. I became a Latina.

Because of these experiences it is difficult for me to imagine Brazilianness outside of the boundaries of historical relations between Latin America as a whole and the United States.

Having said that, I want to propose a discussion on the Brazilian experience in the USA in relation to the ways in which Brazilian immigrants have been shaping their identities vis-à-vis the Latino. The intention is multifaceted. I hope it will raise questions concerning “*políticas identitárias*,” not only within the framework of ethnicity but also in terms of race, gender and class. Furthermore, I believe this is the appropriate forum for us to begin a dialogue among ourselves that must be extended into a much larger context, thus enabling a critical and fulfilling debate among scholars in Latino Studies as well as activists in the Latino communities. The relevance of such a proposition relates to both strategies of survival in everyday life experiences as well as socio-political organization. In a society that underscores ethnic labeling, the ways in which we, the immigrants, define ourselves greatly impacts the making and re-shaping of policies.

Therefore, I believe it is important to position, even if temporarily, the Brazilian experience in the USA within the Latino context. This makes sense not only because of similarities involving colonialism, from which similar institutions emerged in all Latin American nations, or the shared experience of belonging to the periphery of modern and late capitalism and its consequences. It also permits us to open new

doors theoretically and methodologically to better understand our own collective experience as Brazilians, and to identify our strengths and weaknesses. Finally, the elasticity provided by this context, enables positionalities in the formation of socio-political subjectivities that are equally shared by both heterogeneity and similarity.

I would like to suggest that we should first look at the genealogy of terms such as Latin, Spanish, Hispanic and Latino so that we can better address the Brazilian experience in the USA. Second, I propose we look closely at the term Latino as a conceptualization that has emerged in the USA within the intellectual and activist segments of the Latino community. As concepts, these terms do not have any one clear definition. They are perceived, appropriated, used, discarded, adapted differently by different individuals, institutions, time and spaces. As significant factors in the identity formation of a minority, their meanings are constantly shifting and taking on different dimensions. Third, we should look at the benefits and the pitfalls of seeking identification with Spanish speaking Latinos as way to organize intellectually, politically and socially. My hope is that by engaging in this discussion our small Brazilian-Latino community can benefit from the alliances that can be forged, and that we can learn from the socio-political experiences of our Spanish speaking Latino sisters and brothers.

EU VIM PELO MÉXICO Personal Testimony of a Brazilian who Crossed the Border

◇
Marcony Almeida

What looks like a dream sometimes becomes a nightmare. Coming to the U.S.A is the dream of thousands of people in Brazil. But, for those who cross the border and arrive in this country through Mexico, the experience often times becomes “the worst time of one’s life.” Having become personally acquainted with many adventures and tragedies that Brazilians experience during and after crossing the United States’ border, I decided to begin a study that would show the real trials and triumphs of Brazilian immigrants.

The Story

Sebastião is a thirty-five year old immigrant who came to U.S. one year ago from Brazil. Born in a small village in the state of Minas Gerais, Sebastião is the second son of a family of 15 brothers. Because his mother could not work and his father could not afford to pay all the expenses of the family, Sebastião was forced to work and dropped out of school as early as his first year of grade school. He does not know how to read or write in his first language, Portuguese. For the last thirty years, he has toiled as a farmer to help his father takes care of almost his entire family. But he had a dream and used to say that he could not die without pursuing his biggest dream: to come to America.

“I thought this was the best country in the world, [that] it had the best people in the world and everything here was a real dream. Unfortunately, as soon as I crossed the border, I realized that my dream was really a nightmare. Nothing was true.”

In Brazil Sebastião met a *coyote*—a mercenary-like agent who smuggles immigrants into the U.S.—in the city of Governador Valadares, only a couple hours from his hometown. “He charged me US\$12,000 and told me for sure that he would bring me to Boston and I just needed to pay when I [entered the U.S.] I just didn’t know how I would cross the border.

I caught an airplane in São Paulo. Before that, [the coyote] told me I should be dressed up to avoid raising the suspicions of the Federal Police in Brazil. So, I bought a beautiful famous-brand suit and a new pair of shoes. The coyote also took me to a hair salon for a shave and a haircut. He told me that I must bring US\$30,000 with me to pay off the police officers in the Mexico City Airport; otherwise, they could send me back to Brazil. So, I left Brazil and went to Mexico. When I arrived there, two officers arrested me and brought me to a room. I asked them what the trouble was, because I had my passport, and [Brazilians] don’t need a visa to enter Mexico. They told me that I was going to cross the border to U.S. and they wouldn’t allow me to do it. Or, one of them said them with a big smile, ‘If you help us, we can help you.’ I knew that was the time to give at least US\$1,000 to them as the coyote had advised me to do. So, I gave them the money and they let me leave the airport. I was in Mexico. There started the worst part of the trip. I took a ride in a small truck with other 12 people, including two kids and three young girls. We went to a small village close to the U.S. border, in the city of El Paso. Two coyotes were in the truck with us. When we got to the city, there were three more coyotes waiting for us in front of a small house. That village looked like my village in Brazil—very poor. One of the coyotes

told us to get off the truck and then go into the house because we would sleep there and cross the border during the night—if it were possible. Inside the house there was no bed or even food or drink. We were starving and thirsty, especially the kids. But, the coyotes started to scream at us, saying that we were not paying them enough to have food and drinks. After two hours, they brought us water and bread. Around 3:30 in the morning, they woke us up. Most of us didn't sleep, actually. So, we were divided into three groups and one coyote would lead each group. We asked for our clothes and they told us 'no bags are allowed on the trip.'

One of the girls was crying since we had entered that house without knowing why. Then, she told us that her sister crossed that [very same] border before, but she was sexually abused. We realized that she was afraid the same thing could happen to her. It was time to cross the border. What I had been dreaming about for several years was starting to happen? At that very moment, I didn't know if it would be a fulfilled dream or a nightmare. We started to run. The coyote gave us instructions: never scream, don't breathe loudly and don't talk, among other things. We went through the forest in three separate groups. It was really cold and we were not wearing jackets. After a couple of hours inside that forest, I was in a panic. Helicopters, dogs, and immigration officers were around. When this happened, the coyote was the first one to run and everyone fled to the different parts of the forest. It was "*salve-se quem puder* [every man for himself]." When we ran, I didn't know which way to go and got lost. I spent three days lost in that forest without food and water. Sometimes, I had to hold my breath because officers were walking around with dogs. Three days later, when I couldn't survive anymore, I found a way to the main road. I had to present myself to an officer. I stayed one month in a prison in Texas and they let me go with US\$10,000 bail money that my brother, who is here, sent to me.

Today, I'm here as a fugitive. I've been working and paying my taxes because I want to legalize my immigration status. I know it is not easy. I know the discrimination that I face, which I'm dealing with in the workplace. I miss Brazil and my family. And today, if you ask me if I'm happy, I'll tell you I don't know. But, I'm here; this is America—the dollar country.

The number of migrants who died crossing the U.S.-Mexico border rose to the highest level in three years during 2003, according to statistics released by U.S. officials.

At least 346 migrants from Mexico and Latin America died trying to cross the border during the 2003 fiscal year. The figure exceeds the 2002 death toll by 26 and the 2001 figure by 10. 2003 was the highest recorded since 2000, when 383 perished.

The main cause of death, with at least 139 of the cases, was dehydration or exposure in the Sonora Desert in southern Arizona. It has become the primary migration route since a border crackdown known as Operation Gatekeeper began eight years ago. These statistics of fatalities do not include the dozens who suffocated in boxcars or died in high-speed car chases in counties that are not located along the border—like the 19 who died in May 2003 in an airless tractor-trailer near Victoria, Texas.

BRAZILIANS IN NEW ENGLAND: A Changing Profile and the Consequences of 9/11

◇
Heloísa Souza

Brazilians in New England: Historical Background Information

Brazilians started to immigrate to the United States in the 1960's. At the time they were few and legal. The disarray of the Brazilian economy and the frustration over successive economic plans dramatically changed the situation in the early 1980's. At the time, Brazil was running a monthly inflation of 30 to 40 percent.

Historically, Brazilians do not like to emigrate. The country is better known for receiving immigrants than for sending its people away. The decision to emigrate is a major step. In general, Brazilians are described as a loud, friendly, and lively people with a passion for music, carnival, and soccer. The real picture though, is that of a family-oriented people, who do not like to move away from their relatives, friends, and community. Even inside the country, Brazilians tend to live within the region where they were born or grew up.

According to Brazilian government figures, there are about 1.5 million Brazilians living overseas. The United States is one major port of entry: reportedly 750,000 Brazilians live in the United States, and Massachusetts may hold the second largest concentration, after New York and ahead of Florida.

According to a Boston Archdiocese research, there were about 150,000 Brazilians living in the Greater Boston area in 1993. The majority were in their twenties or early thirties, with kindergarten and elementary school children. Somerville, Framingham, Allston-Brighton, and East Boston are home to the largest Brazilian communities in the Greater Boston area.

The Brazilian Community of the Greater Boston area of the late 90's: A Changing Profile

Currently, community sources estimate that there are about 200,000 to 250,000 Brazilians living in New England. They come from all over the country, no longer only from Governador Valadares, as previous research has suggested. According to one community leader, there is a representative from every single Brazilian town in every single city or town of New England.

According to Fernando Castro, of Income Tax Plus, the largest tax filing business targeted to Brazilians, 60% of the Brazilians in Massachusetts file income tax. The average salary for a single person ranges between \$25,000 to \$30,000; for married couples between \$50,000 to \$60,000. The largest source of income is cleaning companies and sub-contracts. Brazilians are investing more in the United States than in Brazil. Real estate is the largest source of investment among Brazilians. Last year, in a given week, I counted 12, out of 15, houses sold to Brazilians. In average, out of 10 houses sold in the Boston area, four or five are sold to Brazilians. [*Information compiled by the author in 2001.]

These Brazilians are teenagers, single moms, single young men, middle-age people, elderly, engineers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, social workers, nurses, high school graduates, uneducated people, and people with low literacy skills. They come from diverse economic and educational backgrounds. The majority

of the families come with little or no English proficiency. They work days and nights, an incredible amount of hours, barely leaving leisure time. They bring their families, wives, husbands, children, in-laws, parents, and friends. Behind them, they leave not only their homeland but also their hope of going back in the near future.

Increasingly, Brazilians are choosing the most dangerous path to get into the United States: crossing the Mexican border. They get here with a debt of at least \$8,000 per person. In order to pay off the debt, the whole family has to work, therefore children are entering the workforce earlier, in detriment to their education.

Violence and destitution in Brazil are bringing more Brazilians than ever to the United States. The new generation of Brazilian immigrants is comprised mainly of children left behind during the first stage of the immigration process. Many of these children have not seen their parents or one of their parents in at least six years. Young couples with small children who come without return tickets; retired couples who want to improve their quality of life, and high school graduates who are making it to the United States on their own are also immigrating in large numbers.

The result of this heterogeneous mass immigration is not always good. Cases of depression are up, as well as the lack of communication between parents and their children. The incredible number of hours parents work leaves children alone for too many hours. Children get increasingly frustrated and lonely and start to act out in school. There is a weakening of family ties: husbands and wives hardly see each other due to their work schedules. School administrators and teachers complain more and more that children do not do well in school for lack of family support. Parents complain that school systems do not respond to their expectations. Caught in the middle, it is the children who are penalized.

Brazilians in New England After 9/11

Until 1996, when Congress passed the Immigrant Reform Law, Brazilians in Boston could live relatively well: they could drive, work was easily found, and immigration officials were rarely going after working people.

After the passing of the 1996 Immigrant Reform Bill, it became difficult to get a driver's license. The first major consequence of the 1996 bill then was an increase in the black market that produces false documents, from driver's licenses to social security cards to work permits. Another consequence of the 1996 draconian immigrant law was the creation of "tours" to states issuing driver's license and social security to tourists with a valid tourist visa. The cost of such trips was about \$3,000.

After 9/11 not many laws changed. However, people's attitudes changed a lot, making it possible for anyone to implement measures, which before were almost impossible to get away with.

For instance:

- Police officers asking for visas and passports
- School districts checking passports and visas and denying school registration (k-12) to children
- Immigration raids in work places

- New travel security measures that make it almost impossible for people without proper documentation to travel.
- Impossibility of renewing driver's licenses and car insurance policies
- Lack of worker's rights

Other consequences of 9/11

Budget cuts.

- Adult education (almost wiped out)
- ESL classes (15,000 in waiting lists)
- CAP (Citizenship Assistance Program) programs: 22,000 have benefited from CAP statewide
- Interpreters in emergency rooms, in acute psychiatric care units, and in court
- Health programs, such as Healthy Start, and health insurance benefits

Deportation tripled.

- 2001 = 30
- 2002 = 104
- 2003 (Jan. – Sept.) = 121

Crossing of the Border.*

- 1998 = 250 arrests
- 2001 = 3,200 arrests
- 2002 (Jan. – Aug.) = 2,200 arrests

*Yi, Daniel, Brazilians Turning to Mexican Smugglers, U.S. Officials say. Security: Authorities believe many are enticed by groups in their native country that collaborate with traffickers south of the U.S. border. *The Los Angeles Times*, 23 Aug. 2002
<http://www.latimes.com/news/local/la-me-smuggle23aug23.story>

Social and psychological impacts.

1. Unemployment
2. Fear
3. Isolation
4. Depression
5. Insecurity
6. Discrimination
7. Violence (domestic violence is in the raise)
8. Separation (family separation)

Before 9/11 three bills or initiatives had a pretty good chance of being approved.

1. Driver's license without social security number
2. Student's access to higher education regardless of the student's immigrant status (The Student Adjustment Act (HR 1918 introduced by Rep. Chris Cannon – (R-Utah), DREAM Act, and In-state tuition bill (House Bill 3136, Senate Bill 237))
3. Legalization

Did Brazilians leave Boston to go home?

- There are some indications that those who were already planning to go back before the winter, left earlier.
- Also, right after 9/11 it became more difficult to get a visa.
- Families pressured those who were here to go back and those planning to come to put their travel plans on hold for a while.
- There are indications that Brazilians did not stop coming but the flow became slower.
- From December of 2001 on, the flow started again.
- Brazilians never really stopped buying houses or investing in small businesses, but the market as a whole experienced a slow down.
- There are indications that Brazilians are coming to the United States through increasingly unusual methods/paths.

Why?

- Economic situation in Brazil has not improved for middle and lower classes.
- Violence in Brazil continues.

Conclusion:

We are seeing an increase in the immigration of people from very small villages and with very little formal education. These people see no hope in Brazil. They prefer to struggle here even though they are told that jobs are scarce; employers are checking on SS #s and work permits; rent is high, and the cost of living in the Boston area is high.

Brazilians are moving out of Boston but when they do so they face more obstacles such as not being able to register their children to school.

According to the 2000 U.S. census, immigrants now make up 11.2% of the total U.S. population (over 30 million people). In Massachusetts, the foreign-born population has reached 12.5% (763,513) of the state's total population.

In Massachusetts, according to the Department of Public Health, Portuguese is the second most spoken language. Brazilians are the second newcomer population in cities such as Somerville, Framingham, and others.

From my own experience. We are seeing an increase in immigration from lower classes, people from inland, small villages, as well as less educated people.

Why? They cannot make a living in Brazil or maintain their families. Here, despite all difficulties, on a wage of \$7/hour or \$100/week they feed, dress and educate their children, and “live with more decency,” in their own words.

On the other hand, more educated people are reflecting on the immigration process. They're comparing their values with American values, they argue with themselves “is this worth it?” (to stay in the United States, be distant from immediate family members, friends, home town, etc).

9/11 made people reflect on their own values and what they want for them and their families. Overall, companies are experiencing an increase in employee requests to work less, to spend more time with their children. People are rethinking what is important for them.

It is not different in the Brazilian community. People are asking themselves: Is this what I want to do for the rest of my life? Is this where I want to be 10 years from now?

In the long run.

- Immigrants will cost more to public funds
- The economy will go down even more
- Will Brazilians go back in mass? No, they won't. Brazilians are here to stay despite all the difficulties.

**WORK ENVIRONMENT JUSTICE PARTNERSHIP (WEJP)
for Brazilian Immigrant Workers in Massachusetts**

◇
Carlos Eduardo Siqueira

The Work Environment Justice Partnership (WEJP) for Brazilian Immigrant Workers in Massachusetts aims at educating and engaging members of a growing Brazilian immigrant community in Massachusetts in identifying, recognizing, analyzing, and designing a research agenda to prevent work environment hazards that affect Brazilian immigrant workers and their families. This project will bring Brazilian immigrant workers together to participate in the investigation of the numerous hazards they face at work and the development of feasible and viable solutions to the health problems generated by daily exposure to those hazards. The partnership is composed of the Brazilian Immigrant Center, the Lowell Community Health Center, the Massachusetts General Hospital Chelsea Health Center and the University of Massachusetts Lowell. This project will accomplish these goals by building a network of committed partners that will contribute with their resources and assets to build the capacity, skills, and knowledge the Brazilian immigrant worker community needs to develop its own strategies to successfully address work environment problems identified.

The project will hire outreach workers in both healthcare providers to promote the occupational health and safety of janitors and cleaning workers, restaurant and food service workers, groundskeepers and gardeners. The Outreach Workers will be bilingual and improve the cultural competency of the providers to handle Brazilian patients. The WEJP will also train a group of peer-leaders to become change agents within the Brazilian community. These peer leaders will train about 500 immigrant workers over 3.5 years. The project will sponsor training in research methods, promote community forums, evaluate work environment hazards and develop brochures and fact-sheets in Portuguese to disseminate workplace health and safety information to Brazilians in churches and schools. By the end of the project the Brazilian community in Lowell and the Chelsea area will have created a group of leaders that will pursue policies and research strategies to improve the working conditions of all Brazilian immigrant workers in Massachusetts. This project could create knowledge, methods, and strategies for coalition building that may be applicable to many other immigrant groups in the nation.

Work Environment Justice Partnership

Specific Aims:

1. To collect data on Brazilian immigrant workers:
 - a. Demographics
 - b. Workplace hazards
 - c. Immigration data
 - d. Cultural experiences as immigrants in the United States

2. To identify work environment hazards of:
 - a. Cleaning houses and commercial businesses

- b. Gardening and grounds keeping
 - c. Food preparation and service in restaurants and fast food businesses
 - d. Other workplaces (construction) perceived as priorities by community members
3. To develop culturally, linguistically, and literacy appropriate curricula and educational materials to disseminate information on work environment hazards to the Brazilian community.

We will use materials already developed by Brazilian/American union health and safety educators as a potential source for education materials and curricula.

4. To recruit and train a team of peer-trainers/advocates in teaching techniques and methods to educate low-literacy Brazilian immigrant workers in basic health and safety.
5. To create a team of peer-trainers/advocates to educate Brazilian immigrant workers on work environment hazards and exposures.
6. To design research and policy strategies to minimize occupational health risks associated with Brazilian immigrant worker exposures to job hazards in:
- a. Janitorial work
 - b. Food preparation and delivery work
 - c. And gardening and grounds-keeping work
7. To strengthen the partnership between and among:
- a. Primary health care providers (Lowell Community Health Center, MGH – Chelsea Health Center)
 - b. A community-based organization (BIC)
 - c. The university (UMass-Lowell)
8. To evaluate the accomplishments of the Partnership and activities implemented over the course of the project with community-based participatory methods.
9. To integrate peer-leaders/advocates in the Massachusetts Coalition on Occupational Safety and Health (Mass Cosh) immigrant health and safety network.
10. To facilitate communication between academics, health care providers, community groups, and city and state officials interested in the immigration experience of the newcomer Brazilian community.

UNDOCUMENTED STUDENTS In the Boston Brazilian Community

◇
Mary Helen Johnson

Background

In 1982, the Supreme Court ruling in Plyer vs. Doe guaranteed immigrant students of any status in the United States the right to attend public schools. However, students who wish to pursue higher education are not entitled to free education under this decision. Since free, public education is only guaranteed until age 18 in the United States, undocumented students are placed in a kind of limbo after graduating from high school. These students are realistically unable to attend institutions of higher education in the United States as a result of their undocumented status. Despite living here for many years, undocumented students in Massachusetts must pay international student rates at state universities and community colleges.

There are an estimated 8.7 million undocumented immigrants residing in the United States, with approximately 40% of them (3.5 million) aged 18-29 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). The mobility of immigrants in this age group is significantly affected by their access to higher education. Undocumented students who have graduated from American high schools are not legally permitted to work and therefore, often end up working in low-wage jobs under poor conditions with little security or opportunity for advancement. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, individuals who held a bachelor's degree in 1999 earned approximately \$20,000 more annually than those who only held a high school diploma (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000.) For first and second-generation immigrants, restricted access to higher education will directly affect their potential future earnings throughout their lifetime and their incorporation into their host society (See Table 1). As a result of limited access and lower earnings, the immigrant community as a whole may have less capital to invest in small businesses or home ownership making them more vulnerable to economic downturns or changing housing markets. Without the presence of trained and educated individuals, the establishment of civic representation for an immigrant community and their participation in local government may be delayed by several generations. Without civic involvement, access to social services, such as health care and elementary education, will most certainly be affected.

Table 1: Earnings by Highest Degree Earned: 1999

Level of Highest Degree									
Characteristic	Total Persons	Not a high school graduate	High school graduate only	Some College, No degree	Associate's	Bachelor's	Master's	Professional	Doctorate
Mean Earnings (U.S. Dollars)									
All Persons	32,356	16,121	24,572	26,958	32,152	45,678	55,641	100,987	86,833
Age:									
25 to 34 years old	29,901	16,916	24,040	26,914	28,088	39,768	46,768	58,043	60,852
35 to 44 years old	36,900	18,984	27,444	34,219	35,370	50,153	56,816	100,240	94,936
45 to 54 years old	41,465	19,707	28,883	36,935	37,508	54,922	62,158	116,327	87,659
55 to 64 years old	38,577	22,212	27,558	32,240	35,703	50,141	57,580	132,326	97,214
65 years and older	24,263	12,121	18,704	19,052	17,609	30,624	35,639	104,055	78,333

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract of the United States 2000, Table No. 252

A recent report estimated that between 50,000 to 65,000 undocumented immigrants graduate from high schools in the U.S. every year (American Youth Policy Forum, 2000). These students have spent their formative years in America and have absorbed many of the values and cultural norms of their new home. Despite being non-citizens, many students may identify strongly with American culture. However, their status is an almost insurmountable barrier in achieving the 'American dream.' For communities where large populations of undocumented students reside, these restrictions will have effects on immigrant mobility and on conditions in the communities themselves. This issue is affecting even more students since the tightening of immigration laws after September 11th. According to Boston school officials, community colleges previously admitted students without asking for documentation, but have changed their policies in the last year, making it much harder to circumvent these laws and attend college (Interview: Souza, 2002).

Undocumented students in Massachusetts have several alternatives that would allow them to attend college. Although immigration laws are changing, at present undocumented students do have the possibility of enrolling as international exchange students. However, this solution is not economically feasible for most families. Nonresident student rates are often double or triple the resident tuition rate which must be paid without the help of federal financial aid or scholarships (Interview: Matos, 2002). Additionally, since they are classified as international students, they are not eligible to receive federal financial aid, which severely limits the number of scholarships available to them.) These factors create a barrier that prevents undocumented students from enrolling full time at four-year colleges and universities.

Without access to scholarships, students are basically excluded from private universities in the Boston area whose tuition is usually upwards of \$20,000. State universities and colleges such as The University of Massachusetts, Boston and Salem State College set tuition rates for non-residents which are almost three times those for residents (See Table 2). Because of these increased tuition rates, students who enroll as international students may only be able to afford to enroll in community colleges, some of which may cost as much as \$8000 per year to attend full time. Even for students who do decide to work and save money to pay international student rates, their illegal status serves as a further barrier and limits their earning power. Upon graduating, the range of jobs and opportunities for undocumented students are significantly reduced when compared with their U.S. citizen peers.

By enacting state legislation, California, Texas, New York and Utah have amended current law so that undocumented students are eligible to pay in-state tuition rates. California has passed Assembly Bill 540 which allows undocumented students to pay nonresident tuition rates at state community colleges and at all universities in the California state system. Yet although legislation that reduces nonresident tuition rates would increase access, it only addresses the inflated tuition costs of attending institutions of higher education and does not address the larger issue of undocumented status. When these students graduate from college, they will still be legally ineligible for employment in the United States.

Table 2: Comparison of Resident vs. Non-Resident Tuition and Fees in Massachusetts: Academic Year 2002-2003

<i>College or University</i>	<i>Resident Tuition and Fees (in U.S. Dollars)</i>	<i>Non-Resident/International Tuition and Fees (in US Dollars)</i>
University of Massachusetts, Boston	\$5,227	\$14, 887
University of Massachusetts, Lowell	\$5,213	\$14,651
Bunker Hill Community College	\$960	\$6,144
Roxbury Community College	\$3,016	\$8,320
Salem State College	\$3,988	\$10,128

Source: Own Research 2002

In the current, post-September 11th environment there are few opportunities for undocumented immigrants to legalize after they have arrived in the United States. For students, the situation is even more grim, as they are unlikely to qualify for adjustment under current law. Although the possibility for legalization does exist, most of the current options seem unrealistic given the situation and age of these adolescents. Currently, there is pending federal legislation that would allow certain students who were brought to the U.S. as undocumented minors to adjust their status and obtain resident status.

The (DREAM) Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act (S. 1291) and the Student Adjustment Act (H.R. 1918) would address the issue of higher in-state tuition and adjustment of status for undocumented students. Both bills would eliminate the federal provision that discourages states from allowing undocumented students to pay in-state tuition rates. The eligibility requirements for these bills are similar. Students must be between the ages of 12 and 21 years old, have a “good, moral character,” and be able to prove residency in the United States for a period of five years previous to the date of enactment of the bill. The adjustment of status proposed by these bills would allow students access to certain types of financial aid and scholarships and allow them to be classified as residents for tuition purposes by state universities and community colleges. This legislation is meant to act as a temporary measure to adjust the status of a specific population of immigrant students who are currently in the U.S. and will only be enacted for a limited period. Therefore, future generations of undocumented immigrants will likely encounter the same barriers to higher education that current students face.

The issue of access to higher education is especially salient in the Boston- Brazilian community for several reasons. In the past 10 years, there has been increasing Brazilian immigration to Massachusetts and especially to the Boston area (Sales, 1999). Currently, the U.S. Census Bureau estimates there are 36,000 Brazilian born individuals in Massachusetts and 4,600 in Boston alone. However, other estimates put the number of Brazilians in the state of Massachusetts at 200,000 (Migration News, 2002). The discrepancy between these two estimates may account for the large, undocumented population of Brazilians in Massachusetts. The Massachusetts Department of Education has reported that there are currently 2,693 Brazilian born students enrolled in public schools. The actual number of Brazilian students this problem affects is probably quite small when compared with other undocumented groups. However, there are reasons to believe that it affects a high percentage of Brazilian students, due to the fact that there is a large population of undocumented Brazilians with families in Massachusetts.

The students that I interviewed told me that they found high school in Brazil to be more rigorous than in the United States. Many of these students have performed well in school and are motivated and focused, making them good candidates to go on to pursue college degrees. Traditionally, Brazilian immigrants to Massachusetts have been largely middle class and have come with the expectation of a temporary stay in the U.S., usually related to an economic goal (Sales, 1999). In a 1996 study of Brazilian immigrants in Massachusetts by Ana Cristina Braga Martes, 50% of respondents had children and 52% had all of their children with them in Massachusetts. The immigration of entire families creates a unique and complicated situation for the undocumented children who have been brought to the U.S. from Brazil. Their parents may have an expectation to stay only temporarily and because of this are often willing to work in jobs that may be of a lower status than they would normally hold in Brazil (Sales, 1999). For their children, this arrangement clashes with their new culture and they may find the idea of working in low-wage jobs incompatible with their bicultural values. In these interviews I focused my research on the following questions: What are the effects on the undocumented students, their families and their communities when students are denied access to higher education because of their immigration status? How are students' life goals and plans altered when they confront such a barrier?

Methods

In order to examine the effects of this issue on the Brazilian community in Boston, I met with immigrant community advocates, a bilingual coordinator for Boston Public Schools, a guidance counselor and a focus group of ten undocumented students at Franklin High School in Roxbury. First I met with Liz Matos, of the Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition, to obtain background information regarding current legislation and a description of how immigrant communities are coping with tightening restrictions. I interviewed a guidance counselor, Pedro Souza, who works closely with the students in the Career and College counseling office at Franklin High School, as well as the bilingual coordinator for Boston Public Schools, Ana Teixeira, who works as a liaison between the schools and immigrant parents. Both individuals were able to offer further insights about the effects on families and on the Brazilian community. They also selected and contacted the students who attended the focus group. Next, I met with ten students at the high school in a focus group to gain a better understanding of their experiences and feelings. All of them have been in the United States for a period of 3 years or less. (These students would not be eligible for adjustment of status under the proposed Student Adjustment Act or the Dream Act since they have not resided in the U.S. for five years or more.) At the beginning of the focus group I asked students to state their name, age, amount of time in the United States and the subject they wanted to study in the future. (The names of the students, officials and the institution have been changed.) The basic demographic information for the students is as follows:

Pedro: 18 years old, in the U.S. 2 years 7 months, wants to study Computer Science
Tomas: 17 years old, in the U.S. 3 years, wants to study Computer Science
Andre: 17 years old, in the U.S. 2 years, wants to study Computer Engineering
Carlos: 19 years old, in the U.S. 1 year 11 months, wants to study Tourism
João: 16 years old, in the U.S. 1 year 2 months, wants to study Computer Science
Marcos: 16 years old, in the U.S. 7 months, wants to study Journalism
Giovanni: 19 years old, in the U.S. 1 year 11 months, wants to study Computer Science
Luiza: 16 years old, in the U.S. 1 year 8 months, wants to study Television
Helena: 16 years old, in the U.S. 4 months, wants to study Tourism and Hospitality
Daniela: 16 years old, in the U.S. 1 year, undecided on future studies

These interviews should be considered a case study since they represent the view of an extremely limited population. The students and the school officials only represent one institution in the Boston area. It should be noted that the interview was conducted in two phases: an English portion with structured questions and a Portuguese portion where students spoke freely on several broad questions. Not surprisingly, the students who had not participated at all during the English portion did give some general opinions during the Portuguese portion of the interview. Two students' participation, Daniela and Giovanni, was limited to sharing their demographic information at the beginning of the interview. The focus group with the students and the interviews with school officials were tape-recorded. After transcribing the recordings, I coded the topics we covered in each interview by theme. Five main themes related to access to higher education for undocumented students came out of the interviews: barriers to access, future goals and plans, identity, return to Brazil, and the social effects on students.

Barriers to Access

Although school officials and students themselves reported that there is limited awareness about how undocumented status would affect their opportunities for college attendance, I found that the students seemed to have a good understanding of the problem. The guidance counselor was the only school official to report that students were aware at a young age, and said that most students know by middle school, especially with increasing numbers of older siblings running up against the restriction. This was confirmed by the students' responses and they offered several examples of siblings or friends who had graduated and weren't able to go to college. When asked when they became aware of what it meant to be undocumented, they offered a clear example of their understanding:

INTERVIEWER: *When is the first time you became aware of this at all or even that documented or undocumented existed? Did you always know?*

Carlos: *Since we came.*

Pedro: *I guess like in freshman year they told me. When we came we met the seniors and they told us 'We can't go to college...because we don't have documentation or whatever.' We were aware of what was our future.*

Carlos: *Its one topic that's always in our conversations.*

INTERVIEWER: *So you feel like your friends...like everyone pretty much knows?*

Carlos: *Everyone is aware.*

The school officials considered bilingual teachers to have an overall better awareness of the challenges facing undocumented students because of their familiarity with immigration issues. The students also reported that their teachers were aware of their status, and had become aware when they had offered the students jobs or internships that they were unable to accept. School officials considered the lack of accurate information available to students and their families about the college applications process and the U.S. educational system to be significant barriers to access. The bilingual coordinator was adamant that the students find alternative ways to attend college. She considered immigration status to be the principal obstacle for undocumented students to attend college, but emphasized that lack of awareness of alternatives was equally as detrimental. She offered several alternatives for how students would be able to attend college. She considered alternating working full time with enrollment as an international student for fixed periods to be a viable option for these students. However, she was unable to identify

any students in the community who were currently pursuing this option. Later, she explained why the students might not seriously consider this:

Ana (Bilingual Coordinator): *Youngsters, teenagers...time for them is something very precious. When they get to high school they don't want to waste time.*

Only one of the students expressed that this was an alternative they would actually pursue. When he suggested that the idea of attending college later in life would be acceptable to him, another student promptly dismissed the idea:

Tomas: *That's stupid. Everybody would like to go straight to college after high school. Nobody wants to graduate and just go and chill for 2 or 3 years. Everybody wants to go straight to college.*

Most of the students did feel some kind of urgency about attending college and considered working directly out of high school as a waste of their skills and knowledge. Paradoxically, the same students who reported they were not very aware of how their status would affect their college attendance when asked directly, seemed to have a grasp of one of the finer points of possible alternatives. Several students explained that it would be possible, though difficult, to enroll as an international student and they understood that this meant ineligibility for most scholarships. In my estimation, these students seem to be aware of the issue and its principal implications. Precisely because they understand the gravity of the situation they may not feel totally comfortable discussing it among themselves, much less with a stranger.

Many Brazilian groups have lent support for the proposed legislation but most officials and advocates thought that the community needed to be better informed.

Future goals

Most of the students were remarkably hopeful for the future, despite the obstacles to their college attendance. They have clear goals of professional careers in fields such as Computer Science, Engineering, Journalism, and Tourism. During the interview, students and school officials consistently made the distinction between 'jobs' and professional careers. The jobs they referred to were typical jobs that new immigrants often hold which often pay low wages and have no security or benefits.

Andre: *Last year my brother graduated and he got the National Honor Society, he got out of high school and he's working as a delivery guy. It's that...sometimes when you're looking at it, it's we're working hard for what?*

Carlos: *And in this case his brother, he'll be here, let's say for the rest of his life and he doesn't get documentation. What will he do? He'll just be working in... you know.*

Pedro: *Like we said, there's hope. There's a lot of things instead of 'be working' as they say.*

Carlos: *What we actually want for life is not working in Dunkin' Donuts or McDonald's or those places. We want to succeed in life. If we cannot go to college here we're probably going to college in someplace else where we can study.*

Ana (BC): *The ones that are graduating this year they really have no clue.*

INTERVIEWER: *And what are they doing since they can't continue and go [to college]?*

Ana (BC): Just getting work...getting jobs, working doing something.

Ana (BC): We have also the [students] that graduated last year, some of them are just washing dishes or something like that.

Perhaps as a result of their age and the experiences they have had as Brazilian-American high school students, they see themselves differently than new immigrants who have come to the United States for economic reasons. These students have experienced hardship in Brazil and several explained that they came to the U.S., where they are clearly not willing to make the same kinds of justifications that adult immigrants do when accepting lower status jobs than they would normally hold in Brazil.

Return to Brazil

Unlike most new immigrants, these students have had the benefit of bilingual programs and have become mostly fluent in English in a short period of time. Through high school and their peer group they have a strong link to American culture that many of their parents do not have. As a result of these influences, these youth have different expectations than their parents, who may have come with the idea of returning to Brazil one day. The students clearly expressed that they would not be satisfied working low-wage, service jobs but were divided over whether or not returning to Brazil was a realistic option for them.

Andre: My father usually gives me advice ' If you cannot go to college here you have a choice to go back to Brazil to the college over there. It's better than staying here and doing these kind of jobs ...then go back there and study and get a good job.'

Carlos: Let's put it this way...if we cannot be successful in this country, if we cannot have the same opportunities that other people have why would we be here? My goal is ...I want to be successful in life so I'm looking for things that work.

INTERVIEWER: Do other people see it ...going back to Brazil...do you see that as an option or does it seem like something that's very far away?

Pedro: Far away.

Carlos: I see it as an option...to succeed in life.

One student reported that his parents had saved enough money to return to Brazil and retire next year, but that he was undecided as to whether he would return with them. Several students seemed open to the idea of returning, possibly due to the fact that they have all been in the U.S. less than three years. The bilingual coordinator thought that students who had come here earlier would be less willing to return to Brazil and emphasized the discrepancy between the expectations of the students and their parents.

Ana (BC): We have to be aware that the parent's expectation is one and kid's expectation is other. So, parents may want to go back in a year or so if Brazil turns around as we expect it does. But the kids may want to stay here. They grew up here. They came here at 10 or 12. They may not want to go back.

A student who told me that his father was returning to Brazil while the rest of the family stayed in the U.S confirmed this.

***Pedro:** My father, he wants to go ... but my mother doesn't want to go back. So we're going to stay here...me, my mother and my 2 little brothers, that's what we're going to do because I have 2 more little brothers, one is 15 and one is 8. So 8 years is like he's growing [up] American. If we move back to Brazil it would be kind of hard for him. He doesn't remember almost anything from Brazil. It would be kind of hard for him.*

This was the only student who consistently expressed that he did not consider returning to Brazil as a viable option. The fact that he has younger siblings who are, as he says, 'growing up American' may reinforce his connection to the United States, regardless of when he arrived.

Identity

Several of the students I met with didn't feel they had a fixed idea of their identity as either Brazilian or American. The students who did comment on their identity attributed this to their age and to the fact that they had been in the United States a relatively short amount of time. For that reason, most felt their identity was still evolving and considered it useful to be able to operate between these two cultures and adapt when necessary.

***INTERVIEWER:** How do you identify yourself, would you say? Do you feel more Brazilian, more American or both?*

***Carlos:** We've been here for a short period of time, so ...I don't know.*

***Pedro:** We're teenagers... so we're Brazilians that are getting used to the American way of life.*

***Tomas:** At home when I [joke] with my mom she says ..she tells me that I'm totally different than Brazilian guys ... And I tell her 'oh, I'm not from Brazil, I'm from America'. I don't really know what I am right now.*

***Pedro:** It's the conflict of the cultures. Sometimes you are a little Brazilian, sometimes you think a little American. Sometimes you want to be a little more American. It depends on the situation. It's a double culture.*

This ambiguity might also be related to the imminent decision that some students face about their return to Brazil, often with parents who are retiring. Although none of the students I interviewed had siblings who were born in the United States, several did have younger siblings that are growing up with strong ties to this country and its culture. Their families seem to maintain a strong sense of family while still holding individualism as an important value. Despite the potential separation of families by such decisions, students reported their parents were supportive of their goals and encouraged them to "be educated and go to college."

Social Effects

The fact that students are bicultural and are surrounded by peers who are able to attend college without restrictions creates frustration for them. They pointed out the irony of students in their classes who were eligible but chose not to attend college.

***Carlos:** I think they should approve this bill. There are a lot of people that have documentation and they don't care about it. We don't have it and we care about it.*

Pedro: *It's funny, people that have it, that can possibly go, they don't ...*

Carlos: *They don't work hard for it.*

Pedro: *They don't take advantage of it. They don't go or they do something else. They don't want to go to college.*

They were critical of American students who did not take school seriously and didn't have an interest in going to college. When compared with American students, they felt that their situations were inherently more difficult. As examples they cited the fact that most of them are working to contribute to family income, have dealt with or are dealing with a language barrier, and are still going to school and staying motivated.

Carlos: *[Transl.] The sad thing is when you're motivated, you have good grades, you're a good student and when you get to class you see the American students aren't interested in school, they're goofing off.*

These particular students have had positive experiences in their high school and reported that the awards and opportunities available in the American school system motivated them more than their previous schools in Brazil. The students who participated the most were optimistic and explained to me that they hadn't let their frustration interfere with their academic performance.

Carlos: *Even knowing that we couldn't go to college we studied hard and got good grades... knowing that we couldn't go to college.*

INTERVIEWER: *When you're still in school, how does that make you feel when you see your brother or your friends that are older [not being able to go to college]...?*

Andre: *Sometimes I stop and think about it, but when I see all my friends studying and getting good grades then I want to get it, too.*

Pedro: *We can't stop...with everything that happens we're still having hope.*

Carlos: *The fact that we're undocumented and can't go to college doesn't make us give up. There is hope.*

I can only speculate that the students who didn't choose to participate may have had differing sentiments. Several students, however, including Tomas, did report feeling embarrassment about their undocumented status.

Tomas: *But, it's kind of hard because every time my teacher comes and to us asks 'Who's going to go to college?' and all the other students raise their hands and we don't and everybody looks at us like 'Why are you not going?' and we make up some answer because we don't want to say the real reason.*

It is not clear how many students are so frustrated that they are dropping out of school as a direct result of this problem. School officials considered it to be too early to see a trend in the increase of dropouts as a result of undocumented status. The guidance counselor said that students do not necessarily drop out but are not motivated to do their best, knowing that they cannot continue. However, the students did seem to have friends that had left school because they knew they would be unable to pursue higher education:

Andre: *I know a lot of friends that quit school just because of this.*

Pedro: *They gave up.*

Andre: They gave up because they're like "Why am I doing school? What job am I getting from this?"

INTERVIEWER: So they quit high school halfway?

Tomas: Even seniors.

Carlos: They come to school with the interest but the fact they don't have documentation...

Andre: They can't get anything out of high school.

These students clearly empathized with this frustration, though they personally expressed that they wouldn't allow it to overcome them. A certain population of students must feel the situation is completely hopeless if they drop out as seniors, when they are so close to obtaining a diploma.

Conclusion

Students seemed to be generally aware of the implications of their undocumented status, although the awareness of parents was questionable according to school officials. In further research, it would be useful to speak with the families of undocumented students to better gauge awareness and opinions firsthand. Most students expressed future goals in a professional field. Both school officials and students made a clear distinction between these professional goals and the low-wage jobs occupied by new immigrants. Because they have professional aspirations, their restricted access to higher education is extremely challenging.

Overall, the participating students were in agreement about the collective challenges they face being undocumented, but there was some variety in the solutions they considered viable. Students were also divided on whether or not they would return to Brazil to pursue higher education. The aspirations that attracted many Brazilian families to the United States in the first place are precisely what make the situation of the undocumented children so difficult. Their parents have often immigrated with the idea of working temporarily in order to improve their lives at home in Brazil. For their children, the United States is becoming their idea of home and their future goals are increasingly aligned with American ideals of success.

For the community, limited access to higher education has many short and long-term implications. Lack of opportunities for advancement in employment and higher wages creates a group with little or no chances for home ownership or material investment in their community. Since many members of the community are undocumented, they may also have severely limited or non-existent civic participation. This situation may be perpetuated by their lack of capital and civic representation, which in turn will limit their access to public services. Within the community, the goals of these undocumented students will continue to clash with the opportunities afforded them by their immigration status. Despite their aspirations, these students will be limited by the implications of their status on themselves and their communities. While they remain undocumented, they must look for other ways to achieve these 'American' goals, even if it means returning to Brazil.

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HEALTH BELIEFS
Among Brazilians Resident in Massachusetts
◇
Teresa Eliot Roberts

Background

Before I went back to school to pursue doctoral studies I worked in Somerville in the 1990's as a nurse practitioner. As a primary care provider, my patient caseload was about 60% Brazilian. Before that time I had no acquaintance with Brazilian people or knowledge of the country, but of course this exposure was a wonderful opportunity to learn and piqued my curiosity much further. I have always been interested in questions of culture and health, and soon learned that there was very little in the nursing or medical literature about Brazilian patient experience in the United States. That is, although there has been copious research on how health practitioners can be more culturally competent with their Chinese, Indian or Mexican patients, there was virtually no material for non-Brazilian clinicians wanting to understand Brazilian patients' expectations, practices or beliefs about health and illness. As Dr. Suarez Orozco has emphasized, Brazilians may well be the "most misunderstood" group in the United States.

When I am speaking to health professionals, I usually have to explain who Brazilians are and that, indeed, over 150,000 reside here in Massachusetts. "Oh, maybe you can talk to my housecleaner" was a response I heard several times, as if perhaps that were the only Brazilian in the state. It depresses me that so many North Americans have so little cognizance of such an important and populous group.

In this group of academics and community activists, of course, I don't have to explain Brazilian economics or migration history or the profile of the "average" Brazilian transnational, if indeed there is one. What I might need to discuss here is how culture and cultural ideas impact the clinical encounter. Culture as well as other factors like personal experience and age affect the way we view epidemiology, treatment, prevention, and other aspects of health and illness. Cassell (1976) said that illness is what you have when you go to the doctor, whereas disease is what you have when you leave the doctor's office. So "illness" is a person's own experience of being sick: symptoms, significance, whether there's contagion issue, a moral issue, if there's an internal or external locus-of-control for causation or treatment, and so on. Disease, on the other hand, is a notion of pathophysiology espoused by allopaths, which tends to be revered as "objective," ideologically neutral and scientifically "true."

Incidentally, if you are interested in knowing the difference between nursing and medicine, one simplified version is this same dichotomy. That is, (and I beg the pardon of health professionals who know that it is really more complicated than this), physicians generally are interested in disease, organs, systems, and pathophysiology, whereas nurses generally are interested in the way the disease or the treatment of disease *effects* the patient and their life. As one physician-scientist put it, "Medicine is concerned with the patient inward, through the tissues and cells, whereas nursing is concerned with the patient outward, through the environment, family and culture" (E. Roberts, personal communication, April 26, 2002).

Theoretical Framework and Design

Therefore, the research question that I began with was, “What are some beliefs about health and illness among Brazilians living in Massachusetts, the cognizance of which would help clinicians provide better care to their Brazilian patients?” I am using Mahoney & Engebretson’s (2000) interface of Anthropology and Nursing model, derived from Peplau’s Interpersonal Nursing (1997) and Kleinman’s Explanatory Models (1980), as a theoretical framework. The methods include participant observation and interviews. Data were generated through attendance of Brazilian community events, Brazilian churches, community centers, and community meetings, work shifts in typical jobs, conversations with key informants and formal interviews with 16-20 recently-arrived lay Brazilians. Data are being analyzed using Agar’s model of ethnographic data analysis with the goal of describing some general concepts, beliefs and knowledges about health and illness.

Findings

The project is currently in the data analysis stage, with data gathering coming to an end. Although the analysis is not complete, current areas of concern include:

I. Schism of privilege associated with satisfaction with U.S. Healthcare. In Brazil there are *de facto* two healthcare systems, the public health system, or “INPS,” for poorer people, and private, or “particular,” health providers for those who can afford private insurance. This dichotomy tends to be associated with the level of perception of healthcare in Massachusetts, which has a comparatively very comprehensive “Freecare” option for those who cannot pay. That is, if a Brazilian transnational’s prior experience is with INPS, the care in Massachusetts seems extremely comprehensive and laudable. If the Brazilian is accustomed to ‘particular’ healthcare in Brazil, then their assessment of U.S. care tends to be that we do not examine or test thoroughly and that we are very stingy with our prescription and over-the-counter medications.

II. Style of communication. This dissatisfaction is due also to differences in style of communication between the average American and average Brazilian. That is, Americans, especially those from New England, tend to comport themselves coolly and detached, whereas Brazilians tend to be more “*carinhoso*,” or warm and affectionate in tone and non-verbal behavior. Moreover, conversation is more direct and linear for people from the US whereas Brazilians often converse in a more narrative and indirect fashion. In the clinical encounter, then, a Brazilian patient may be offended by the mechanical, brusque or “*seca*” (dry) manner of a North American clinician. The clinician may become frustrated with the apparent vagueness and long-windedness of a Brazilian patient.

Additional misunderstanding may occur because of specific cultural expectations. For instance, a doctor from the U.S. would expect a patient to interrupt or ask questions if certain information isn’t clear. Brazilians, on the other hand, are often taught as children that to ask questions is rude and therefore would be unlikely to “bother” their doctor with a question.

Another cultural clash can occur when serious diagnoses must be shared. The culture of the U.S. values autonomy and candor highly. Therefore, when a doctor needs to tell a patient that they have a serious or life-threatening condition, he or she is supposed to frankly and directly explain the diagnosis and likely prognosis. Brazilians would generally consider that abrasively blunt and would prefer and expect the

doctor to only hint at the diagnosis or prognosis and/or tell the *family* instead of the patient. One other ramification of this cultural difference in expectations is that when a North American doctor explains a differential diagnosis, a Brazilian may *infer* that the most serious possibility is indeed the truth, and that the doctor is just being appropriately and humanely subtle in their explanation.

III. Culture of Self-Medication. One aspect of the Brazilian community of which their healthcare providers must be aware is their tendency toward self-medication before accessing allopathic care. In Brazil there have long been traditions of herbalism, home remedies, spiritual healing and extensive over-the-counter options in addition to difficulty in obtaining allopathic care. Hence, it is not surprising that Brazilians in the United States take the same first steps when they feel sick. Strenuous work schedules, language barriers, illegal status and unfamiliarity with the American system also contribute to reluctance to use American healthcare services.

Because most Brazilians consider allopathy a last, or at least late, resort, they tend to expect thorough testing, examination, and symptom-relieving prescription medication. If they are told to go try Tylenol, for instance, they are likely to consider that clinician incompetent. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule, as in the case of Brazilians who, because they are unfamiliar with the concept of primary care or because they work 60-80 hour weeks, elect to report to the emergency room for non-urgent concerns.

IV. Stress and Depression. The last aspect of this study's current findings have to do with the epidemic of stress and depression in this population which any of their providers ought to be familiar with. Psychological stress and the symptoms that they may produce among transnational Brazilians are common and sometimes severe. Contributors are similar to causes of stress described for other immigrant groups, such as homesickness, isolation, language difficulty, professional status descent, fear of deportation and overworking (see also Aroian, 1993; 1990; Keyes, 2000; Souza, 2002). These are serious stresses and have major consequences for the health of Brazilians in Massachusetts.

Conclusion

Although this study is on-going, it has become clear that certain cultural dynamics may be contributing to misunderstanding between patient and clinician and to patient dissatisfaction. Among these are class issues, clashing communication styles, and self-medication practices. It is obvious that clinicians practicing in Massachusetts and other parts of the United States with significant Brazilian populations must become familiar with Brazilians' sociocultural context, health practices and expectations. Along with the wide-ranging and impressive research of the academics gathered here, I hope the findings of this study can ultimately help to improve the experience of Brazilians in New England and lessen misunderstandings in our society.

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TOLERANCE FOR FAMILY AGGRESSION: Cross-cultural Perspectives- The Brazilian Perspective

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Wilson Bezerra-Flanders

In the United States there has been great public attention in recent years to problems such as “child abuse,” “wife abuse” and “elder abuse,” but there is a lack of consensus even within the United States as to what these terms mean. Several surveys designed to address frequencies of violent or abusive behavior within the family have been developed in the United States and translated from English into other languages. Some of the surveys omit behaviors that may be common practice in the United States while being considered abusive elsewhere. In addition, some behaviors that are considered quite abusive in one culture may be considered less abusive, or not at all abusive, in another culture.

A group of international graduate students and Dr. Kathleen Malley-Morrison at Boston University, Department of Psychology, have been interested in these cultural perspectives for several years. Together, we developed a survey (“Cross-Cultural Perspectives of Abuse within Families”) intended to elicit these differences in the understanding of abuse. Adolescents and adults from both the U.S. and more than two dozen other nations have been giving us their views concerning the types of behaviors that should be considered abusive if they occur in families. These data have been collected from around the world through the internet and through person-to-person interviews.

Some of the data collected has been analyzed, and results of the survey have been reported in professional journals and meetings, in addition to the book: *International Perspectives on Family Violence and Abuse* (in press, publication expected: Spring of 2004, Erlbaum). Each researcher wrote a book chapter reporting the data collected from his/her country, in addition to information about the country’s history and laws, and the description of the family system. Some of the countries studied were: Brazil, Colombia, Nicaragua, Canada, U.S. (incl. Native Americans), England, Italy, Portugal, Germany, Greece, South Africa, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Australia, Japan, South Korea, Turkey, Russia, Iceland, Taiwan, Philippines, and others. More information about the researchers and the survey can be found at <http://people.bu.edu/jdgmnts>.

The survey is divided in three parts and every participant needs to sign an informed consent. The answers were coded as physical, sexual, psychological, verbal abuse, neglect, etc.

The three parts to the survey are:

- Part I (22 questions) asks for basic descriptive information (gender, SES, etc).
- Part II (7 questions) asks participants to provide their definitions and brief examples of abuse. The answers provided the researchers with the basic information we needed to understand different perspectives on abuse.
- Part III (19 questions) allowed the participants to give their views concerning different forms of aggression at greater length.

The Brazilian Perspective

Brazil has a historical legacy of violence that started during the Portuguese colonization. Brazilian Indians and later African slaves were punished with lashings, beatings, and death. Throughout the

country's history, opponents of the government have been tortured and/or killed. Only during the last decade have Human Rights complaints been addressed by the government. Brazil's relatively recent change from a primarily rural to an urban society has added to strains caused by poverty, as cities struggle to accommodate an influx of immigrants from the countryside. A social war between classes, the power of drug lords and organized crime, and widespread corruption in the justice system have put Brazilians under siege. Stories of police torture and abuses by guards in prisons are frequently on the news. All of these forces have an impact on how families deal with conflict and contribute to the use of violence within the home.

Although the new constitution has rigorous protection laws against child maltreatment, domestic violence, and elder abuse, serious violations still take place. Non-profit organizations, universities, hospitals, and the media are making efforts to educate the public, but ridding Brazil of violent conflict tactics is an ongoing challenge (see Bezerra-Flanders, in press).

Responses from 82 Brazilian respondents (56 females and 26 males) have been analyzed thus far, for the purposes of the book chapter. Some examples of the types of themes found in their responses are as follows:

Examples of parent-child forms of abuse:

- Participants in our survey cited 'spanking a child until s/he has bruises, throwing hot water, breaking bones, and killing a child' as examples of *extreme* forms of abuse. The most common example of extreme child abuse was sexual abuse.
- Participants classified as *moderate* forms of abuse the following: leaving a child hungry for a day as a form of punishment, not caring for a child when he/she is sick, and spanking a child using a belt (which is a common instrument used to hit children in Brazil).

Examples of elder abuse:

- Forms of neglect (66%) were the most frequently cited examples of *extreme* elder abuse, followed by physical (31%) and sexual abuse (3%). A 26-year-old female gave this example of *extreme* elder maltreatment: "when a 50 year-old son leaves his 75 year-old ill father alone at home, without medical care, and yells and complains about his presence in his home as a hindrance." "Financial exploitation" was also a common example of extreme maltreatment.
- When asked to give examples of *moderate* forms of maltreatment, examples of neglect were again the most cited (47%), followed by psychological maltreatment (25%). "Forcing an elderly person to eat something that s/he doesn't want to" was an example of moderate abuse from a 20-year-old female.

More information about the results of the study can be obtained by contacting Dr. Kathleen Malley-Morrison (Boston University) at kmalley@bu.edu or by phone at 617-353-3628, or Wilson Bezerra-Flanders, M.A. at flanders@fas.harvard.edu or by phone at 617-797-9945.

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LATINO, EU?*
The Paradoxical Interplay of Identity in Brazuca Literature

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Antonio Luciano de A. Tosta

*Complete article available in September 2004 issue of *Hispania*

Abstract

With the increase of the Brazilian immigration to the United States, Brazucas have questioned their membership in the Latino community and claimed a distinct identity and singular voice. This presentation examines a series of Brazuca novels that describe the Brazilian immigrant experience. Based on their readings, it discusses why and how Brazilians have placed themselves “in and out” of the Latino community and the social, political and ideological consequences of this “in-between” movement.

**THE BRAZILIAN COMMUNITY,
Or The Intellectual Myth Of Macunaíma**

◇
Marcilio Farias

Abstract

My contention is that there is no Brazilian Community in New England, but a confused and diffuse cluster of individuals with no coherent cultural traits. If we are speaking about Community we are speaking of a consistent, solid social syntagma that produces evident systems of cultural acts, displaying what Bourdieu would call the best of their social capital. The testimonia, the data, all information accumulated thus far by sociological studies point only to one direction: that of a myth that exists only in the minds of scholars but not in the phenomenological reality of cultural syntagmas. And I would like to have the opportunity to prove it. My study utilizes (as my formation is in Semiology and Phenomenology) theoretical tools from Barthes (the Post-Praguean Barthes, the Barthes of “Le Grain de la Voix,” not the Logician of “Semiologie”), Husserl and Foucault. My syntax is the one I learned from my old teachers Celso Cunha and Jose Guilherme Merquior.

